LIFE IN CHRIST:

A STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE ON THE NATURE OF MAN, THE OBJECT OF THE DIVINE INCARNATION, AND THE CONDITIONS OF HUMAN IMMORTALITY.

By EDWARD WHITE,

AUTHOR OF THE 'MYSTERY OF GROWTH,' ETC.

'But the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors, and brought them forth, and said, Go stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this Life. And when they heard that they entered into the temple early in the morning and taught.'

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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YES, EVEN THE LIFELESS STONE IS DEAR,
FOR THOUGHTS OF HIM WHO LATE LAY HERE;
AND THE BASE WORLD, NOW CHRIST HATH DIED,
ENNOBLED IS AND GLORIFIED.

NO MORE A CHARNEL HOUSE TO FENCE
THE RELICS OF LOST INNOCENCE,
A VAULT OF RUIN AND DECAY;
THE IMPRISONING STONE IS ROLLED AWAY!

'TIS NOW A CELL WHERE ANGELS USE
TO COME AND GO WITH HEAVENLY NEWS,
AND IN THE EARS OF MOURNERS SAY,
'COME SEE THE PLACE WHERE JESUS LAY.'

KEBLE.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE present edition of this work is not a mere reprint of the last, but has been revised with the utmost care, and represents the effect of the friendly and adverse criticisms to which the two former editions have been subjected. Of the adverse notices the foremost place belongs to the thoughtful article in the *Church Quarterly Review*. Since, however, the able and generous writer distinctly 'eschews textual criticism and detailed argument,' and prefers to discuss the doctrine set forth only in its 'general bearings,' and under what he terms 'comprehensive views,' I have been able to derive little advantage from his labour. This book rests the question of Immortality wholly on interpretation o Scripture; and with those who decline that line of thought, the author also must decline to enter into controversy. The *British Quarterly* and *London Quarterly* Reviewers have each advanced objections to previous statements, which I have here attempted to show are either founded on misconception, or else are suggestive of amended modes of representation. Archdeacon Garbett has published some papers in the *Christian Observer* for 1877, which I am compelled to say, after respectful and repeated perusals, seem to me to consist chiefly of authoritative assertions, or appeals to authority, on the immortality of the soul, and which wholly avoid the discussion of weighty objections even to that tenet. A very able and generally candid anonymous writer in the *Methodist*

Magazine of the present year, has made the most of the case on the side of traditional opinion; but. while suggesting some valuable improvements in the argument, he has avoided the discussion of the most important exegetical and theological questions. From each of these writers, however, I have learned something; and I wish to explain in this place that in order to avoid encumbering a book, intended now for popular use, with numberless foot-notes and references, I have without further comment either modified or withdrawn statements in matters of detail which seem to me to have been reasonably censured. Each of my critics who cares to examine closely this edition will discover in such modification the effect of his observations, and is at liberty to conclude that, in whole or in part, I have been convinced by his criticism. While desirous of rendering justice to all opponents, I have to regret that the main argument, scriptural and complex, for the doctrine here defended has been scarcely adverted to. Reviewers have nibbled at phrases and special criticisms, but have avoided the principal questions both of interpretation and of a harmonious theology. When they do theologise, as in the remarks of the *Church Quarterly* and *London Quarterly* Reviewers, on the question whether the existing human race owes its being to law or to grace, their mutual contradictions, as I have pointed out in the proper place, might suggest to each a less confident tone of exclusive 'orthodoxy.'

In this edition will be found a new note *On Jewish and Rabbinical Opinion*, affixed to chapter xvii.; and the substance of my recent replies to the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown's *Lectures on Conditional Immortality* is incorporated with the text.

In again offering to the public a work of which the wider circulation must needs be fraught with consequences of incalculable moment for spiritual good or evil, I can but repeat the conviction that although, as in other revolutions of religious

opinion, some evil attends change, the ultimate result will be wholly for good. It was originally written, and has now again been revised, under a deep sense of responsibility to the Most Righteous Judge Eternal; and the persuasion of truth borne in upon my own mind by the study of the Holy Scripture has now been sanctioned, not only by the confirmatory faith of many of the most learned and able critics in our generation, but by the assenting voice of a great multitude of thoughtful and devout Christian people in Europe, Asia, and America.

If the reader who cares little for scientific opinion finds the opening sections not to his taste, he can commence the perusal of this book at the fifth chapter, without serious hindrance to the understanding of the general argument. The English reader will find the occasional occurrence of Hebrew and Greek type no obstacle to his ready comprehension of the discussion.

I shall conclude this preface with four notable citations. The First is from an incisive reply to Canon Liddon's sermon *On Conditional Immortality*, in S. Paul's Cathedral, by my friend and fellow-labourer, the Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A., who, by his works on *The Glory of Christ in the reconciliation of all things*, *The Way Everlasting*, and *The Harmony of Scripture*, and not less by his singular ability, judgment, temper, and self-sacrifice, has made the idea that immortal life is in Christ alone a subject of general interest throughout the English-speaking world. Mr. Minton thus expresses the drift of our joint contention :—

'Scripture is silent on man's necessary immortality. It is trumpet-tongued on the other side. From beginning to end it positively labours to impress upon man that he is not an immortal, indestructible, but a dying, perishing creature; who, if he desires to inherit eternal life, must accept it as the free gift of God in Christ, and seek for it by patient continuance in

well-doing. The alternatives of life and death, immortality and destruction, are incessantly put before us in every shape and form. Dogmatic assertions, warnings, promises, arguments, illustrations, and necessary inferences, are massed together in such a way that it might have been thought impossible for any human being to misunderstand them. The very object of Christ's death is again and again declared to be, "that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life:" yet Scripture, we are told, pre-supposes that man is absolutely imperishable, and must spend an everlasting life of some kind, whether he believes or not. It teaches that "whosoever doeth the will of God abideth for ever;" but pre-supposes that every one must abide for ever "either in weal or woe." It teaches that "if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever;" but pre-supposes that every man must live for ever, whether he eat of it or not,—pre-supposes the "unutterably solemn fact that each one of us in this cathedral must live on for ever and ever." It teaches that "the wages of sin is death;" but pre-supposes that man's spirit is essentially deathless, and that his body having been raised from its first temporary death, can incur no second death, but must "live eternally on in weal or in woe." It teaches that the "end" of impenitent sinners "is destruction," even "everlasting destruction;" that "like natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed," they "will utterly perish in their own corruption;" that they will be "cast forth as a branch and withered . . . . cast into the fire and burned,"—burnt up like "chaff" with unquenchable fire; that "a fiery indignation" will "devour" them; that they "shall be cut off," and "shall not be;" that "into smoke they shall consume away;" that they shall "lose their own souls," —"lose *themselves;*" all of which pre-suppose—what?—why, something that would render it absolutely impossible for any one of these things ever to occur. In fact Scripture is tortured

by this human philosophy into meaning the very reverse of what it says.'

The Second Citation is from a letter with which I have been favoured by Mr. Stokes, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, and Secretary of the Royal Society; in which he deals with the objection often made that, according to us, 'the wicked are raised from the dead only to suffer,' and that this throws a dark shadow upon the attributes of God. Professor Stokes says:—'I never could share in the difficulty which some seem to feel heavily, regarding the doctrine of life in Christ, on the ground that, on that supposition, the raising again of the wicked, which Scripture unequivocally teaches, would be an act of cruelty on the part of God. The difficulty seems to me to be based on the *assumption* that the sole object of their resurrection was that they might be punished. Even if it were so, I think it could be shown to be consistent with, or even conceivably required by, a scheme in which mercy and justice are blended together; but it appears to me that Scripture represents judgment (κρίσις), the display to the whole rational creation of the justice of the ways of God, rather than punishment as such (κρίμα), as the *primary object*, so to speak, of extending the resurrection, not only to the just, but to the unjust. (See for instance, 2 Cor. v. 9, 'For we must all *be made manifest* before the judgment seat of Christ, in order that each man may receive the things done in the body, according to the things that he did, whether it were good or bad.' See also John v. 29; Rom. xiv. 11.) And though to the wicked judgment will issue in condemnation, and they will receive their final doom, it is surely as easy to regard this, and whatever suffering may either accompany (see Matt. xi. 22) or follow the judgment, as a necessary result of the manifestation, as it is to regard it as a consequence of a supposed immortality of the soul.'

The Third Citation is on the practical working of the traditional dogma on future retribution, from a speech by the Rev. R. Suffield.—At a meeting held in 1873 in Sion College, an interesting paper was read by the late Lord Lyttelton, which subsequently appeared in the April number of the *Contemporary Review*. In the course of the debate which followed, a remarkable statement was made by the Rev. Rudolph Suffield, formerly a Roman Catholic priest. He observed that no one knew so well as a priest what was passing in other men's minds on religious subjects; and that his own opportunities of ascertaining the effect of the popular doctrine upon the minds of those who really believed it had been very considerable. At the request of one who was present, he afterwards wrote out the following abstract of the testimony which he then gave from his own experience:—

'I am bound by honour now to observe faithfully the regulations to which I was pledged when a Roman Catholic priest. I am permitted by those to be guided by the knowledge of character and results obtained from the confessional, but so as never to point things to individuals. My extensive experience for twenty years as confessor to thousands, whilst Apostolic Missionary in most of the large towns of England, in many portions of Ireland, in part of Scotland, and also in France, is, that excepting instances I could count on my fingers, the dogma of hell, though firmly believed in by English and Irish Roman Catholics, did no moral or spiritual good, but rather the reverse. It never affected the right persons; it frightened, nay tortured, innocent young women, and virtuous boys; it drove men and women into superstitious practices which all here would lament. It appealed to the lowest motives and the lowest characters; not however to deter from vice, but to make them the willing subjects of sad and often puerile superstitions. *It never (excepting in the rarest case) deterred from the commission of sin.* It caused unceasing mental and moral

difficulties, lowered the idea of God, and drove devout persons from the God of hell to Mary. When a Roman Catholic, I on different occasions conferred on this subject with thoughtful friends among the clergy; who agreed with me in noticing and deploring the same sad results. From the fear of hell we never expected virtue, or high motives, or a noble life; but we practically found it useless as a deterrent. It always influenced the wrong people, and in a wrong way. It caused "infidelity" to some, "temptations" to others, and misery without virtue to most. The Roman Catholics are very sincere and "real;" and we found it difficult to avoid violating the conscience, when we told them to love and revere a God compromised to the creation of a hell of eternal wretchedness, a God perpetrating what would be scorned as horrible by the most cruel, revengeful, unjust tyrant on earth.'

The Fourth Citation is from the contribution of Mr. W. R. Greg (author of the *Enigmas of Life*) to the 'Symposium' on The Future Life, in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1877. His words are surely among the most pathetic and mournful ever written in modern literature, and prove the necessity for some further discussion of that doctrine of Christianity which enables its believers to say, 'We know that if this earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens':—

'I have of course read most of the pleadings in favour of the ordinary doctrine of the Future State; naturally also, in common with all graver natures, I have meditated yet more; but these pleadings, for the most part, sound to anxious ears little else than the passionate outcries of souls that cannot endure to part with hopes on which they have been nurtured and which are intertwined with their tenderest affections. Logical reasons to *compel* conviction, I have met with none—even from the interlocutors in

this actual Symposium. Yet few can have sought for such more yearningly. I may say I share in the anticipations of believers; but I share them as aspirations, sometimes approaching almost to a faith, occasionally and for a few moments perhaps rising into something like a trust, but never able to settle into the consistency of a definite and enduring creed. I do not know how far even this incomplete state of mind may not be merely the residuum of early upbringing and habitual associations. But I must be true to my darkness as courageously as to my light. I cannot rest in comfort on arguments that to my spirit have no cogency, nor can I pretend to respect or be content with reasons which carry no penetrating conviction along with them. I will not make buttresses do the work or assume the posture of foundations. I will not cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." I have said elsewhere and at various epochs of life why the ordinary "proofs" confidently put forward and gorgeously arrayed "have no help in them;" while, nevertheless, the pictures which imagination depicts are so inexpressibly alluring. The more I think and question the more do doubts and difficulties crowd around my horizon and cloud over my sky. Thus it is that I am unable to bring aid or sustainment to minds as troubled as my own, and perhaps less willing to admit that the great enigma is, and must remain, insoluble.'

It remains only to add that in preparing the present edition I have been again much indebted to the revising accuracy of my friend Dr. Emmanuel Pétavel of Geneva, the leading advocate of the same views on the continent of Europe; and also for some valuable suggestions to the Rev. Charles Byse, of Bex, Canton de Vaud, who has kindly undertaken a French translation of these pages, which will be published at Geneva in 1878.

E. W.

December, 1877.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIRTY years ago, in 1846, I ventured to publish a volume setting forth the doctrine of Immortality through the Incarnation, which at that time had few other public advocates in this country. If the idea had been original it would have been self-condemned. It was but a revival of the oft-repeated and unsuccessful protest of better men. For example, Dr. Isaac Watts himself, the flower of Nonconformist orthodoxy, had maintained, one hundred and fifty years before, all the essential principles of that work in his book on *The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind*. Speaking of the sentence of Death passed upon Adam he says (Question xi.), 'Who can say whether the word *death* might not be fairly construed to extend to the utter destruction of the life of the soul as well as of the body? *For man by sin had forfeited all that God had given him, that is the life and existence of his soul as well as of his body;* and why might not the threatening declare the right that even a God of goodness had to resume all back again, and utterly destroy and annihilate His creatures for ever? There is not one place of Scripture that occurs to me, where the word death, as it was first threatened in the law of innocency, necessarily signifies a certain miserable immortality of the soul, either to Adam, the actual sinner, or to his posterity.' And again, building on that foundation, he maintains the total destruction of their spirits, in the death of the children of *wicked* men, all over the world (a detail in which I do not agree with Dr. Watts); denying the natural immortality of their souls. 'It does not follow that the Great God will punish the mere imputed guilt of Adam's infant posterity in so severe a manner [as to consign them to eternal misery], or that He will continue their souls in being, *whose whole life and being is forfeited by Adam's sin.*' (Question xvi.) These premisses carry with them logically all the critical and theological conclusions which have been deduced from them by us, in relation to the Christian economy; yet the whole church of Christ has continued to honour Dr. Watts as one

of the chief singers of the orthodox faith. The modern reproduction of the same ideas was nevertheless assailed on all sides as heresy, and the inevitable penalty for that offence in England has ensued in ecclesiastical experiences none the less painful because cheerfully endured in humble trust of the Highest Approval.

The volume with which, after so many years of additional thought and experience, I now appear before the public, excepting a few pages revised from its earlier predecessor and later pamphlets, is entirely new; though for convenience in future reference bearing the old title. After the labours of so many learned writers the question may fairly be asked whether there was room for another discussion; above all, whether there was room for so large a volume treating on a wide range of topics in which, partly through want of space, and partly through lack of ability, few of the subjects could be exhaustively handled. The defence is simple, and I hope sufficient; firstly, that my early ideas have somewhat cleared up in certain directions in the course of subsequent reflection; and next, that the object of this book is to exhibit the bearings of the central doctrine of Immortality on the present state of Anthropology, and on the acknowledged truths of Revelation, rather than to elaborate any one branch of the argument. No one hitherto has treated the question precisely in this coherent method: and yet conviction often comes when men can be persuaded to look round a large circle of ideas, while doubt remains so long as they consider only a few of its degrees. The reader, therefore, will not anticipate a treatise exclusively or chiefly on Future Punishment, but rather a discussion of the Source and Conditions of human Immortality; and no one will even comprehend the scope of this book who regards it merely as an argument for 'Annihilation.'

In contemplating the reception which may be given to my labour, I know that no one who questions an ancient and established belief, supported by a large majority of learned Christians, has either right or reason to expect contemporary praise. For his mistakes he does not deserve it, and his demerits therein will be plentifully rewarded. For the truth which perchance he may also maintain society is scarcely prepared. Such an enterprise, therefore, should be taken in hand by those alone who,

feeling what Roger Williams called 'the rocky strength of their grounds,' are satisfied, for the present, with an appeal to the Master of Truth in Heaven, to the judgment of some few careful and thorough readers on earth, and to the better opinion of posterity. This is indeed an appeal which is made by every futile dreamer, but it has been also made by all who have laboured and suffered effectually for forgotten truths in times gone by. The system of ideas here presented has yet scarcely passed through the stage of obstinate British misrepresentation. When our notice-writers and preachers have ended their declamations against the 'miserable doctrine of Annihilation,' the public will begin to see that 'the more part' have mistaken the general question altogether;—and then religious students will probably gather courage to proclaim—what must first be held somewhat in reserve. Perhaps all lasting and beneficial changes of belief are brought about with less danger to the fabric of faith when thus allowed slowly to percolate through society, rather than when forced indiscriminately or before their time on the attention of the multitude.

It is inevitable, then, I regret to acknowledge, that even in a tolerant age, this work, if regarded at all, should incur at present in many quarters severe reprehension. Its basis, a thorough belief in the Divine Authority of Christ and His Apostles, including faith in their Doctrine of Evil Spirits, as an essential part of Christianity, will deeply displease some, as old-fashioned and uncritical. It will also incur the reproof of the easy-going thinkers in all churches, by whom definite persuasion, founded on painstaking interpretation of Scripture, is declared to be the certain mark of a narrow and shallow capacity: as though it were quite certain that the subject which is most *obscure* and beyond our reach, in a Divine Revelation, would be the very scope of Redemption; or, if not obscure, then *unimportant;* as though anything whatever is important, if not to know the revealed character of God, the true end of the Incarnation, and the real nature and destiny of Man. The issue of this argument, the supposed establishment of the Evangelical Theology on a firmer foundation, will displease perhaps still more, since this form of faith is just now much out of fashion. The organs of opinion appointed to defend systems of belief already established, rather

than to inquire into their truth, cannot be expected, however generous the spirit of their writers, to regard favourably a book which combines ideas gathered from so many schools and churches. Its abandonment of the doctrine of endless misery will be denounced as dangerous by men whose disapproval cannot but occasion regret; while its earnest inculcation of a 'wrath to come,' of the nature of positive and even physical infliction from the hand of Heaven, will be regarded as intolerable by nearly all parties alike. A long experience has made known the price which must be paid for so much individuality of faith, and so much freedom of confession.

Nevertheless, although this book, having so hard and unequal a battle to fight, may be found too sceptical by the orthodox, and by far too orthodox for the sceptical, I believe that its main argument (to be carefully distinguished from those secondary opinions which accompany it) will gradually win the adhesion of a large and growing class, who, knowing the outlines of present scientific doctrine, and likewise the history of theology, have found the truth to lie partly in what is termed scepticism, and partly in the ancient creeds of Christendom. My chief desire is that these pages may assist the Christian belief of some whose faith is a half doubt, and also of some whose doubts have expelled faith altogether. For there are many scientific men who have concluded too hastily, that because biology reveals no future state, there is therefore neither 'Judgment to come' nor 'Life everlasting.' I meet such reasoners here, on their own ground, with 'glad tidings,' and proclaim to them 'JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION.' Unless there were a loftier object in view than a negative reform of the doctrine of retribution, my life should not have been devoted to the promulgation of these principles. It is the positive truth on Christ's Salvation, now more than ever endangered in Europe, which has been throughout the main concern; and it is with such aims that I now respectfully submit these endeavours to the judgment, not however exclusively, of the theological public.

E. W.

BRATHAY HOUSE,
TUFNELL PARK, LONDON,
September, 1875.

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BOOK THE FIRST.

ON THE NATURE OF MAN, AS CONSIDERED UNDER THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE ONLY; WITH OTHER PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ALTERNATIVES OF HUMAN DESTINY, EXTINCTION OR IMMORTALITY.

MAN, who has scaled the heavens by the ladder of his astronomy, and by the study of the rocks divined the history of the globe, finds a more insoluble problem in his own nature and destiny. Though wearing so many crowns, as Earth-subduer, Legislator, Soldier, Poet, Philosopher, and Saint, this Image of the Infinite, nevertheless, scarcely arrives at the maturity of his powers ere death carries him away. He perishes like the moss or lichen beneath his feet.

Thoughtful men are asking on every side, with ever-deepening intensity of passion, What *is* this mysterious doom of death which overshadows all, which awaits and engulfs us all?—Is it indeed the end of our individual being? Does man, the 'myriad-minded,' when he expires close his eyes for ever on these star-lit heavens, to which he has gazed upward so steadfastly and so wistfully for a few brief moments in the midst of eternity? Does the bubble of life then burst, and resolve itself, as half Asia imagines, into the Eternal Substance; as the water, separated in the floating flask (so Buddhists speak), when the flask is broken, mingles with the ocean? Or does the thinking individuality survive, for a little while, or for endless ages? Is there, as Christendom affirms, a Spirit in every man which defies destruction, and is destined, as of divine original, to soar aloft the immortal companion of the Necessary Being?

Apart from a direct communication from that Being, what can we positively learn on these questions? Strange that the judgment of millions should be compelled to hover in uncertainty, even for an hour, between two prospects so different, as approach-

ing extinction, and the promise of an endless life,—drawn by turns to believe in each by strong contradictory arguments. It is a difficulty which has been felt in all ages; for men have ever been divided, as now, into two parties—those who have judged that our portion is in this world only, death ending all, and those who with varying degrees of confidence have embraced the hope of immortality.

Whence this divided judgment of mankind? Plainly it has been caused by our double relations, to the mind which is below and to that which is above us. Beneath us is a world of animals, to a large extent intelligent and sensitive, to which we are allied by manifest and deep-seated similarities of structure. This world of animated natures is for ever dying out of life, affording no indication whatever that in a single known instance the vital principle survives in dissolution. Are man's relationships with these neighbouring organisms so inseparable as to involve a similar destiny?

But whence the violent recoil from such a belief? This recoil itself argues some superiority, for we cannot imagine even the highest rank of the animals speculating on the arguments for and against a future life. Whence the grand desire of eternal survival? It springs from man's perception of the Divine; for in addition to one world of mind and will beneath us in the animal races, man, looking around and above himself, perceives on all sides clear indications of a Divine Mind, unseen, but pervading nature, a Mind which evidently exists in independence of material organisation, and endures for ever. Is man the closer kindred of those transitory organisms, or of this Intelligent Power that lives through eternity, from whom he has manifestly sprung? There is a confounding balance of evidence on either side of these appalling alternatives.

The very power of apprehending God, the eternal Author of nature, as a physical Agent and moral Governor, of rising in the strength of a spiritual faculty to conceive of the Everlasting Cause, argues surely, it is said, some real and deep relation with the all-creating Spirit. This longing of the purest and loftiest souls for an endless life, this apprehension of judgment to come, suggested by an evil conscience, this instinctive shock at the prospect of speedy extinction in the perfection of our powers, surely indicates

some relations with the permanent forms of being, even with that original and unchangeable Essence. But is this a relation absolute and permanent, or only conditional? Is it common and essential to the human race, or does it depend on individual development? If a part of man's nature is thus eternal, wherefore death? What is death? What faculties survive the stroke? Why is a future union with God coincident with a destruction of the organism which unites us with the physical universe? If man has a portion in eternal life, why should apparent death be the doorway into perpetual being?

From age to age we ask these questions with earnestness of the heavenly Power; who nevertheless regards us with a silence unbroken from century to century,—unless what is commonly called Revelation be the answer of the Eternal Being to the aspirations of man. Apart from such revelation nature offers no satisfying solution to our doubts. The thought indeed soars to the heavens during our lifetime, but for all that the brain returns to the dust.

The relation of man to the Deity as his destined coeval, is, indeed, under natural conditions, rather a sublime speculation than an established fact,—I mean this relation which carries with it the certain prospect of abiding for ever in God. For it may be that moral disobedience, or a persistent choice of evil, has incurred the penalty of a death which closes the gates of eternal life on the offenders. It is not enough to prove our immortality that we can meditate upon it or even desire it. Why, it may still be asked, if we are to live for ever, is the Infinite Creator Himself so regardless when we die? Whence this dumbness of the Everlasting Cause? Why, if immortality is ours, is Nature so silent as to our destiny,—or so threatening?

For, notwithstanding these loftier thoughts, the progress of exact knowledge in physiology brings out into ever clearer view our intimate relations with that organic world which seems to exist but for a moment. So long as man was studied apart from the system of living creatures around him, it was possible, by a persistent reviling of the animals, and a resolute exaltation of humanity, to hold almost any magnificent opinion respecting our nature and destiny. Theologians and poets had it all their own way. But since the scientific survey has embraced in one panorama the complex system of life upon the globe, it has been

impossible to found theories under natural light on the view of a single species; or to establish hypotheses of man's exclusive immortality on physical or metaphysical phenomena which are found to characterise all living things.

Professor Haeckel, the boldest of the Evolutionists, assumes that the old argument for survival has been completely swept away. The birth and the death of man are now studied in connection with the birth and the death of all animated beings, and the result hitherto has not been to confirm the popular opinion respecting the infinity of the prospects of any part of man's constitution under the law of its creation.

Setting aside (says the physical inquirer) any supposed revelation from God, and restricting the view only to the world of animals and of man, what do we really *know* respecting any life beyond death; know with a clearness of evidence which deserves to be called science? For we have no reason to be governed by a belief in that life except as it is proved to exist by evidence. What, then, are the conclusions which are reached when we conscientiously study under one view the organic world of which man forms a part?

First of all, the animal races are produced by a generative process of which every step is wonderful, but in which there is no ascertainable distinction between the vital and the organic elements of their constitution. In each creature produced under these processes there is a living germ which has power to build up the organisation with all its members, faculties, and mental or sensitive capacities. No one can separate in observation the life from the organism in which it coheres. The faculty is the effect of the development. When the organism dissolves the life seems to dissolve with it.

Mankind, say these biologists (whose judgment we now simply represent, as illustrative of the course of modern thought apart from revelation), is produced by processes not merely analogous but identical. There is absolutely no difference, as an ancient philosopher observed, between the process through which is born the 'wild ass's colt,' and that by which man is brought forth upon the earth. What we call mind in man is created under universal laws of the brain-producing energy of nature. We trace up sensation, perception, instinct, thought, developed in constant

connection with nervous and cerebral systems, from the lowest to the highest organisms. There is a steady progress in the organisation, but in all cases alike the generative process is one. With brain and ganglia there is mind, without them none. The laws which govern the hereditary transmission of qualities and powers are the same for all. If a common mode of origination may furnish any indication of destiny, comparative physiology holds out, we are told, no hope of survival for the human intelligence in that death, common to animals and mankind, which seems to swallow up organism and faculty in one abyss of destruction.

The processes of development, nutrition, and decay, are identical for animals and for mankind. The faculty, whether of body or brain, gradually developed, as gradually wastes away. What ground for the confident assertion of a perishable life in the one case, of a deathless being in the other? Rather is it not evident that all through the lower world Mind is but one of the manifold energies of life, and that life, whatever its essence, dissolves with the organisation? Science knows nothing, affirms nothing respecting substance or essence. It affirms nothing respecting metaphysical annihilation of the material out of which organisms are built. It declares simply that Man and the Animals belong to one system of life. They are brought into being under one law. And there is no material or positive evidence of the concrete survival of any portion of the one series of organisms more than of the other. Any expectation of the survival of the vital force of man in death must then be founded on something that is not science. We know nothing of the *post-mortem* existence of the thinking willing energy of man. It is known to us only as dependent on the brain and the circulation, developing with the brain, not developing if the brain be not developed (as in idiots), suffering disorder when the brain is injured, lapsing into insanity when the brain is inflamed, decaying when the brain decays, sleeping when the brain sleeps, and seeming to die away when the brain dies. The mind obtains all her knowledge of outward things and all enjoyment of them, as the animals do, through nerves, and ultimately through the brain. In childhood the brain is soft and tender, and the mind is feeble and soon overdone. In health the mind is strong, in sickness it loses its energy and grasp. In old age, when the brain is stiff and dry, the

thinking power loses its pliability. It must go on in the old track. A blow to the brain is a blow to the mind. Mental disease, too, is hereditary, as every other bodily affection. Mental peculiarities are hereditary. Each child is manifestly the complex result of many individualities transmitting those peculiarities to posterity. Intellect varies not only with the mass but with the texture of the brain. Narcotics and stimulants directly affect the mind. If the mind were absolutely material, or the result of material combinations, it could not be more completely under the influence of material agencies. Lastly, all the positive evidence is in favour of the transmission of mind or thinking power and will in generation, along with the other elements of the fabric. Where and what is this Soul or Spirit, so independent of the organism as to be created by a separate act of power, so self-subsisting as to survive naturally in its integrity when the body dies?

If it be replied, that it is inconceivably appalling that this universe should be a thing of one substance only; that thinking power should be the last and highest product of its development; that this intellectual Eye should open for a moment on nature which produced it, and should then be reingulfed by the dead ruthless force which had given it birth; the answer is ready, that sentiment must vanish before fact; and that it is wholly impossible from a scientific point of view any longer to contemplate the human species apart from the immense life-system of the globe to which it belongs. The origin of man must be accounted for from the facts of nature, and those facts all point to a probable development of the human race from pre-existent forms of life. The last idea to be admitted by inductive study is the creation of species. Not until every possible change producible by life and force has been exhausted in theory, can biology allow the entrance of the hypothesis of direct creation.

Such are the arguments of the ever-strengthening school of evolutionists; and under these views the prospects of mankind in futurity are restricted to the horizon which contains the animal races; since an immortal life cannot be supposed to have sprung from a perishable source.

But even if the repeated creation of species be admitted as a hypothesis, it is further argued that the case of man is not

materially improved. Here are nearly a million of species on the earth. Man at the head of them appears, in his barbarous and savage state, superior to them, indeed, but not so superior as to suggest either to himself in that state, or to us, the idea of a wholly different nature. Why should 999,999 species of living creatures be voted mortal and perishable, and the millionth declared to be immortal as to the animating principle, just because he sometimes wishes to maintain a continued existence? Perhaps the higher animals wish it too. How know we that the thinking principle can survive the breaking up of the organisation in the one species, when it is dissipated in the cases of the 999,999? All that goes on within us, and within the animals, of the nature of sensation, feeling, thought, will, is a product of the organisation of the brain and nervous system, and therefore must be believed to cease wholly when the brain organisation breaks up in death. Since the production of mental and voluntary power in men and animals is subject to precisely the same laws, why should it be held that the dissolution of the brain is attended by such marvellously different results as these,—in the case of all other species to bring the individuality to an end, in the case of man to set free the animating force for a life immortal?

Besides, under either theory of the production of Man, whether by development, or by creation of species, humanity must be considered only as the highest manifestation of the life which covers the globe in air, water, and dry land. On earth we see life beginning in the form of a simple cell, passing by stages which are quite imperceptible from irritability into sensation, slowly ascending in an immense succession of grades through the various tribes of vegetables and animals, and finally culminating in Man, who, viewed as a whole, is much more marked by his resemblance in constitution and character to the animals than by his *differentia*. Man being thus zoologically a member of the life-system of the globe must not be imagined to exist under a special destiny. All life on earth ends in death, with no sign whatever cognisable by science of the survival of any element of consciousness.—Doubtless, then, Man's life exists under the same law, and is absorbed and swallowed up by the powers of destruction.

It may be rejoined, however, to these frightful vaticinations

that there is one physical consideration which, under certain circumstances, might materially modify this conclusion. It is that Nature itself gives, even in the physical sphere, an emphatic warning against the assumption that all parts of an organisation, which are produced at once, always perish together. We have but to look around to detect the weakness of this assumption. Look, it may be said, at any annual or biennial plant, the mignonette or hollyhock. The plant grows up from a seed in sun and rain, and produces its stems, its leaves, its buds, its flowers. In the flower the seed is produced, each seed possessing a life originating in the life of the plant, *but capable of an independent survival.* The autumn comes. The plant dies down. Does it all die, though all orginating in a single organism? No, the seed survives, separates itself from the ruin, and is ready to spring up a new hollyhock in the following year. Suppose the gardener fails to clear away the ruin of the old plant. Its substance dissolves and melts into the earth. The seed then drops where the plant grew, takes root and shoots, composed in part of the material of its former self,—a veritable survival of the soul, and resurrection of the body.

Throughout nature we discern this law of survival in operation. Portions of organisms survive the dissolution of the structure, with a life of their own. Thus, then, may it not be with the thinking power in men, or in animals, in one or in both? The 'soul' may be produced along with the body, and through a physical process; yet notwithstanding the dissolution of the brain, it is conceivable that it might survive in dissolution.

It is impossible to prove, on the ground of purely physical evidence, that there is nothing in this argument. It is obvious that insect transformation even somewhat aids the speculation. Look at the moth, with his wondrous wings. What is his history? He is the 'soul' of a caterpillar. Here again life-germs, which are all born together, do not die together. It is at least possible that there may be in animals, or in man, as Dr. Lionel Beale supposes, a life-force, a germ, which, though produced along with the bodily organisation, may perhaps survive it.

May perhaps survive it. This, however, is not science. Yet this, on the ground of physical knowledge, is all that can be suggested in support of a life beyond.

Summing up the evidence in a rough preliminary way, we must conclude with Haeckel, in his *History of Creation*, that the results of unaided physical inquiry at present are not favourable to faith in immortal life for man, as the outcome of the constitution of his nature. Among contemporary students who ignore moral considerations the direction of scientific opinion is strongly towards this tremendous conclusion that death ends all,—a conclusion so awful in itself, and so disastrous in its spiritual effects among the people, that we turn to examine afresh every link of the argument on which it depends. The more we examine them, the less pleasing is the prospect that opens, so long as we restrict our view to physical phenomena alone. The darkness thickens, and the grand old auguries of a metaphysical theology do not avail to dispel the deepening gloom. The outer and the inner worlds seem to be at war on the loftiest problems.

Meantime some of our native sceptics are becoming strangely enamoured of the doom which they anticipate. The *Fortnightly Review* in 1873 gathered courage to encounter the darkness of non-entity in these words: 'To pluck so gracious a flower of hope on the edge of the sombre echoless gulf of nothingness, into which our friend has slid silently down, is a natural impulse of the sensitive soul, numbing remorse, and giving a moment's relief to the hunger and thirst of a tenderness that has been robbed of its object; yet would not men be more likely to have a deeper love for those about them, and a keener dread of filling a house with aching hearts, if they courageously realised from the beginning of their days that we have none of this perfect companionable bliss to promise ourselves in other worlds—that the black and horrible grave is indeed the end of our communion—and that we know one another no more?'

It is thus that the leading school of Biology reasons on the nature of man, deducing from its studies a conclusion in direct contravention to those large hopes of survival which the mind gathers from her intellectual being, from her communion with nature, from her apprehension of judgment, and from her aspirations after God.*

The prevailing speculations on the *animal origin* of mankind

* See Dr. Alexander Bain on *Mind and Body*, 1874.

in no degree qualify the blackness of the outlook. If, yielding to the spirit of revolt against the hypothesis of interferences and creations, science presses forward her conjectural principle of Continuity, as she has so much *a priori* reason to do, into the department of life, the result is certain to be, unless hindered by a positive revelation contradicting the conclusion, to infer that all life is one, and that as species are now varied under differing conditions, so they have been themselves produced by wider differences of condition in the past duration of the world; until at length Man has appeared as the outcome of the life-evolution. Mr. Darwin's theory is not indeed proved; it halts on one leg for lack of positive evidence, as Dr. Elam and Professor Carruthers have clearly shown. But apart from Revelation, it must be allowed that it carries, at least on the physical side, a strong appearance of probability. And its whole weight, such as it is, goes into the scale of despair. If humanity be but a fractional link of the general biological series, the foundation of the hope of a special destiny melts away, like an ice-island in the sunbeams, from beneath our feet. The nature which has been evolved by a gradual development from perishable saurians or simians possesses no intrinsic immortality. Body and life with all their functions belong to the 'dust'—to that universe of material forms which pass away as we behold them.*

It is in the midst of such contradictory arguments as these, the reasoning-grounds respectively of two opposing schools in every age, that the Christian Revelation appears, to compose the disputes of Idealists and Materialists; by showing that there has occurred a catastrophe in the beginning of man's history, that his yearnings after life in the midst of death are the haunting remembrances of a ruined greatness, that he was originally created for an immortality conditional on obedience to God, but came under the law of Death by Sin,—and that it is the object of Eternal Love in Redemption to 'create him anew' in

* Many readers will recollect the pathetic grace with which Mr. Hawthorne has described, in *Transformation*, the physical and moral characteristics of the Faun, supposed by the ancients to represent human nature in its earlier relation with the animal world.

the image of the Everlasting, by regeneration of nature, and by a resurrection from the dead.

It will be the aim of the following chapters gradually to unfold the argument for the survival of the fittest, on which these conclusions rest, and to maintain it against immemorial errors. But it is necessary to add some further preliminary studies in order to ascertain more exactly man's place in nature, his actual condition, and the relation in which he stands to the million species of organisms of which he is the short-lived lord.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIND OF ANIMALS AS REAL AS THE MIND OF MAN.

THE study of comparative psychology, of mind and sensibility in their successive grades of development on earth, has been hindered by that traditional theology which has arrested the steps of science in every direction. The Bible has been held up as the standard of truth on all subjects of knowledge, from the highest to the lowest, and even the most gratuitously perverse misinterpretations of its statements have served with equal authority as effectual obstacles to the examination of nature. For two thousand years after its first discovery the true theory of the Solar System was hindered from attaining its right position in the world by a few vague quotations from the popular and poetic language of psalmists and prophets. The opening of Genesis, understood as a scientific cosmogony, effectually closed 'the infinite book of secrets' in the geological record up till the present century. The notion of a universal flood and a mistaken view of the tenth chapter of Genesis have exerted, under like treatment, a similarly restrictive influence upon ethnology. The moral nature of the Deity Himself has been concealed behind clouds of sacerdotal metaphysics. What wonder, then, if the natures of Man and of the Animals have been misconceived through the doubly refracting atmosphere of two erroneous but correlated theories respecting their place in the creation? In this case, however, the excuse of being led astray by the primitive documents of the Old Testament does not exist, for they conform in a remarkable manner to the facts of nature, and directly contradict the more modern pyschology.

There is no theological doctrine more firmly established than that there is an infinite difference between man and the

animals in the essential quality of their inner being, and in their consequent natural duration. Man, says the Church, has a soul,—the animals have no souls. Man has reason, animals possess 'instinct' only. Mind is peculiar to man. The animals have no moral nature; they have no understanding; the destinies of the two are therefore diverse. The animals perish totally in death. But man's soul is spiritual, is of the nature of God, and therefore will naturally endure for ever. The mind of man is indestructible. Its immortality is of its essence. It must live as long as its Eternal Maker. Being a simple and indivisible substance, the soul is indissoluble by any natural cause acting from without; and being once in existence, it exists for ever. Even in matter nothing is annihilated. No atom perishes. Forms are changed. Organisations dissolve,—but substance remains. Much more must spiritual substance endure for ever. The canon of the Everlasting has affixed an eternal destiny to mind; and the moral quality of man's mind implies and demands eternal retribution from the Eternal Being whom it pleases or offends.

Throughout Christendom it is held that the 'inner man' is a natural heir of immortality, herein being distinguished from the beasts that perish, and this principle is maintained as a postulate of the religious life, co-ordinate with the recognition of the Being and Moral Government of God. It is held that the one idea suggests and implies the other. Belief in God and in the Immortality of the Soul are the two indispensable bases of religion. The soul which can meditate and long for the Eternal must be itself eternal. Moral relations with the Infinite compel an endless destiny. That which good men hope for, great souls aspire to, and bad men profoundly dread, in a world of reward and punishment, is supposed to depend wholly on the establishment of the doctrine of the soul's immortality. It is not enough to rest on the purpose of God 'to give to every man according to his works'—a greater or a less punishment or reward. It is held that the only safe foundation for faith in a future state, or for any divine worship, must be laid in the doctrine of man's natural eternity of being.

It has been difficult under such views to render justice to the animal world. Beside beings endowed with the divine attribute

of eternal duration, these humble creatures have enjoyed but a small chance of consideration,—and the sublime 'Immortals' have exercised but a sorry government over their perishable slaves.

A more exact study of these enslaved races, however, is gradually opening the eyes of men to their delusions, and leading to that wider observation of organised natures on which alone solid opinion can be established. A few misquoted texts of Scripture can no longer avail to conceal the fact that a science of comparative psychology has sprung up, which shatters the metaphysical arguments on which hitherto theologians have so unwisely rested their hope of life eternal.

For if man's prospects in the future depend on the possession of mind, then must he either share this immortality with his animal neighbours, or consent to abandon his own expectation on that ground along with theirs. Whatever evidence there is that man possesses intelligence, there is equally clear evidence that it is possessed by them. The animals have real minds, cognisant of real ideas, and acting in various methods upon them. Mind is as varied in its developments as matter, though we know nothing of the nature of either. Whatever evidence there is that consciousness in man resides in an immaterial essence, there is the same evidence that it is immaterial in 'the beasts that perish.' If man's immateriality is to be made a basis for the argument of immortality, it must be extended logically over the whole area of life. The immortality of the animating principle of amœbæ and zoophytes is the legitimate inference from its immaterial quality, if the same inference is insisted on in the case of man. The argument which is good for man is equally available for animalculæ and for all intermediate grades. If the reply be made, by some enthusiasts, that the inference is accepted, it will suffice to rejoin that a bold inference, unsupported by a single particle of evidence, such as the known survival of one tiger's, or even of one coral insect's 'soul,' is but a weak foundation on which to build the eternal hopes of mankind. For, here, as elsewhere, the strength of the popular belief is inversely commensurate with the force of the evidence on which it reposes.

Abandoning deceptive generalities, let us then observe the

facts of nature. The general principles on which all material organisms are constructed are the same throughout the world —yet there is a boundless diversity in the application of those principles to the forms, sizes, powers, habits, and conditions, in the numerous orders of living creatures. In the same manner sensitive substance, whether in its essence differing from the substances of which chemistry takes account, or identical with them, is found from the lowest to the highest rank of the animals; but it is as varied in its developments as is the physical organisation to which it is mysteriously united. From zoophytic life up to the mammalia there is a vast ascending scale of growing perfection in the body; but the scale is not less extended in respect of the animating moving principle, from the dull and sluggish sensibility which hovers on the borders of the insensate vegetable kingdom, up to the speechless reason of the elephant or the dog, which almost rivals, if it does not conspicuously surpass, the earlier developments of the childhood of man.

What this inconceivable diversity of animating souls really is can be apprehended better by those who have somewhat studied the actions, propensities, and powers of the thousands of living species actually described by zoology. To each species there is an appropriate sensibility,—either a power of sensation and automatic action, or of observation, or of imitation, or of constructive invention, or of reason; capacities for varied enjoyment, passions wild or gentle, attachments individual or gregarious, propensities and instincts fitted to the element in which the creature lives, or to the circumstances under which its food is to be obtained. And if the consideration of the series of intellectual ranks among men from the lowest idiot up to a Newton or a Helmholtz fills us with wonder at the Power which from elements so few can elicit a variety so enormous of capacities, attainments, and character, that reverent wonder may well be increased when we turn to examine this lower frame of sentient beings in the animal world,—alike the work of that One Eternal Mind, whose reflected light dazzles us in the firmament and glimmers in the glowworm, blazes like lightning in a Shakespere's countenance, and illuminates the darkling labours of the honey-bee.

Through a million of species, then, there is this widely varied creation of sensibility, consciousness, and power; but a fuller impression of the fact can be obtained only by remembering the countless myriads of individuals comprised under each denomination. Take one familiar instance, the bee, to which allusion has just been made. A hive may contain on the average about 30,000 bees. In this number there is *first* the Queen, with her appropriate mind, her perceptions, tastes, capacities, in common with her subjects; and in addition the royal qualities of spirit, whatever they may be, which incite or enable her to take the lead in migrations or swarmings, and the instincts which prompt her patiently to undergo the task of depositing the eggs of the future progeny, one by one, in the cells prepared for their reception. *Secondly*, there are the drones, as remarkably inspired with a love of home and of apparent idleness, as their sisters are endowed with a passion for perpetual labour. And *thirdly*, there are the true working bees composing the principal population of the hive, each one containing in its tiny form a ganglionic apparatus whose implanted instincts have occupied the labours of a hundred naturalists in imperfectly understanding them. In every working bee there are, 1, the senses of sight, hearing, taste, feeling, and smell; 2, the implanted love of work and love of honey; 3, the impulse to wander through the fields and flowers; 4, the skill to discover and carry off the three different materials needed in the hive; 5, the inconceivable power of remembering the way home again, however distant, although the shortest line is certain to be taken in returning, with the infallible selection of the native hive if many are together; 6, the instinct to build the cells, after wax has been elaborated by digestion, or to deposit honey in them if that has been the object of the airy voyage; 7, the mathematical impulse to build in hexagons, the most economical form in respect of material, space, and labour; 8, the intelligence which can adapt general operations to peculiar circumstances; 9, the defensive passions which govern the action of the sting; 10, the loyal and gregarious affections which bind the workers to their maiden or dronish companions, and the whole colony to its parental queen.

In every working bee there is all this mind, instinct, intellectual automatic machinery,—call it what we will; but what

now is that power which, like the most delicate engraving on a gem, stamps these numerous minute energies upon the tiny brain of every bee of the innumerable swarms which from the birth of time have diffused the murmur of their music over the meadows of the temperate and torrid zone? We can scarcely be surprised if men in ages of hazier thought resolved such miracles of nature into the direct agency of the world-pervading Almighty Intelligence.

> 'For what if all of animated natures
> Be but organic harps, diversely framed,
> That tremble into life as o'er them sweeps,
> Plastic and vast, one Intellectual Breeze,
> At once the Soul of each, and God of all.'

It has been common in former times to sum up the facts of animal intelligence by stating that they possess instinct only, while man possesses reason and a moral nature. Their understanding, therefore, needed not to be considered as of the quality of mind properly so called, and doubtless it was mortal. Man's intelligence, on the other hand, was of a wholly different nature, and doubtless immortal. It will assist correct thought on this subject to remember that by instinct is intended an impulse to the blind pursuit of some end which the agent does not understand or perceive—a definition which will comprehend a large portion doubtless of the operations of the animal mind. But not the whole, perhaps not half of the phenomena. An implanted instinct governs the action of the bee, the spider, the mole, the beaver, the nest-building and incubating birds; and the human infant resembles the new-born colt in the instinct by which its life is sustained. But if it be intended to assert that none of the animals are conscious of aiming at a purpose, or perceiving the adaptation of means to ends, or of intelligently contriving such means under certain limitations, then the theory does not correspond with the facts. To speak of an elephant, a horse, or a dog doing by 'instinct' such things as it has been *taught* would be as absurd as to talk of a child learning to read by Instinct. Docility is evidently characteristic of Reason. Moreover, 'brutes are in many instances,' adds Archbishop Whately, 'capable of learning what they have not been taught by man. They have been found

able to combine (more or less) the means of accomplishing a certain end from having learned by experience that such and such means so applied would conduce to it. The higher animals show more of reason than the lower.'

The difference between men and animals does not then consist in this, that animals are destitute of mind. They possess most of the faculties which we call mind in man. They possess sensation, perception, memory governed by fixed law of association, imagination, invention, reasoning power up to a certain degree; they possess the sense of beauty, and greatly enjoy beauty of form, of colour, and of motion; and they signally excel in the various affections which bind them to each other, or to mankind.* There has been a general philosophical conspiracy to underrate the animals, Descartes even going so far as to declare that they were unconscious automata, in order to exalt the supremacy of man. It has been readily seen that if it is proper to argue the immateriality of man's mind from the difficulty of imputing intelligence to matter or to atomic combinations, it would be necessary to impute equally immateriality to the sentient principle in brutes, if that sentient principle were allowed to be a true *understanding*. But both premiss and conclusion must be conceded. The animals are widely intelligent; and if that argues immateriality of the mind for man, it argues immateriality for them likewise. If non-materiality in the thinking power compels the inference of immortality for mankind, it compels it also for the thinking principle in animals;—or conversely, if there may be a certain degree of mind in animals, and yet it may be neither immaterial nor immortal, it follows by necessity that human expectations of an eternal being, based on the sandy foundation of speculation on the essence of the soul, are as worthless as would be similar expectations indulged

* The materials for forming a judgment on the limited but real intelligence of animals are easily accessible in a few well-known works of which the following may be mentioned:—*Dialogues on Instinct*, by Lord Brougham. *Instinct*, by Archbishop Whately. *Instinct, or Curiosities of Animal Life*, by S. Garratt. *Entomology*.—Kirby and Spence. *Passions of Animals*.—E. P. Thompson. *Chapters on Animals*.—E. Hamerton. *Intelligence of Animals*.—E. Leroy. *Etudes sur les facultés mentales des animaux, comparées à celles de l'homme*. Houzeau, *De l'Instinct*.—Flourens, Paris, 1864. *On Automata*.—T. Huxley. See also on *Animal Intelligence*, Porphyry *de Abstinentia*, Book II. Porphyry evidently thinks it is next door to cannibalism to eat such intelligent creatures.

on behalf of the animal races around us. Arnobius, one of the Christian Fathers of the third century, vigorously exposes this fallacy in his second book *Adversus gentes.*

In a following page it will be shown that the Hebrew Scriptures with remarkable consent adhere to a representation of animal life, and of the relations between it and human life, equally removed from the errors of antiquity, and of modern times, while agreeing with the best deductions of science. The simple psychology and theology of the Scripture are interwoven with each other, and it is difficult to account for the persistent adhesion of so many primitive writers to one generally unwelcome but important series of statements and silences, except through the presence of some marvellous genius for correct thought in their nation, or some real inspiring guidance.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MORTALITY OF ANIMALS.

The animal species already taken account of have each their allotted term of life, and then without exception Death attacks and devours all their hosts. There is no exception to this universal law. Their existence is limited to a few days, hours, or years, and they then 'return to their dust.' The denizens of the land, the air, the water, alike die, and after a space no trace remains of their individual being. The atomic elements which compose their forms are dissolved and dissipated, or are recombined by a wondrous chemistry; but the animals as individual beings utterly and wholly *cease to be.*

This has been the popular and also the scientific view of animal dissolution. They were formed to endure but for a little while, and when their hour comes their existence ends absolutely. No argument of superiority on the part of higher quadrupeds, no delicacy or refinement of instinct in the insect races, is allowed by nature as a plea against the execution of the law which consigns the entire animal world to extinction. Such is the conclusion of observation and reason respecting the animals. Their animating principle, whatever its nature, was called into being for purposes which are found in the physical structure alone, and which have no intelligible basis apart from the functions of that organism. When, therefore, the organism dies, the forces which ruled and animated it are dissipated also. Each organism is developed from a germ which unfolds both the energies and their instruments woven together into an inextricable unity. So long as this unity of life is preserved the ponderable and the imponderable forces work together to maintain the fabric. Everywhere oxidation is going on. oxidation either of the circulating fluid itself, or of

the structures which it bathes, and whose losses it has to make good. Little by little every part of the body is continually mouldering away, and as continually being made new by the blood. The blood is the life. When that ceases to flow, it ceases both to nourish and to be nourished. The brain is as dependent for its energies upon the blood, and upon continual combustion and reparation, as any other portion of the frame. Death is the cessation of all functions. It is followed by the speedy dissipation of the combined elements which formed the organism. The ultimate atoms enter into new combinations. The forces are conserved in other forms. But the Integer, the Animal which resulted from the former combination, is no more. Science knows nothing of the continuance after death of any willing or thinking or feeling faculty which the animal may have possessed in life.*

The desire to find some basis for hope of the soul's survival in death for the human race has led not a few to attempt the establishment of a more general doctrine of survival which may include all higher animated natures; but this is simply a reaction from the opposite extreme of injustice which once refused to admit the reality of animal intelligence altogether. Once the brutes had no 'souls,' nothing but 'instinct,' and even 'no sensation'; now we are taught that they leave behind in death, at least in some cases, a spiritual residuum which is destined to immortality.†

* 'The animal soul also terminates; the animal souls of beasts are simply special individualizations of the spirit of nature, and at death are resolved into the general spirit of nature of which they are manifestations.'—Delitzsch's *Psychol.*

† The *Spectator* newspaper has distinguished itself of late years very much in its defence of the immortality of domestic animals. This seems a somewhat arbitrary choice of favourites. Dogs, cats, and horses are useful creatures, but why should they be elected to live for ever when so many denizens of land and water, though less familiar with man, appear to possess at least equal personal recommendations; and nearly all animals, under suitable tuition, might be developed into cattle similarly worthy of immortality? But our *Spectator's* antipathies are sometimes as groundless as its sympathies even towards its human fellow-creatures. Its unreasoning dislike of the Free Churches, for example, is only less marked than its zealous advocacy of the heavenly destiny of its own dogs and feline associates.

But this is not science. Science knows nothing of such survival, and all that we do know of the mode of the production of the sentient powers of the animal leads to a strong persuasion that death ends every individuality. It is impossible any longer to indulge in fantasies founded on a partial attachment to domesticated animals, or arbitrarily to assert that the higher types of life are distinguished from the lower by immortality. That the system of life on the earth is one, and is either evolved in succession from preceding forms, or, if separately created, is created on a homogeneous and progressive plan, is now demonstrated beyond reasonable contradiction. The phenomena of life, whether of nutrition, growth, movement, sensation, perception, intelligence, volition, enjoyment, are systematically evolved in nature without a break, from the lowest animal cell up to the highest of the mammalia; and science, notwithstanding the chemical diversity, declares her inability even to place her finger distinctly upon the line where vegetable life passes into the animal.* The highest are bound by the conditions of organic existence to the lowest, being part of the same family, as closely as the lowest are bound to the highest. It is contrary to solid knowledge to say that we have any evidence of the survival of the sentient or animating energy, as individual life, in the death of the higher animals. It is equally contrary to all that is known to dream of any mighty distinction between remote links of the series, such as would be found in the survival of some, and the final death of others. Where shall the line be drawn? The animal 'mind' is a thing

* The apprehension of this difficulty is at length compelling some of our popular religious writers to advocate the broader doctrine of the survival of all life, including that of vegetation. In a paper in the *Christian World Magazine* for Nov., 1874, a pious writer informs his readers that in death 'there is no reason for saying that the organising principle has ceased to exist. This is as true *of plants* and of animals as of men, *and there is no reason for supposing that when they die their principle of life is ended.*' One may ask, perhaps, whether each flower-soul enjoys a separate immortality, or is that privilege restricted to the root or stem? We cannot but agree with these authors that the 'reason' for believing in the survival of animals is precisely of equal force with that which encourages the belief in the survival of plants, that is, as they put it, 'there is no reason at all for saying'—anything on the subject. A complete absence of evidence for one position, however, is not the same thing with an absolute proof of the contrary.

of infinite degrees, and one type of brain or nerve-energy passes by imperceptible shades into a higher or a lower. Why should a dog's soul live for ever, and a jackal's sink into eternal death; or a leopard live on, while a rat or a toad shall perish? The longer we look upon the phenomena of life the deeper becomes the conviction that the *law of nature* for all living things on earth is, and has been always, death, dissolution, destruction of the individuality, dissipation of the component elements—whether of confervæ, grasses, trees, sensitive plants, zoophytes, mollusks, or mammalia. Perhaps it is the law of planetary life throughout the universe. It deserves observation that the chemical difference between well-developed plants and animals is clearly fixed in this, that plants deoxidise and accumulate in excess, while animals oxidise and expend in excess; but, although the life-principle operates in these two opposite methods, and there is considerable difficulty in determining where the one excess is established over the other, there is no radical difference between them. There seems, then, to be as little ground for anticipating its survival in one case as in the other. Professor Michael Foster says that 'in the *fungi* the double chemical process is found *in equilibrio;* and it may be clearly seen that the protoplasm, while continually being oxidised, is yet capable of constructing itself out of inorganic elements, though it flourishes much better when fed with ready-made material.'

The geological record witnesses historically to the action of the law of death, from the beginning of the earth's inhabited state. The fossil remains of animals form a large part of the substance of the sedimentary rocks of the globe. 'Of old,' says Professor Owen, 'the earth was a scene of conflict and carnage.' Through past 'eternal ages' death has reigned relentlessly over the organisms of this planet. The earth is an enormous sepulchre of buried forms. Fifty thousand extinct species of animals have been already exhumed and described. The existing species are slowly following their predecessors to the dust. The globe has passed through many transformations, through long-enduring summers, through long and dreary winters; oceans and continents have exchanged their places. Nature, prodigal of life, has filled the world with her wonders. Multitudes of creatures have been caused to find their very aliment of being in the slaughtered

bodies of others; but all alike, without one single exception, having fulfilled their brief period of activity, have relapsed into the nothingness whence they sprang.

Mr. Constable remarks with great force, that 'there is no doubt that before the fall of man the penalty attached to sin, viz. *death*, could have had but one sense, and that sense the primary.' (*Future Punishment*, p. 77.) By which no doubt he intends that if before Adam 'fell' the word *death* had been used in conversation in such a world as this, the word could have had but one meaning, in view of the cessation of animal life, namely that of *extinction*. All living things 'died,' vegetable and animal, in the sense of *ceasing to be*—and this was the sense which would therefore be naturally affixed to the term in the threat which warned the human pair to avoid the forbidden tree, if they would continue to eat of the tree of life and live for ever. This is indeed to anticipate the argument of a future chapter; but the biblical threatening of death to Adam in paradise derives a clear significance from the history of this globe before he trod the earth. Nature was an all-devouring destroyer of the life which she produced. 'In the variety, the beauty, the polish, the sharpness, the strength, the barbed perfection of lethal weapons, no armoury can compete with that of the fossil world.' The goodness revealed in the earth was not 'infinite.' Nature's plan of working on, through untold ages, was to shed a ray of light upon a life, then swiftly to swallow it up in eternal darkness. The Creative Energy was equalled by the Destructive Energy. The law of the planet was to 'make alive,' and then to 'kill'; and not a single organic form rose out of nothingness for more than a short space of time. Nature was a volcano that threw up from her depths millions of sparks and flashes of life, to be extinguished straightway in the eternal gloom.

CHAPTER IV.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE RELATION OF MAN TO THE ANIMAL RACES AS CONSIDERED UNDER THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE ONLY.

BEFORE we advance to the study of the doctrine of Divine Revelation on the origin and destiny of man, it is necessary to consider more exactly the state of our knowledge on these subjects under the light of modern inquiry. The extent and limitation of this knowledge are faithfully represented by the speculations of contemporary philosophers.

Mr. Darwin's arguments on the descent of mankind from common ancestors of the simians form a portion, and but a small portion, of a far wider and more complex hypothesis, of the unity of the entire life-system of the globe, and of the descent or rather ascent of the higher animals from those of lower organization in the course of the past eternity. Apart from absolute proof of the truth of the general hypothesis of evolution respecting the animal races, it is clear that the theory of a semi-simian descent for man has not even a *locus standi* among probabilities. Not until it has been decisively proved that the mammalia in their present form are the result of a long precedent series of gradual transformations, so that the simians themselves can be traced to their predecessors and ancestral congeners, can it be seriously held as determined that man has ascended from the lower organisms. At present the theory, however strongly supported by the presence of rudimentary but undeveloped organs, halts, as Professor Agazziz in his latest papers frequently points out, rom the striking predominance of hypothesis over evidence. For the variations in species under long tracts of duration, as

in the crocodiles and marsupials, or under domestication, as in the dog and the pigeon, leave us still destitute of a single clear example of this transmutation of species into wholly new fertile types. The present law of nature steadily refuses to allow of the perpetuation even of hybrids, and hybrids are never bred except from congeners. While, therefore, there is an elastic capacity in many species to accommodate themselves to a certain extent to a change of circumstances, and there may thus arise changes of appearance, and even of structure, transmissible to offspring, these mutations, it is said, are governed by constant laws and are confined within certain limits. Species in our time have a real existence in nature; and a transmutation from one to another, so far as our present exact knowledge extends, does not exist. Thus, as Cuvier long ago remarked, all the differences of size, appearance, and habits which we find in dogs, leave the skeletons of this animal and the relations of the bones to each other essentially the same, and with all the varieties of their shape and size there are characters which resist all the influences of external nature, of human interference, and of time.*

The geological record in its fossil remains fails to supply the missing links of animals under process of transmutation. If the hypothesis be true that in the past eternal ages all existing forms have been evolved from preceding organisms in a direct succession, there ought, since the rocks contain fossil remains which carry us back to the beginning of life, to be found at least some clear examples of species *in transitu*. No such fossil forms are discovered.† Fact, so far, opposes the theory.

The result of observation, it may be further alleged, is the same in every land. Nature has preserved no general traces of the action of the supposed transmuting energy. Biology lays as firm

* See Whewell's *Indications of the Creator*, p. 100.

† 'As far as I have been able to read the records of the rocks, I confess I have failed to discover any lineal series among the vast assemblage of extinct species which might form a basis and lend reliable biological support to such a theory. Instead of a gradation upwards in certain groups and classes of fossil animals, we find, on the contrary, that their first representatives are not the lowest, but often highly organized types of the class to which they belong.' —Dr. Thomas Wright, F.R.S., President of Geological Section of British Association at Bristol, 1875.

a classifying hand upon tribes and orders of fossil animals as upon those of living genera. She is never lost in a haze of uncertainties, but finds her materials for classification in developments which are separated by fixed intervals or special combinations in the organisation, showing that if animals *of different families* have successively grown out of each other, at least no evidence remains of so wonderful a transformation.

Since no considerable accession is likely to be made to the world-wide materials of our knowledge on this subject, it can scarcely occur even to sanguine minds to anticipate a physiological or geological *proof* of the ascent of man from preceding races; and this the less if the genesis of man is carried back to the quaternary period. All that can be determined seems to be, that the actual variations of species within their own limits shows that even the transmutation of one species into another is not an idea which ought to be summarily dismissed from the field of speculation. So far as we know, such a transmutation is possible; and (apart from the antagonistic testimony of fossil geology, which is contrary to it) might be regarded as probable. So far as the physical structure is concerned, a view of the remarkable similarity of the anatomy of the *Simiadæ* and *Anthropomorpha* to the anatomy of man, as may be seen in detail in Professor Huxley's *Manual of the Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals* (pp. 458-498), compels the admission that to whatever extent (no very serious concession) transmutation is probable in the case of animals generally, it is also probable in the case of humanity itself; but even here there is a serious difficulty in man's loss of a furry coat and lengthened tail, and still more in the gain of so vast a brain.

Embryology, which has been relied on to exhibit the actual passage of each individual of the higher orders, in the prenatal condition, through the forms of the lower ranks in nature, in the process of production—while it certainly adds some support to the general hypothesis of the unity of life—fails in several important respects to supply decisive evidence; since in every known instance nature leaps over whole orders in the embryonic development of the mammalia, and proceeds with a firm hand to the evolution of the permanent type, while resisting the perpetuation of hybrids.

The general result, therefore, of recent investigations into the

origin of man is this. There are certain presumptions that under different terrestrial conditions the formative power which now produces animal life, and brings about marvellous changes of size, form, colour, and function *within the limits* of species, may have operated in former ages to the gradual or even saltatory development of really new species, and even of new genera, in an ascending series. And in the absence of distinct information to the contrary, we might conclude with precisely the same measure of inclination towards the opinion (an opinion which is not science) that mankind sprang from the Animal Races. But it is impossible to affirm that there is decisive evidence of such an origin. The geological record is distinctly in favour of the creation of groups by successive acts of divine power, or at least by successive acts of the plastic force of nature, whatever that may be. And hence the conclusion that man was created, as were the distinct species before him, is still at least as defensible as the opposite hypothesis. The Power which interposed at first to create germs may just as reasonably be believed to have interposed again and again, to create orders, genera, and species. The contest between the probabilities raised on one side by embryology and the observation of specific varieties, and the probabilities raised on the other by the contradictory evidence of the geological record, leave us at last uncertain as to the Whence and Whither of humanity. We require more light,—and above all a direct revelation from the Creator.*

The question of the *Antiquity of Man* is closely connected with that of his origin, and with that of the history of the globe. Apart from the statement of any supposed revelation, assuredly the last idea which would be suggested by the phenomena of the earth's surface, or the condition of man upon it, would be that Man saw

* As for Haeckel's theory of the spontaneous generation from material atoms of those original vital germs out of which the living world has grown, this is clearly as distinct a 'leap into the supernatural' as that of which he complains in the Theistic hypothesis,—with this difference, that the theory of God *will* account for the origin and development of life, but the theory of atomic generation will not. See Dr. Elam's important work, *Winds of Doctrine; or, Automatism and Evolution* (Smith, Elder, and Co., 1876); and Professor Carruthers on *Evolution in Plants* (*Contemporary Review*, 1877); in both of which a formidable scientific opposition is offered to certain hasty assumptions of the more advanced Evolutionists.

the light for the first time a few thousand years ago. All heathen who have speculated under natural conditions upon human life have assigned a vast if indefinite antiquity to the earth and its living races. And such undoubtedly would be, as Mr. McCausland argues, the conclusion derived both from the study of the recent relics of man found in the quaternary gravels, and from the ethnic variations of the human race itself as seen in the different countries of the world.

But here again we are met by opposing and counterbalancing evidence, which perplexes the judgment, and leaves the mind halting between two opinions. Vague at best are the inferences which can be derived from fossil geology as to the date of the production of successive species. It is as easy to speak of millions of years as of thousands, and as unsatisfactory as it is easy. There are clear indications of comparatively recent movements of the crust of the earth in certain portions, movements which, in conjunction with secular changes of temperature, may have initiated watershed conditions equal to the destruction of sedimentary strata of large extent in a comparatively small space of time. Nothing is more vaguely known than the age of gravels. That this was earlier and that later, may be safely declared; but when this river cut its bed through the sand and chalk of the Somme or of Southern Hampshire is more than the skilled geologist can tell. It may have been myriads of years ago, or it may have been in quite recent geological times.*

The question of the birth of humanity is entangled with these geological uncertainties.

* Dr. Dawson, of Montreal College, who enjoys a respectable European reputation as a geologist, thus writes of the Somme gravels: 'In 1865 I had an opportunity to examine the gravels of St. Acheul on the Somme, by some supposed to go back to a very ancient period. With the papers of Prestwich and other able observers in my hand, I could conclude merely that the undisturbed gravels were older than the Roman period; but how much older only detailed topographical surveys could prove; and that taking into account the probabilities of a different level of the land, a wooded condition of the country, a greater rainfall, and a glacial filling up of the Somme valley with clay and stones subsequently cut out by running waters, the gravels could scarcely be older than the Abbeville peat, less than 4000 years. Tylor and Andrews have subsequently shown that my impressions were correct.'—Journal of Geological Society, vol. xxv. Silliman's Journal, 1868.—*Story of the Earth and Man*, p. 294. 1873.

In recent years a large and cautious induction of phenomena seems to have satisfied many able inquirers of the existence of man upon the earth in an age when not a few now extinct species of animals were living. The revelations of Kent's Hole, near Torquay, where human utensils are found together with long extinct species, under twelve feet of stalagmite, upon which are piled fresh strata of earth and stalagmite, and then fresh relics of more recent races of men, are typical of numerous correlated facts brought to light in all parts of the world. It has seemed to follow that the men who fashioned the implements, found embedded in the same gravel or stalagmite or bone earth with the remains of cave-bears, hyænas, and tigers, lived at the same time when these predacious animals inhabited the north of Europe, a time when elephants, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami wandered through its forests and tenanted its rivers. How many ages ago was it when the diluvium of Abbeville, East Croydon, or Bournemouth was laid down, when the implements were deposited, which are not found only in the loam, nor in the brick earth of the surface, nor in the intermediate beds of clay, sand, and small flints, but, beneath all these, in the breccia, among the relics of species belonging to the epoch immediately preceding the cataclysm by which they were destroyed?—After all possible deductions made (1) on the hypothesis that the elevating and depressing forces were anciently more active than at present; that the action of water and subterranean fire was much more violent and efficacious than we see it now to be; and (2) on the further hypothesis that many of the extinct animals whose bones are found in conjunction with signs of human life may have lingered far into recent historic times—as in the example of the wild ox of the Roman period—there still remains a large and accumulating mass of seeming evidence, that the antiquity of man, or manlike beings, reaches far beyond the narrow limits of the popular biblical chronology, which begins only with yesterday.*

* For the opposite view, see Dawson's *Story of the Earth and Man*. Dr. Dawson is not satisfied even with the current geological conclusions respecting the valley of the Somme and the Acheul flint implements. He thinks there was probably a flood caused by sinking of the European surface then inhabited by men, at the close of the glacial period; a flood which brought clay and gravel into the Somme valley, afterwards excavated by a powerful

But here, as before, decisive evidence, under purely scientific conditions, of the unity and continuity of the human race, fails us at last. If the descent of man from the animals cannot be really established; if the descent even of one animal species from another cannot be thoroughly demonstrated; much less can the descent of modern humanity from the ancient types of the same genus be demonstrated by adequate proof. There may have existed on earth different contemporaneous or successive species of men, as of animals; whose terms of being may have been closed by a catastrophe, to make way for a new creation. Or there may have been one human race only, of immense antiquity, varied by time and circumstance into the successive families who lived at the close of the glacial epoch, and afterwards multiplied into the many coloured varieties of the whole earth in subsequent ages.* We seem to be gazing into a dim twilight where evidence on both sides of the problem may be gathered by a creative imagination in the gloom.

If now, from considering the physical structure of men and of animals, we turn to their mental differences, the probable argument for a separate origin and a direct creation of man, strengthens at every step in the inquiry. We find ourselves confronted with evidence which leads to conclusions directly contrary to those which on anatomical grounds favoured the hypothesis of descent from the simians. Mr. Tylor himself has shown in his work on *Primitive Culture*, that as far back as we can trace human history, and as accurately as we can estimate the working of thought among primitive races and savage men, there is evidence of an intellectual, moral, and religious nature in Man, which, under even the direst debasement, distinguishes him from the brutes by an enormous superiority of endowment. No evidence has ever yet been adduced of the existence of races of men past or present, living in an absolutely brutal or irrational condition. No races are anywhere to be found or heard of in a condition which is less remote from mere animal existence than it is from the highest

river from the south, within historic times. Nothing seems to rest on flimsier evidence than the doctrine of uniformitarian upheaval and depression. History gives us some assistance towards a definite recent chronology, but geology none whatever.

* See Professor Ansted, *Stray Chapters on Earth and Ocean*, p. 251.

human development of which we have as yet experience. No evidence has been found of any animal race rising above itself into a wholly different rank of intelligence, and therefore there is the utmost improbability, on psychological grounds, against the opinion of human evolution from the apes. But there seems also to be a difference in kind between the lowest races of men and the highest brutes, pointing to a difference of essential principle and therefore of origin in this 'quaternary mammal.' That difference has been described by Archbishop Whately in his brief treatise on *Instinct* in the following terms:—'Almost any animal which is capable of being tamed can, in some degree, use language as an indication of what passes within. But no animal uses language as an instrument of thought. Man makes use of general signs in the application of his power of abstraction, by which he is enabled to reason, and the use of arbitrary general signs, what logicians call "common terms," with a facility of thus using abstraction at pleasure, is a characteristic of man only.' A writer in the *Quarterly Review* has recently shown further that we may have, (1) animal sounds neither rational nor articulate, (2) sounds both articulate and rational, (3) sounds articulate but not rational, (4) sounds rational but not articulate. Now it is in Man's speech that we find the first proof of a difference in kind. It is not speech which has created man's perfect reason, it is reason which has created speech. The difference between vocal sounds capable of expressing general conceptions and abstract ideas, and vocal utterances which express sensations and emotions only, is a specific distinction. Therefore the most imperfect human languages offer to us an indication of a transition from irrational cries, while they differ from the highest speech only in degree.*

* The usual difference of opinion, however, attends an inquiry in this department also. Professor Whitney, in replying to Professor Max Müller's Lectures on Mr. Darwin's *Philosophy of Language*, finds that animals possess the germ of the generalizing power; that a dog recognizes a man 'in the abstract' before he recognizes the particular man; that there is no ground for doubting that speech and reason have been developed together: nor for doubting that both alike have been developed in untold ages from the animals who lived before us. See a paper by G. H. Darwin in *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1874. Professor Max Müller rejoins in the number for Jan. 1875.

A second evidence of man's specific difference from the animals is seen in the existence of his moral nature. When men assert that anything is *right* they mean to assert something different from its being pleasurable or advantageous. Even men who assert that the principle regulating human action should be the production of the greatest amount of pleasure to all sentient beings, must assert that there is either no *obligation* at all to accept this principle itself, or that such obligation is a moral one. It is needless to speak of the finer developments of morality in civilised lands. The present point of interest is that no nation or race has been found without some morality founded on a sense of right, and rendering them amenable to law or tribal custom. And this is again a peculiar characteristic of man.

Religion is a still more marked distinction of humanity. Its fundamental ideas and emotions spring from a development of thought of which animals are apparently incapable. And these ideas and emotions are found, in an elementary stage, even in the lowest types of superstition.

Lastly, the capacity for a boundless *progress* individually and socially distinguishes man from all the inferior races. There is surely some specific difference between those organisms which remain for ever at the same level of intelligence and that mind which observes and studies the phenomena of earth and heaven, and subdues the whole world to its designs.

Whether, therefore, we consider man's power of *Speech*, his *Moral* nature, his capacity for *Religion* and *Worship*, or his power of indefinite *Progression*, we are led to the same probable conclusion, on purely scientific grounds, that this creature—though often sunk into the darkest depths of barbarism, so as to approximate towards the animals in the methods and ends of life to a degree which almost abolishes the human sense of superiority to them—was a distinct creation of the Infinite Power, and has not simply grown out of the next order of *primates* beneath him by a natural evolution. A 'beast's heart' was not given to him at his origin.

It remains only in this chapter to advert to the evidence of the age and origin of human nature supplied by written or unwritten Tradition.

The distinctions between the variously coloured and figured races of men in Asia, Africa, and Europe were as deeply marked five thousand years ago as they are to-day, as may be seen in the wonderfully preserved monuments and wall-paintings of Egypt. It is natural to argue, with Professor Owen, that no brief interval of time such as that permitted by the biblical post-diluvian chronology would have sufficed to allow of variations so enormous as those which then already separated the black races of Africa from the yellow men of China, or the white-skinned men of northern Europe, or western Asia. In what remote ages began these variations? How many myriads of years sufficed for the establishment of differences in the bony structure of the skeleton itself, in the cerebral capacity, in the external contour of the frame, in the tint and texture of the hair, the aspect of the countenance, the conceptions of the mind, and the general colour and expression of the entire organism? How many millenniums sufficed to produce the differences in language which are fixed and decisive at the time when we first catch a glimpse of the early men? Apart from heaven-sent information, science will naturally infer, that if no causes were in operation different in force and in quality from those now acting, the ages required for producing these variations carry us back into an antiquity where darkness covers all things. The wildest dreams of Indian cosmogony on the long eras of past history correspond better with the facts, if the facts have all been gradually produced, than do the trifling allowance of Mosaic millenniums which can be counted on your fingers.

Yet here once more strangely conflicting evidence awaits us; —for the history of the human race, actually known, in no instance goes backward to a period much more ancient than may be reached by a liberal stretching of the biblical chronology. The authentic histories of China, of India, and of Egypt, the three most ancient and most civilised states of the earlier world, carry us back a few thousand years, and there either leave us to gaze into total darkness, or supplement the lack of reliable narration by a fancy-picture of gods and demons of whose existence there is no evidence whatever. Now if mankind has inhabited this planet during numerous ages, possessed of the properly human faculties of speech and progressive intellect, it seems strange and

almost incredible that no relics of the human population should be discovered answerable to so great a multitude and so prolonged a duration. The existing monuments of historic nations are certainly not ten thousand years old;—the earliest temples, pyramids, sepulchres, literary works, works of engineering art, are certainly of more recent origin. It is truly confounding to the judgment to learn that the only indications of the existence of innumerable men, or manlike beings, on earth in the quaternary ages are comprised in some flint implements for the destruction of wild beasts, and a questionable tooth, or skull, while there are no remains of dwellings, temples, or tombs of the palæolithic epoch. It seems wholly unaccountable that a strictly *rational* order of beings should have lived on the earth through perhaps 100,000 years since the glacial age, and have left no signs of their presence or of their works except a few hunting tools; while their supposed descendants, the races of China, India, and Egypt, when they first appear in history, stand forth in possession of the arts and sciences, at least in a germinant form, and already have established great and mighty monarchies. The facts of history are more consistent with the hypothesis of a recent origin of the present race of mankind; and the osteological character of the alluvial record offers a signal confirmation to it. For it is unquestionable that even if human races have existed for many thousands of years on the globe, they have at least left no permanent signs of their habitations or their tombs in those distant ages, and no tradition which throws even the faintest light upon their history. The traditions which have descended to us from the earliest times in all nations in most respects resemble those which have taken a prominent place in the literature of the world in the recent monuments of the Hebrews and Assyrians. All authentic history begins with a flood, while the ethnology of Western Asia and Africa fairly agrees with the narratives of Genesis. The story of the Ark, and of the Deluge, with the very names of the patriarchs of Noah's family and of his reputed descendants (as given in Genesis x.), are found in the ethnic and territorial names of widely separated historic lands, and so far yield confirmation to the Semitic tradition.

[The earlier illustration of this statement will be found in Bochart's *Phaleg*, in Bryant and Faber's works, on the *Origin*

of Pagan Idolatry, and the *Mysteries of the Cabiri*: in all of which some substantial truth was taught with old-fashioned and imperfect learning. But the complete evidence under modern treatment will be found in Smith's and Kitto's great Biblical Dictionaries, under the names of the Patriarchs referred to in Genesis x., and in the *Bampton Lectures* and *Five Great Monarchies* of Dr. Rawlinson; where the broader light of a new learning is thrown upon the first ten chapters of the Pentateuch, and their historical value asserted against the superficial, loose guesses of idle theorists. I have been informed by the eminent linguist and missionary Skrefsrüd that the ancient Santal traditions among the aboriginal Turanian mountaineers of Bengal agree in every respect with those of the Assyrians and Hebrews. Dr. Dawson, of Montreal College, a leading American geologist, goes so far as to suppose that the aqueous cataclysm which followed on the glacial period, and destroyed, by sinking of the earth's surface, so many animals whose relics are found in the quaternary gravels and in caverns, occurred as recently as historic times, and was in fact Noah's 'flood.']

Here therefore once more we are encountered and discouraged by evidence leading in opposite directions. There is a certain measure of anatomical and biological presumption inclining us to think, under unassisted study, that all life on the earth is one, and that as the animals may have descended from earlier organisms, so man may have descended from the later types. There is, however, stronger geological evidence of a negative character to throw the utmost doubt upon any positive theory of evolution, while the psychological evidence in favour of a distinct creation of man, on a higher level, is such as cannot be fairly overcome by the present resources of biology. Again, there is some seeming evidence of the antiquity of man in relics and implements found in conjunction with extinct animals of the quaternary age. But, on the other hand, there are no remains of the buildings, and, many leading authorities add, no unquestionable remains of the bony fabric of the men themselves, who are thus supposed to have lived through untold centuries in the possession at least of elementary reason and speech. And when we scrutinise the positive historic evidence, we discover that no human history, not even the faintest authentic tradition, carries us back in any part

of the world beyond the last few thousand years; while at the dawn of credible literature we find nations and kingdoms which offer to our study in their names and traditions a remarkable similarity to those of Moses and the Bible.

The sum of this argument is that by the unassisted light of science and history we are able to reach no coherent or satisfactory conclusion as to the origin of mankind, its relation to the animal races, or its future destiny. Lower thoughts on each of these topics are at once checked by higher, and higher thoughts and hopes are equally checked by arguments which, if gloomy, spring from evidence that seems secure. We hover in doubt after all our pains between two conclusions, and know not certainly whether our ancestry is from the perishable life of the globe, or directly from the hand of Heaven; whether our destiny is to return wholly to the dust, or to spend eternity with God. Our nature bears traces of a double alliance, with earth and with heaven; we 'know not what we shall be,' till we inquire at the oracle of Him that made us. The phenomena are such as well consist with the hypothesis of a nature whose destiny depends on its moral qualities, and, above all, a nature which has suffered under some deflection, which science may dimly divine without being able to elucidate or to remedy.

In following chapters I shall attempt the task of interpreting the only series of writings which bear marks of a truly divine original. In attaching importance to those writings as the records of a divine revelation the censure must be incurred of many who may have partially assented to the statements of the preceding pages. I shall offer no argument to such readers in support of faith in Revelation, except one, and that is the evidence of its heavenly character which may appear in the course of our comments on its facts and doctrines. The books which convey, in concurrence with the tradition of Christendom, so marvellous a revelation of Immortality to man through Union with God, carry with them an all-sufficing proof of their divine original. An effectual apology for the Scripture will be found in its right interpretation.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE NUMBERS AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITION OF MANKIND.

In a work of which the main object is an inquiry into the destiny of mankind it is proper to attempt at least some vague representation of the numbers of sentient beings who are concerned in the question of death or immortality. And this is the more fitting, since any consideration of their numbers at once draws attention to their condition in respect of barbarism or civilisation; with the advantages or disadvantages in religious training which have marked their earthly history. So feeble is the popular imagination that almost any device is excusable, however æsthetically unworthy, in the attempt to arouse a feeling of wonder at the stupendous facts of the world's population.

One of the most recent and carefully prepared estimates of the present population of the globe, published by Major Bell,* gives the following figures as an approximate view of their numbers, arranged under the head of 'Religions':—

Buddhists	483,000,000
Christians	353,000,000
Brahminists	120,000,000
Mohammedans	120,000,000
Parsees	1,000,000
Jews	8,000,000
Miscellaneous barbarians, fetish worshippers, and atheists	189,000,000
	1,274,000,000

giving a total of 921,000,000 non Christians, even by profession.

Out of these throngs let the population of modern India and its contiguous provinces be taken as an example. Under the

* *Other Countries.* Chapman and Hall.

last census the numbers are estimated to be two hundred and eighty millions. Now if this number of men, women, and children, composing the variously-tinted races of Hindostan and Burmah, could pass in single file before the presence of a person able to fix a transient gaze of one minute's duration (and a minute is not much to expend in thinking on an eternal destiny), sufficient to allow of the mind's forming a distinct idea, that in each instance a being having in prospect the alternative of death or an eternal life was present to his view, then if the stream should roll on night and day, and the observer continue his task of looking on each in turn without intermission until all had passed by, it would require five hundred and seventy years to bestow this momentary notice on all the people now living in our Eastern Empire. Or, if they were arranged in lines of thirty abreast, forming a column as broad as that which fills the nave of an ordinary church, with a yard between the ranks, then that column would extend, if marching towards us, from the extreme border of Affghanistan, all through the Turkish empire, and across the continent of Europe, to the Atlantic shore—5,300 miles. And this prodigious total of living beings represents but one fleeting generation of the inhabitants of a single country under heaven.

Starting with such an integer of thought it may be easier to imagine what is meant when statisticians speak of the present population of China as four hundred millions. We have but to increase by a third the breadth or the length of the supposed Indian column to form an idea of the army of yellow men, Confucianists, Buddhists, Laoutzeists, marching westward upon our borders, and then to conceive of the repetition of those enormous masses many times over in the past generations, diminishing the tale according to the due proportion for the remotest ages.

The mind is overpowered by even this first effort to imagine the multitudinous throngs of ignorant idolaters who, in their various races and nations, have peopled the eastern world. We attain only the image of a tide broad and deep of living waters flowing on perpetually for ages, whose drops are individual souls, passing away into the depths of oblivion.

A similar process of thought is required in application to the other habitable portions of the globe. 1. *Northern Asia.* On referring to the map it will be seen that all the great empires of

the earlier world lie below the 40th parallel of latitude. To the north of that parallel, however, and over the whole breadth of Asia, there are extended two vast chains of mountains, forming by their connecting ramifications a species of gigantic network, or as it were the skeleton on which the surface of the whole country is disposed, and to which it is attached. The first of these and the more northerly extends through the southern part of Siberia, and with many changes of name is styled in general the Altaic range. The other great range commences in Asia Minor as the Taurus; thence passes through Media, to the north of Hindostan, as the Himalayas; thence through Thibet, till it loses itself in Central China. The vast interval of territory, across which flow the rivers descending from these mountain ranges, is measured by thousands of miles, and consists of lofty mountain plains, the haunts of numberless eagles and vast battalions of nomadic birds.

These plains are on an average 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and have from the earliest ages been inhabited by tribes of pastoral and wandering barbarians, who have fed their flocks on the luxuriant herbage. They have been known in different eras and under different circumstances as Scythians, Huns, Tartars, Turcomans, Mongols, Kalmucks, and Mantchoos. These boundless tracts, exposed to an invigorating climate, have been studded in every age, not with cities and houses, but with the tents and encampments of migratory nations, often surrounded for leagues with their flocks and herds of cattle, horses, and camels, which constitute their wealth and supply nearly all their limited wants.

To form a conception of the numbers of mankind who have inhabited these upland mountain plains of the Asiatic continent during even the last 6,000 years would be difficult indeed. Professor Heeren and the Abbé Huc may aid the imagination. The perpetual plagues of Asia, of China, of India, of Persia, in their multitudinous armies they have kept up nearly ceaseless war with the more civilised south. Millions beyond computation have from time to time descended to conquer the fair provinces that lay below them. In vain did China rear her northern wall, in vain the Indian aborigines trust for protection to the Himalayas, in vain the Persian empire make head against their incursions, in vain the Greeks oppose the pitiless unceasing storm that beat upon them from the mountains. The Tartars and Turcomans,

and their more ancient congeners, have always proved the destroyers of Asiatic power, and their various races reign with more or less of independence at this very hour from Pekin to the Bosphorus. Empire after empire has fallen submerged beneath the deluges of savage force that broke age after age upon the south from these over-streaming fountains of barbaric life; and the population of Nothern Asia is greater to-day than when Zenghis Khan led the swarming clans to battle, or a hundred years later the victorious Tamerlane.

2. Next, let a moderately instructed reader, assisted by Mr. Layard and Mr. Palgrave, remember the names of Assyria, Persia and Arabia, and try to imagine how many millions of soldiers, similar to those sculptured in endless ranks upon the slabs of Nineveh, have lived, since the beginning, in those various empires. The more closely we fasten the mind upon a single populous territory, the deeper is the sense of incompetence even to imagine as a visual conception the mass of human beings who have tenanted it. What armies of ignorant fanatics have rolled forth age after age from ancient and modern Arabia alone! What a world of teeming life is suggested by even the merest shadowy outline of her history!

3. Turning to the history of the *Southern Oceanic hemisphere*, a new barbaric scene opens, in the hundred thousand isles and islets of the great Pacific Archipelago. It is but recently that the veil has been lifted from these populous regions. In the vast islands on the equator—Sumatra, Borneo, Java, the Celebes, Ceram, New Guinea—the population is of a mixed blood. The numerous isles that lie to the south, comprehended under the names of Polynesia and Australia, are peopled by two races of men. The one race is allied to the negro in possessing a Herculean frame, black skin, and crisped but not woolly hair, while the other race has skin of a light copper colour, and hair bright, lank, and glossy, the countenance resembling that of the Malay. These islands contain a population, the whole of which, until recent improvements under Christian civilisation, were in the proper sense of the word barbaric, and such they seem to have been from time immemorial. Everlasting and omnipresent war, carried on by savages who in infancy had been compelled to swallow stones in order to 'give them hearts of stone for battle,'—cannibalism, the

last brutal revenge against a fallen adversary,—infanticide so common that three mothers accidentally present at once confessed to the missionaries that between them they had slaughtered twenty-one children by burying them alive in the ground—so common that one chief at his conversion to Christianity exclaimed in agony that he had killed nearly twenty of his own—the degradation of women carried to an excess from which northern barbarism would have revolted—the immolation of wives at the funerals of their husbands, inhuman conduct to the sick and aged at which the hearer stands aghast with indignation—a habit of worshipping a set of gods, when they worshipped anything at all, the sight of which in our Museum moves horror, laughter, unspeakable contempt by turns—customs so filthy that the pen refuses to relate them—a taste so foul that a rat was a proverb among them for sweetness—an ignorance so profound that all manner of reading, writing, and arithmetic beyond the counting of a few digits, were beyond their comprehension—all these features combined to form as hideous a portrait of humanity as the globe could furnish. And it would be impossible to form even an approximate estimate of the number of millions upon millions who thus grew up in the Pacific Archipelago 'without God in the world,' and apparently for the most part fallen from His likeness.

4. Turning to *Europe*, we find that every step of progress made in prehistoric ethnology deepens the conviction that the earliest settlement of this continent is lost in the darkness of a remote antiquity; and some account of indefinite yet incalculable numbers must be taken in the general estimate for the clans and tribes and families who wandered or fixed their tents in the primeval forests. Arriving at historic times, there are distinct indications of a European population 2,000 years before Christ. At the Christian era, indeed, Europe still presented a far different scene to the eye of Tacitus from that which it offers in the present day. A gloomy 'black forest' extended through its centre, penetrated here and there by rivers, glades, and pathways. Immense tracts were damp and uninhabitable morasses, but free space was still afforded or created for a numerous population.

Travelling westward from the eastern centres, among the first, though not the earliest pioneers of humanity through these dread solitudes, seem to have been tribes who bore the general name of

Cymry, the most powerful branch of whom were the Keltæ, or Gauls, the ancestors of the Gaels, the Welsh, the Irish, and of all the European Gallic tribes of France, Spain, and Italy.

Following them after unknown intervals came the Gothic or Teutonic hosts who settled in northern and midland Europe.

Lastly came the Sclavonic or Sarmatian inundation, the ancestors of the Russians, Poles, and kindred nations.

Here, then, is another world of human beings extended over the whole breadth of a continent, and existing for ages and ages in a condition of comparative barbarism. Let any tolerably informed reader of the ancient history of Europe meditate on the names of Norway and Sweden, Ireland, Wales, England, France, Spain, Germany, Russia, Poland, and he will quickly perceive that another mass of barbaric life extended itself in many strata over these territories; and lasted for many centuries, in incalculable numbers, long before history began to take account of the deeds of individual men.

5. Add, now, to these reminiscences of the dim and remote past those approximate views of the number and condition of the human race in Europe which come with some adequate knowledge of the history of the ancient and modern civilised world. It will be necessary to repeat the imaginary operations before ventured upon for assisting the mind to bring into conception the facts of the Asiatic population. Let the student pronounce thoughtfully the names of the countries which border on the Mediterranean Sea, and which finally formed the stage of the Roman Empire, and strive at the same time to think of the ancient and modern populations of the shores of Western Asia, in Syria and Palestine; of Asia Minor in all its provinces and kingdoms; then, in Europe, of Greece in its wildest extension and complex development; of the countries south of the Danube, and north of the Alps; of Italy and its adjacent isles; of Switzerland, of France, of Spain and Portugal, and modern Germany; of England, and Denmark, and Sweden, and Russia. What imagination can picture the endless millions who have moved and lived and died over these countries during historic time? We reach after all efforts of imagination but a vague sense of watching the passage of a dense illimitable throng, that fills the wide area of vision as from a mountain-top, and slowly but steadily passes away, to give

place to fresh masses of living beings in the endless series—onward and onward travelling in their armies into the great darkness. And though we now behold a still mightier stream of European life moving before our eyes, we know that these millions form but a fractional representation of the majority who have preceded them. The mind is lost under an oppressive sense of the multitudes who fleet like shadows across the scene.

6. But the end is not yet. Another world opens before us in *Africa*, that fruitful mother of barbarians and slaves.

Africa is 5,000 miles in length, and nearly 4,600 miles in extreme breadth. Its present population is estimated at 100,000,000. In order to think correctly of the contributions of Africa to the general sum of the human race, it must be remembered that this continent was settled very early—that as far back as even the earliest twilight of authentic history reaches we find the valley of the Nile swarming with that ingenious and industrious nation whose sublime monuments remain amidst the wreck of ages to move the wonder of the latest generations. Consider the millions of Egypt from the time of its earliest settlement until now, under its ancient rulers and under its modern tyrants. Then extend the view from Nubia and Ethiopia and the eastern coast—to that populous northern range of maritime states settled by the ancient Sidonians, thickly peopled at least 2,000 years before Christ. The most ancient sepulchral pictures and records of Egypt represent Africa as densely inhabited by swarming nations, and the interior not less than the sea-coast. As soon as men could paint they painted the negroes of the interior, as distinct in their type and colour as they are to-day: thus leading us to think of ages preceding during which those types were forming. It is manifestly idle to attempt an estimate in millions of those hosts of the African continent in old times. All that we know for certain is that they exceeded computation. The more recent history of the continent in Roman and in modern times, from the days of Hannibal and Masinissa down to the latest discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley, must be considered in any attempt to imagine the stupendous total of African population in the northern half of its extent.

There will then still remain to claim some notice the black world of southern barbarism, only in the present century made

known to Europeans. Descending from the outlaws of the northern kingdoms, or from the slave-dealing nations of the interior, or mingled with immigrants from Insular Asia, the whole south is alive with tribes whose origin is lost in a dim antiquity. Bamanquatos, Bakones, Bakuenas, Baphiris, Bamagala-silas, Banaug-ketsies, Bakous, Kalagares, Barolongs, Matabeles, Zulus, Basutos, Bechuanas, Namaquas, Tambookies, Hottentots,—such are some of the strange titles of these now improving nations, whose forefathers divided the wilderness with the elephant, the tiger, the lion, and the rhinoceros, during untold ages. It is only when the mind is directed to the close study of some particular tribe of men that it awakes to a due sense of the numbers of human beings who are designated, from century to century, by a single tribal appellation. And it is when the student descends to a careful examination of the works of travellers and missionaries that he forms an adequate conception of the vile degradation of mankind, or learns how much lower than the animals, in many of the habits of life, humanity has sunk, over a large proportion of the territories of the earth.

7. It remains now to close this rapid survey, designed to awaken thought rather than to satisfy it, by pointing to the broad expanse of the two Americas. The result of recent research and discovery is to render it certain that these two vast worlds of life have been tenanted from remote times by an enormous population. The reader will find the evidence of this for South America in the well-known works of Mr. Prescott, and for North America in those of Mr. Bancroft. This population has included mighty civilised nations such as the Mexicans and Peruvians, and tribes of Amazonian clay-eaters, as described by Humboldt, sunk as low in imbecility as man can sink when overpowered by the forces of nature, or his own vices. Over the north have swarmed the innumerable myriads of the Red Men from times now lost in a dim antiquity. At the rediscovery of North America by Europeans eight principal languages covered it, spoken by a wide variety of tribes. The first language was the Algonquin, spoken by about twenty nations, of whom the chief were the Delawares, Illinois, and Chippeways or Ojibbeways. The second was that of the Dahcottas. The third was that of the Hurons and Iroquois, including the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Eries. The fourth was

that of the Catawbas. The fifth was that of the Cherokees. The sixth was that of the Uchees. The seventh was that of the Natchez. The eighth was that of the Chocktaws, including the Chiccasaws and the Muskogees.

Let the reader reflect upon the meaning of this statement, and try to imagine, however vaguely, the swarms of men who in successive centuries spoke any one of these dialects—and even though the enormous woods of America were inhabited but by vagrant tribes, it will be speedily acknowledged that here again was a 'multitude that no man can number.'

But indeed every branch of historical study awakes a fresh sense of the multitudinousness of men in the ages departed. The simple names and habitats of families and clans who have left some trace behind them would fill volumes, and the longer we look at the past the more overwhelming becomes the view of the throngs who have laboured, and loved, and warred, and sinned, and wrought righteousness upon the various zones of this planet. Language breaks down into idle expressions of wonder at the thought of all the tribes of the earth who are gone; for even a single specimen of each smaller company, gathered into one contemporaneous crowd, would leave us still astounded at the spectacle of a multitude which defied computation, and exceeded the utmost stretch of individual vision.

And it is of these unimaginable pagan multitudes of Asia, Africa, Europe, America, and the Oceanic Archipelagoes, that the question is asked, Whence? and Whither?

The established doctrine of European Christianity respecting them we shall attempt to describe in the next chapter. It is true that moral and religious doctrines cannot be decided exclusively by the numbers of the persons affected by them; yet even Divine Justice itself may in the matter of eternal judgment be presumed to take into account the numerical strength of the population which, like that of Nineveh, 'knows not its right hand from its left.' And it is a very idle affectation of stoicism which would wholly exclude the view of the numbers of the victims of any overwhelming calamity, or the hereditary ignorance or weakness which rendered them so easily its prey.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORTHODOX DOCTRINE ON THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MANKIND.

The term 'orthodox' is employed in this connection as the most convenient mode of designating the doctrine which has prevailed in Christendom both most widely and most durably; for, although the Roman, Greek, and Protestant Churches have differed exceedingly on other questions of interpretation, there has existed a singular unanimity between them as to the facts and general principles which underlie what is held to be a correct view of the condition and destiny of mankind.

The Reformation attempted no modification whatever of the basis of theology in respect of the doctrine of the Fall of Man, and its consequences to the human race. The dissident Protestant sects during all their earlier history stood fast on the old ways, and reiterated the principles which have prevailed in the Church—at least since the age of Augustine. It is in the writings of Augustine that the first full and complete development of this system of ideas respecting God's dealings with men is to be found. There is nothing entirely resembling it either in the New Testament or in the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

The central thought of this doctrine springs from a belief, in which we sympathise, in the historical truth of the narrative of the trial and sin of Adam and Eve in the book of Genesis; but it branches out into several subordinate doctrines of vast extent and importance, not so plainly contained in that narrative.

It has been held, with the nearly unanimous consent of the ancient theological authorities, and has been embodied as an article of faith in the judgment of the Church, that Adam the ancestor of mankind was created at first under a complex con-

stitution; endued with a body that could die, which, however, served but as the shrine and tabernacle of a soul that should never die; this immortality of the soul depending ultimately on the will of God.

It has been held that the *death* threatened to Adam in case of transgression is to be understood in several distinct senses, according to the part of his complex nature which was affected by the judgment of God, and the relations to time or eternity borne by the different portions of the punishment. With nearly absolute unanimity it has been held by all the great historical Churches that when Adam sinned the sentence of death took effect upon his body, by ensuring the physical dissolution of his animal structure. This is technically called *temporal death.* Next, it is held that as soon as he sinned his soul was separated morally from God, and, since God is the fountain of 'spiritual life,' that apostate condition of Adam's soul is described in sacred language as *spiritual death*—a description which is considered to be authorised by the Apostle Paul when he speaks of sinners being 'dead in trespasses and sins' (Eph. ii. 1). And, lastly, it is held that when this life ended, and the naturally never-dying soul went forth into the unseen world of judgment, it was doomed to enter upon a prospect of everlasting suffering in hell, which is termed *eternal death.*

It has been for ages the fundamental doctrine of Christian theology in Europe that in the original trial of Man in Paradise Adam was thus threatened with *temporal*, *spiritual*, and *eternal* death, this last sense of the term standing for everlasting damnation, or *conscious punishment throughout the future eternity.* Whether Adam as an individual person actually will undergo this triple condemnation is a wholly different question. But, as a representative man, there is a wonderful concurrence of divines that by his sin he incurred this appalling complex doom.

The Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines of Westminster, representing the best thought in theology up to that time, only confirms the general judgment of Roman and Protestant Christendom when it declares, in the sixth paragraph of its sixth chapter, under the title of 'The Fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof'—that 'every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and

contrary thereto, doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, and so made subject to DEATH, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.'

This, however, is but the beginning of sorrows. For the next universally received doctrine of the orthodox Church was, and is, that this direful destiny descended by inheritance from Adam upon the whole human race, so that every fallen human being, under the 'covenant of works,' is born, 1, liable to *temporal* death; 2, under the curse of *spiritual* death; and, 3, certain to endure the woe of death *eternal*, or endless misery. It is held that this is the doom under which every human infant is conceived and born into the world (thrice happy the unborn!): so that endless misery is its destiny by the law, as the natural result of its descent from Adam, and before it has 'done good or evil.'

The Protestant Articles of Religion, framed herein on the lines of the ancient Church, expressly repudiate the idea that the curse of 'eternal death' comes upon men only in consequence of personal active *imitation* of the sin of Adam.

It is declared to be a congenital inheritance. Adam by his sin incurred eternal damnation in hell in the sense of endless misery; and this is the curse which has descended as an heirloom on his infant posterity. Let us hear the Church of England in her IXth Article, '*Of Original or Birth Sin.*'

'Original Sin standeth not in the *following* of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk); but it is the fault and corruption of the *Nature* of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness (*quam longissime*), and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; *and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation;*' by which the authors of the Article intended endless misery.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines in the sixth chapter of its Confession is even more explicit.

'Our first parents being the root of all mankind, the guilt of their sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation.

'From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions.'

Then follows the fore-cited sentence. 'Every sin, *both original* and actual, doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.'

It thus appears to be unquestionably the orthodox faith of Christendom that, *before they have done good or evil*, all mankind are born liable to eternal misery through original sin, and that the development of their corrupt nature, whereby they are made 'opposite to all good,' can only aggravate an eternal destiny to suffering already incurred through the transgression of Adam.

The Augustinian divines of the Church of Rome, no small portion of the whole body, and the Calvinistic divines of the Protestant Churches, add to these terrible conclusions the further doctrine of *predestination* to damnation. The Assembly of Divines (setting forth the present accredited faith of the Church of Scotland) explicitly teach in their third chapter—that 'By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.' And of the non-elect they say, 'The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth, for the glory of His sovereign power over His creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.'

Since, however, these formidable super-additions are held by but a portion of orthodox Christendom, it is better to leave them out of present view. The statements in which the orthodox Churches are agreed suffice for the present purpose. The sum of the whole is, that mankind is born in a state of everlasting damnation, under a curse of Death, which is to be taken in the three senses, of bodily decease, moral apostasy, and everlasting misery. And from this doom there is no escape except by the grace of God in regeneration. 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' All the unregenerate portion of mankind is destined to suffer in 'everlasting fire.'

There can be no question that these are the views under which the historical Churches of Christendom have contemplated the condition and destiny of the human race, and under which they have sought to apply the remedy in missionary enterprise and benevolence. In his letters from India, Xavier speaks only the uniform sense of his Church when he describes the destiny of the unbaptised millions around him as involving the prospect of eternal torment, and maintains that the unevangelised millions of previous ages had descended to that irrevocable doom. In a letter of S. Francis Xavier, written in 1552 (edited in 1873 by Rev. E. Coleridge, of the Society of Jesus), he says, 'One of the things that most of all pains and torments these Japanese is that we teach them that the prison of Hell is irrevocably shut—so that there is no egress therefrom. For they grieve over the fate of their departed children, of their parents and relatives—and they often show their grief by their tears. So they ask us if there is any hope—any way to free them by prayer from that eternal misery, and I am obliged to answer that there is absolutely none. Their grief at this affects and torments them wonderfully—they almost pine away with sorrow. But there is this good thing about their trouble—it makes one hope that they will all be the more laborious for their own salvation, lest they, like their forefathers, should be condemned to everlasting punishment.' 'They often ask if God cannot take their fathers out of hell, and why their punishment must never have an end. We gave them a satisfactory answer; but they did not cease to grieve over the misfortunes of their relatives,—and I can hardly restrain my tears sometimes at seeing men so dear to my heart suffer such intense pain about a thing which is already done with, and can never be undone.'

Not so logically or consistently have some Protestant divines of recent time sought to mitigate the terribleness of the prospect by tampering arbitrarily with the interpretation of the threatening of Death, on which hangs the system of Augustinian theology. Dr. Payne of Exeter (Congregational Lecturer on *Original Sin*) speaks indeed the general sense of English theologians of the latter portion of this age when he attempts to discriminate between the various senses of this threatening, and to direct their incidence more mercifully than has been the ancient wont

of the Churches: but in so doing he opens the door to the entrance of a principle of interpretation which will inevitably destroy both his own doctrine and the elder scheme of doctrine which he assails.

Smitten to the heart by the terrific dogma of the descent of the curse of eternal death, in the sense of endless suffering, upon the infant posterity of Adam, these 'merciful doctors' have insisted upon a limitation of the signification of this curse as respects the personally guiltless. The old Roman divines had found in S. Paul's argument addressed to their own Church (Rom. v. 12) decisive evidence that the Death which 'entered by one offence,' or 'the offence of one,' '*passed upon all men*,' without any limitation, 'even,' as S. Paul declares specially, 'upon them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.' Whatever reason, therefore, there was for understanding this threat in the triple sense, so as to include eternal misery for Adam himself (a point of belief on which no one seems to have entertained a doubt), there was exactly the same reason for believing that it descended in its direful integrity upon all his posterity. The case of infants might be indeed fearful, but there was no loophole of escape for them from the system which embraced in its iron grip the whole race of man. To insinuate that for them the 'eternal death' formed no part of the inherited curse was to break up the foundation of faith in redemption, and in the descent of original sin. Accordingly this position was maintained with the utmost firmness by all the Roman theologians, and not less by the Reformers. Augustine had set the example of such firmness. 'It may, therefore, be rightly said (says he) that little ones dying without baptism will be in the mildest damnation of all (in damnatione mitissimâ). Yet he greatly deceives and is deceived who preaches that they will *not* be in damnation: since the apostle says, Judgment was by one to condemnation.' (Multum autem fallit et fallitur, qui eos in damnatione predicat non futuros.—Opp. vii. p. 142.)

But that which they dreaded, as fatal to systematic divinity, has been asserted by our English and American divines of recent times. These affirm, apparently without any evidence, except that derived from their own sense of moral fitness, that although the death threatened to Adam himself included the

threefold curse with eternal misery, the curse as it descended on the posterity dropt its most fearful signification, and came upon the human race in its birth only as a twofold doom, as temporal death, and an inherited corruption of their nature which is termed 'death spiritual.' Thus, it is supposed, all mankind are born, not under sentence of eternal misery for Adam's sin, but only under a corrupt constitution of nature, by which, when they come to years, they will incur that sentence by their own transgressions.*

There is no doubt that this mode of treatment of the language of Scripture offers an immense alleviation. We learn no longer to look upon the countenance of a child, with all our orthodox progenitors, as on a wretched being under sentence of eternal misery for the offence of a distant ancestor. Some would even encourage us to regard the new-born child as born under Redemption, and by its birth into a world where Christ has died, entitled thereby to regenerating grace and everlasting glory. But this is an extreme view towards which few incline.

The chief objection to this brighter representation of the results of the Fall of Man on the prospects of Mankind is that it proceeds on a method of interpretation fatal to the whole fabric of theology which it seeks to uphold.

If, from regard to our supposed sense of right, we operate upon the term death which describes in apostolic language the curse which has 'passed upon' mankind (Rom. v. 12)—if by an *ipse dixit* the enlightened Protestant expositor may sweep away at one stroke of his pen the whole tremendous prospect of ever-

* Mr. Peill, an able representative of this opinion, says, 'Thus it is evident from Scripture itself that the second death [or eternal misery] is not included in the penalty threatened against Adam, which began to take effect the day that he sinned. The second death comes only through personal unbelief, and not as the necessary result of the conduct of another. Reason and Scripture are both at variance with the doctrine that eternal death was included in the punishment incurred by Adam's transgression. Reason declares it unjust that one man's eternal destiny should be determined for him by the act of another. Such a view outrages man's moral sense, conflicts with his personal responsibility, and is utterly incompatible with the equitable character of his present trial and its issues.'—*Man's Immortality Proved*, p. 38.

Mr. Peill, therefore, will doubtless offer no objection to the use of our 'reason' and 'moral sense' in still further discriminating the meaning of the threatening of *death* contained in the Scriptural account of the fall of Adam.

lasting misery from before the world of Adam-born *children*—what is to hinder, asks the more consistent Roman theologian the sweeping away of that third sense of death—or eternal misery in its supposed application to Adam himself, and all other persons affected by his behaviour? A precedent in interpretation is established which will certainly be acted upon in a larger signification. The difficulty is already great of teaching that the 'death' of the body, in the death threatened to Adam, signified its dissolution, while in the 'Second Death' the same term, even in reference to the body, is taken for endless misery. But how much greater the difficulty of maintaining that the original curse was designed to convey the meaning of eternal suffering, if at the first occurrence of an objection, occasioned only by our tender compassion for infants, it is held that the word must be stripped of its infinite meaning in its application to them.

The Augustinian system is best defended in its integrity. Take away one of its fundamental definitions, and it falls to the ground. The recent Protestant glosses breathe a compassionate leniency, but they endanger far more than they defend. Augustine and Calvin were solid logicians, and may be trusted in their estimate of what is necessary to the coherency of their theological system.

We return, therefore, to the ancient doctrine, which is that the whole multitudinous human race, either through an hereditary curse, or through a transmitted corruption of nature which leads to an ungodly life, is, and has always been, in danger of a Hell never-ending; from which danger it is delivered only by a remedy, so far as the present world is concerned, apparently of most limited application.

'Broad is the road that leadeth to Destruction, and many there be that go in thereat.' If the word *destruction* is rightly taken for the idea of endless misery, the force of Christ's words agrees with the general and ancient sense of Christendom, that the majority of mankind have in all ages gone forward to endure an eternity of woe.

That such 'woe' will be proportioned to the deserts of the offenders no believer in Divine Justice, not even S. Augustine, can for one moment have doubted or denied. The extreme

ignorance of multitudes of wicked men may be regarded with comparative lenity. On the other hand, the offences of the most guilty, because the best informed, would with equal justice be followed by far more awful inflictions. Let us, therefore, now attempt to arouse the reader's mind to consider what it is which Christendom professes in its standards to believe, whether in the case of those most lightly punished, or of those on whom will descend the heavier dooms. The main force of the orthodox doctrine on the effects of the Fall on the condition of mankind lies in the eternity of those effects. Sin brings Death as its wages; and Death signifies *eternal misery.* It must be, then, a wholesome exercise to strive to realise the prospect. Every divine truth seems to be more true the more we dwell upon it and consider it. Truth unveils itself in its evidence and completeness to those who impartially endeavour to apprehend its bearings. God the Lord also is best known by His works; and if the issue of human life in its overwhelming numbers will be to fix, whether a majority, as most suppose, or a minority, as some few affirm, in an unchangeable state of torment, or misery, or even of darkness and sorrow, it must serve the interests of truth and righteousness, and of theology itself, to follow in the path of the poets and divines who have taught us how to meditate, first of all on future suffering, and, secondly, upon that everlastingness which is the measure of its duration.

The writers who have of late years come forward to maintain the orthodox doctrine agree in their general conclusion. Let us seriously endeavour to understand what that conclusion is.

It is—that, notwithstanding denial, there is compelling reason to believe that all who die unforgiven shall *suffer—for ever and ever—in hell.* Words easily spoken and written, but which reveal their meaning, or rather a glimmer of their meaning, only to those who set themselves steadily to the task of realising the doctrine. The significance of words is limited also by men's experience, most persons being deficient in the power of vigorously conceiving of either suffering or duration. Those who have endured severe chronic pain for several decades of years, and those who have been visited by the more dreadful forms of mental anguish, are likely to attach a deeper meaning to such a phrase as 'endless misery' than men whose strong

health, or unchequered history, or unimaginative natures have concealed from them the more woful experiences of life. The generality of teachers who insist upon a literal eternity of pain seem to have little capacity for picturing to themselves what their doctrine portends. On some it seems to exert a hardening influence. They speak with something like contempt of a 'sensational recoil' from the idea of endless torment—as if there were nothing in it that ought to cause any difficulty to a devout, considering man. They evince no need of those alleviations by which gentler spirits seek to shade their eyes from the blinding prospect.* The believers in that prospect, indeed, are not agreed upon the degree or kind of suffering which is revealed as eternal; and those who anticipate the deepest horrors might seem, as is natural, to stagger at them less than those who believe in lighter inflictions.

Unwillingly I add a few specimens of the mode of presenting the supposed threatenings of Revelation from approved divines. That holy man, President Jonathan Edwards, says:—

'Here all judges have a mixture of mercy, but the wrath of God will be poured out upon the wicked without mixture, and vengeance will have its full weight. We can conceive but little of the matter. We cannot conceive what the sinking of the soul in such a case is. But to help your conception, imagine yourself to be cast into a fiery oven, all of a glowing heat, or into the midst of a glowing brick-kiln, or of a great furnace, where your pain would be as much greater than that occasioned by accidentally touching a coal of fire as the heat is greater; and imagine also that your body were to lie there for a quarter of an hour, full of fire, as full within and without as a bright coal fire, all the while full of quick sense: what horror would you feel at the entrance of such a furnace! Oh, then, how would your heart sink, if you thought, if you knew, that you must bear it for ever and ever! that there would be no end! that after millions and millions of ages your torment would be no nearer to an end than ever it was! and that you never, never

* 'Popular conceptions are taken largely from the imagery of Scripture, and from lurid sketches drawn by Dante and the poets. Hence men have come to speak of the lost as in flames. What if much of this teaching is a mistake? The fire that is never quenched may be the burning eagerness with which they cherish perverse desires, an eagerness that blights and blasts everything generous, as it has long since blasted everything holy. There are no doubt positive punishments as there are positive rewards; but the descriptions of each are *largely figurative*—"pearly gates," "golden streets," "flaming fire," "ascending smoke." Here again there is some relief."—DR. ANGUS on *Future Punishment*.

should be delivered! But your torment in hell will be immensely greater than this illustration represents.'—Vol. iii., p. 260.

Mr. Spurgeon, whose opinions represent in the most vigorous form, and with striking sincerity, the theology of the middle and lower classes of England, does not hesitate to hold before his hearers a prospect of *endless* physical agony :—

'Only conceive that poor wretch in the flames, who is saying, "O for one drop of water to cool my parched tongue!" See how his tongue hangs from between his blistered lips! How it excoriates and burns the roof of his mouth as if it were a firebrand! Behold him crying for a drop of water. I will not picture the scene. Suffice it for me to close up by saying, that the hell of hells will be to thee, poor sinner, the thought that it is to be for ever. Thou wilt look up there on the throne of God,—and on it shall be written, "For ever!" When the damned jingle the burning irons of their torments, they shall say "For ever!" When they howl, echo cries, "For ever!"

'"For ever" is written on their racks,
"For ever" on their chains;
"For ever" burneth in the fire,
"For ever" ever reigns.'

Doleful thought! "If I could but get out, then I should be happy." "If there were a hope of deliverance, then I might be peaceful; but here I am for ever!" Sirs! if ye would escape eternal torments, if ye would be found amongst the number of the blessed, the road to heaven can only be found by prayer,' etc.—*Sermon preached in* 1855.

It may be objected that this sermon was preached twenty years ago; but only three years since Mr. Spurgeon declared his adhesion to the former style of discourse on future punishment in these words :—

"We are sometimes accused, my brethren, of using language too harsh, too ghastly, too alarming, with regard to the world to come; *but we shall not soon change our note;* for we solemnly believe that if we could speak thunderbolts, and our every look were a lightning flash, and if our eyes dropped blood instead of tears, no tones, words, gestures, or similitudes of dread could exaggerate the awful condition of a soul which has refused the gospel and is delivered over to justice.'—*Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit* (revised and corrected), p. 186.

A still more graphic style of representation is common among Roman Catholic preachers. Those who believe in the beneficial effect of pictorial horrors on young and ignorant people might take a lesson from the religious manuals of the Roman priests. Mr. Lecky quotes the following, in his *History of European*

Morals, from a Tract 'for children and young persons,' called *The Sight of Hell*, by Rev. J. Furniss; published 'permissu superiorum,' by Duffy (London and Dublin). It is a detailed description of the dungeons of hell:—

'See on the middle of that red-hot floor stands a girl: she looks about sixteen years old. Her feet are bare. Listen; she speaks. "I have been standing on this red-hot floor for years! Look at my burnt and bleeding feet! Let me go off this burning floor for one moment!" The fifth dungeon is the red-hot oven. The little child is in the red-hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out; see how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet on the floor. *God was very good* to this little child. Very likely God saw it would get worse and worse, and would never repent, and so it would have to be punished *more* severely in hell. So God in His mercy called it out of the world in early childhood.'

All this, says Mr. Furniss, is to last *for ever.*

Such representations would, however, be severely reprehended by the majority of educated orthodox preachers in our own time. To them the eternal hell is of a more spiritual character; but it is still eternal, its *pains* are to endure as long as the Nature which is unchangeable and divine.

For in addition to these inflictions, whether literal or largely figurative, our divines believe in a spiritual misery of lost souls, which is not figurative, but will consist partly in their remorse for the sins of time, and partly in the fact that, being immortal, they are condemned to sin, and to suffer for fresh sins, throughout ETERNITY.—But who knows what that means? The duration which is immeasurable! It signifies that all the arithmetical power in the creation, after labouring for millions of years to invent numerical methods of expressing enormous successions of time, would thereby succeed in reaching in imagination only the beginning—the threshold—the earlier moments, of that unsearchable futurity which is the lifetime of the SELF-EXISTENT BEING,—and, it is said, the lifetime of the condemned. It means that beyond all such imagined epochs, counted out by human or angelic faculty, there will extend an infinite prospect of misery for sinful beings, in graduated but *everlasting pain.*

I shall offer some reflections on these beliefs of various types in the language of the late Mr. Foster, author of Essays on

Decision of Character, contained in a memorable letter to the writer, in the year 1841.*

'Nevertheless,' says Mr. Foster, 'I acknowledge myself *not* convinced of the orthodox doctrine. If asked, *why* not?—I should have little to say in the way of criticism, of implications found or sought in what may be called incidental expressions of Scripture, or of the passages dubiously cited in favour of final, universal restitution. It is the moral argument, as it may be named, that presses irresistibly on my mind—that which comes in the stupendous idea of eternity.

'It appears to me that the teachers and believers of the orthodox doctrine hardly ever make an earnest, strenuous effort to form a conception of eternity; or rather a conception somewhat of the nature of a faint incipient approximation. Because it is confessedly beyond the compass of thought, it is suffered to go without an attempt at thinking of it. They utter the term in the easy currency of language; have a vague and transitory idea of something obscurely vast, and do not labour to place and detain the mind in intense protracted contemplation, seeking all expedients for expanding and aggravating the awful import of such a word. Though every mode of illustration is feeble and impotent, one would surely think there would be an insuppressible impulse to send forth the thoughts to the utmost possible reach into the immensity—when it is an immensity into which our own most essential interests are infinitely extended. Truly it *is* very strange that even religious minds can keep so quietly aloof from the amazing, the overwhelming contemplation of what they have the destiny and the near prospect of entering upon.

'Expedients of illustration of what eternity is *not*, supply the best attainable means of assisting remotely toward a glimmering apprehension of what it is. All that is within human capacity is to imagine the vastest measures of *time*, and to look to the termination of these as only touching the mere commencement of eternity.

'For example:—It has been suggested to imagine the number of particles, atoms, contained in this globe, and suppose them one by one annihilated, each in a thousand years, till all were gone; but just as well say, a million, or a million of millions of years or ages, it is all the same, as against infinite duration.

'Extend the thought of such a process to our whole mundane system, and finally to the whole material universe: it is still the same. Or, imagine a series of numerical figures, in close order, extended to a line of such a length that it would encircle the globe, like the equator—or that would run along with the earth's orbit round the sun—or with the outermost planet, Uranus—or that would draw a circle of which the radius should be from the earth or sun to Sirius—or that should encompass the entire material universe, which, as being material, cannot be infinite. The most stupendous of these measures

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* Reprinted at length in the *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*, vol. i.

of time would have an end; and would, when completed, be still *nothing to eternity*.

'Now think of an infliction of misery protracted through such a period, and at the end of it being only *commencing*,—not one smallest step nearer a conclusion:—the case just the same if that sum of figures were multiplied by itself. And then think of *Man*—his nature, his situation, the circumstances of his brief sojourn and trial on earth. Far be it from us to make light of the demerit of sin, and to remonstrate with the Supreme Judge against a severe chastisement, of whatever moral nature we may regard the infliction to be. But still, what is man?—He comes into the world with a nature fatally corrupt, and powerfully tending to actual evil. He comes among a crowd of temptations adapted to his innate evil propensities. He grows up (incomparably the greater proportion of the race) in great ignorance; his judgment weak; and under numberless beguilements into error; while his passions and appetites are strong; his conscience unequally matched against their power;—in the majority of men, but feebly and rudely constituted. The influence of whatever good instructions he may receive is counteracted by a combination of opposite influences almost constantly acting on him. He is essentially and inevitably unapt to be powerfully acted on by what is invisible and future. In addition to all which, there is the intervention and activity of the great tempter and destroyer.

'I acknowledge my inability (I would say it reverently) to admit this belief, together with a belief in the Divine Goodness—the belief that "God is love," that His tender mercies are over all His works. Goodness, benevolence, charity, as ascribed in supreme perfection to Him, cannot mean a quality foreign to all human conceptions of goodness; it must be something analogous in principle to what Himself has defined and required as goodness in His moral creatures, that, in adoring the Divine Goodness, we may not be worshipping an "unknown God." But if so, how would all our ideas be confounded, while contemplating Him bringing, of His own Sovereign will, a race of creatures into existence, in such a condition that they will and must,—*must*, by their nature and circumstances, go wrong and be miserable, unless prevented by especial grace,—which is the privilege of only a small proportion of them, and, at the same time, affixing on their delinquency a doom, of which it is infinitely beyond the highest archangel's faculty to apprehend a thousandth part of the horror.

'Can we,—I would say with reverence—can we realise it as possible that a lost soul, after countless millions of ages, and in prospect of an interminable succession of such enormous periods, can be made to have the conviction, absolute and perfect, that all this is a just, an equitable infliction, and from a power as *good* as He is just, for a few short sinful years on earth—years and sins presumed to be retained most vividly in memory, and everlastingly growing clearer, vaster, and more terrible to retrospective view in their magnitude of infinite evil—every stupendous period of duration, by which they have actually been left at a distance, seeming to bring them, in contrariety to all laws of memory, nearer and ever nearer to view, by the continually aggravated experience of their consequences?

'Yes, those twenty, forty, seventy years, growing up to infinity of horror, in the review, in proportion to the distance which the condemned spirit recedes from them; all eternity not sufficing to reveal fully what those years contained!—millions of ages for each single evil thought or word.

'But it is usually alleged that there will be an endless *continuance* of sinning, with probably an endless aggravation, and *therefore* the punishment must be endless. Is not this like an admission of disproportion between the punishment and the *original cause* of its infliction?—But suppose the case to be so—that is to say, that the punishment is not a retribution *simply* for the guilt of the momentary existence on earth, but a continued punishment of the continued, ever-aggravated guilt in the eternal state; the allegation is of no avail in vindication of the doctrine; because the first consignment to the dreadful state *necessitates a continuance of the criminality;* the doctrine teaching that it is of the essence, and is an awful aggravation, of the original consignment, that it dooms the condemned to maintain the criminal spirit unchanged for ever. The doom to *sin* as well as suffer, and, according to the argument, to sin in *order* to suffer, is afflicted as the punishment of the sin committed in the moral state. Virtually, therefore, the eternal punishment is the punishment of the sins of time.

'Under the light (or the darkness) of this doctrine, how inconceivably mysterious and awful is the aspect of the whole economy of this human world! The immensely greater number of the race hitherto, through all ages and regions, passing a short life under no illuminating, transforming influence of their Creator; ninety-nine in a hundred of them perhaps having never even received any authenticated message from Heaven; passing off the world in a state unfit for a spiritual, heavenly, and happy kingdom elsewhere; and all destined to everlasting misery.—The thoughtful spirit has a question silently suggested to it of far more emphatic import than that of him who exclaimed, "Hast thou made all men *in vain?*"'

It was the absorbing meditation on such conclusions as these in early days which created in the writer the life-lasting purpose of at least striving to enforce them on his fellow-beings, if truths they were; or of shaking their pernicious hold on the public mind if one could solidly learn that they were delusions. It is a question in which all that is of profoundest import in the definition of the Divine Attributes of Justice and Goodness is concerned,—which touches more deeply than any other the springs of faith and unbelief,—and which clearly has bearings of the utmost moment on the whole system of human thought respecting both this world and the world to come.

If these things plainly are indeed as described by theologians, it is as wicked as useless to palter with the evidence, or to conceal it from the world; and it is nothing better than cruelty to talk of

alleviating the prospect. If it be true, let the truth be spoken, and let men recognise the facts of their existence on earth and beyond. Truth needs no alleviations.

But, at all events, these things ought not to be believed except on decisive evidence, for a mistake either way will exert a prodigious influence on the religion of mankind. The danger is not all on one side, as most suppose. For there is nothing less than an infinite difference between a BEING who will so act towards His creatures and One who will not; between a God who will inflict eternal suffering, however slight, whether of mind, or body, or both, on creatures born of a degenerate race, and generally educated in ignorance of divine things, even when intellectually cultivated, and One who will not. A different feeling and a different worship will grow up out of the two systems of thought, just in proportion as they are realised by the worshipper.

And the determination of the question is of equal importance in relation to the Creator's will. If the Eternal Power will act as these writers suppose, it must, as they truly affirm, be highly offensive to Him to deny or dispute it. If true religion consist so largely in the element of fear, as it must on this theory, it is to detract from truth to represent God as less than He really is an object of terror to His creatures. But, on the other hand, if such thoughts never 'entered into His mind,'—so the Almighty is represented in the book of Jeremiah as exclaiming, in reference to the momentary passage of children through the fire to Moloch, —if the whole doctrine comes, as many learned and pious men think,—men as learned and pious as any others,—from a violent wresting of the ordinary language of Scripture; if it have no surer basis than a determination to maintain the figment of the natural immortality of one part of man's nature, of which the Bible itself never once speaks; if the doctrine of pain that shall never end be the offspring of the combination of a false psychology with the traditionary interpretations of a superstitious and uncritical antiquity, it is easy to see that the Deity must abhor the falsehoods taught in His name, in Europe as in Asia, and will highly commend the work of those who set themselves to overturn this stumbling-block, and to rend the dogma which at once veils from sinful men His real and awful Justice, and from His children so much of the light of the eternal Love.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHRISTENDOM HAS ERRED ON THE DOCTRINE OF HUMAN DESTINY.

'The history of the Christian Church for the greater portion of its existence has been so little in consistent practical accordance with any Idea or Principle that is obviously divine, that the merely being opposed to such a majority as it presents need not be to any spiritual mind a very distressing or a very dangerous position.'—FREDERIC MYERS, *Catholic Thoughts*, p. 15.

IT cannot be denied that the frightful doctrines on the future of humanity, described in the preceding chapter, though supported by the general authority of nearly all Christendom for at least fourteen centuries, are regarded with contemptuous scepticism by the bulk of the existing male population of Europe, who assign these articles of 'the faith' as the chief reason for their ever-extending and fierce revolt against Christianity. The external evidence of ancient miracle and prophecy, and even the stronger moral evidence of the Gospel, do not suffice to overpower the antagonistic conviction of the masses of educated and uneducated men in civilised Europe, that the 'Catholic Religion' cannot be of divine original. The people who dwell in the interior of Churches have in general but a slight acquaintance with the ideas of those who are without. If by any remarkable awakening the Christian people could be made to understand the world of modern thought which surrounds them, they would discover from one side of Europe to the other that faith in the supposed divine revelation has almost faded away from the classes who are alienated from traditionary religion. And the chief cause of such decaying faith is found beyond question in the views of the future which have been set forth in the preceding pages.

Men hold that such conceptions of moral government cannot possibly be in accord with the thoughts of God, 'whose tender

mercies are over all His works.' This disbelief is not, indeed, a sufficient reason for rejecting Catholic Christianity; but it is a sufficient reason for subjecting it to a resolute re-examination. That which practically works so ill certainly cannot claim to be exempt from fresh scrutiny: especially since the disorder of latent scepticism has eaten like a cancer into the breast of the Church itself. Christians on all sides, exactly in proportion to their knowledge and culture, are tormented in our time with agonising doubts as to the truth of the whole system of Divine Revelation, in consequence of the doctrine imputed to it on the destination of mankind. The positive declarations sometimes made, on the final salvation of all men, as the result of the present or future terms of probation, seem to rest on no solid foundation. They contradict the ordinary language of the Bible. The fact of general ungodliness remains; and the Scripture record also remains, which consigns *all* persistently wicked men to death. If *death* signifies endless misery, there seems no escape from the established dogma; but this dogma shakes the Christian faith even of its most devoted adherents. Richard Baxter himself describes the inward and dangerous struggle which he often experienced in the effort to submit his mind to these supposed doctrines of 'revelation.'

There is especially one class whose case deserves attention, that of unwilling infidels. For it is right to add that infidelity is of two kinds, malignant and involuntary; and that there is a description of unbelief widely spread which does not take the form of virulent attack upon the Scriptures, but rather stands aloof in the dim intermediate territory between friendship and hostility. This is the infidelity of persons who, although not denying the apparent existence of some strong evidence for the divine mission of Christ, are yet so much confounded at the character of what they have been led to suppose are His doctrines as to pass their lives in a state of equilibrium or indifference; never breaking out into open scepticism, but never seeing their way to a clear persuasion and bold avowal of the truth of the gospel revelation. They have been taught that the doctrine of Christ is, that in Adam all fell directly or indirectly under the curse of everlasting misery, and that a certain number are to be saved from this dreadful doom in consequence of a divine decree in their favour from eternity past;

all the rest departing to endless suffering for the glory of the justice of God. This, which is the common and popular belief, staggers them; their minds become confused, and finding no relief from the believers in Christianity, who maintain their 'faith' in such doctrines mostly by a decided habit of not thinking upon them, they vibrate between the twilight of a half unbelief, and the thick darkness of a gloomy atheism. There are hundreds of thousands of minds of the class now described,—souls surely as valuable as the souls of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, on whose behalf all zeal is accounted praiseworthy. It is conceivable that a fresh examination of our theology under another hypothesis might bring to light for such minds a 'hope full of immortality.'

One question, however, of discouraging aspect confronts the earliest movements of the mind towards such re-examination of Christianity, in dim hope of discovering a more benignant yet tenable interpretation of its records:—Is it possible that God can have permitted a conception of His own character, so false as this must be, if false at all, to prevail during nearly the whole Christian era? *Must we not regard the fact of the general acceptance of these doctrines, as articles of faith, as a sufficient evidence of their truth?* And, further, can it be for a moment believed that instructed divines, who are to be counted by hundreds of thousands, belonging to all Churches, in every successive century of Christianity, can have erred so egregiously, as they must have erred who have mistaken the sense of the Divine Revelation, supposing these doctrines to be not in the Bible, and to have formed no part of original Christianity? This is a question which suffices at the outset to quell and suppress the rising spirit of inquiry, by an appeal to the conscious insignificance of the individual. And it might well prohibit a single step in advance, were it not that the continuous history of Christendom, both in science and religion, bids us take courage, and compels us, as the first of all duties, to fling aside resolutely the delusive fear imposed by paralysing appeals to authority.

For when it is asked whether it be possible or conceivable that Providence can have allowed any doctrine grievously misrepresenting the Divine Majesty to have taken root on earth, or in Christendom, the answer is obvious and direct, that the Almighty

Creator has allowed every imaginable error respecting His attributes, physical, intellectual, and moral, to prevail among men, age after age, since the beginning of the world. One-half the world to-day is still idolatrous, or devoted to Buddhistic atheism. And the Apostles departed from life (however wonderful this may be), declaring *with one voice* that 'strong delusion' awaited the subsequent generations of Christendom.

When further it is naturally asked whether it be possible that so many millions of learned and pious divines and their followers in former ages can have erred *in so great a matter* as this, the answer must be,—assuredly it is possible. The Reformation is expressly founded on the fact that all Europe had erred on the most important doctrine of Christianity for more than a thousand years, during the darkness of the middle age, even on the central doctrine of our justification. There is no Church or Church party in Christendom which does not hold it for certain that it is quite possible for whole sanhedrims of the most respectable divines, notwithstanding their learning, and millions of the common people, to misunderstand important doctrines of revelation. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants believe that after the learned rabbins of Judaism have studied the Old Testament for eighteen hundred years, since the fall of Jerusalem, they are still wrong in regarding our Lord Jesus Christ as an impostor. The Protestants believe that all the learned and pious men of Romanism err in religion fundamentally. The Roman Catholics, in turn, believe that all the learned men of Protestant countries, and all their disciples, 'have erred' on the foundation truths of Christianity. In the same manner all the Calvinistic divines of Europe believe that all the Arminian divines misunderstand two important doctrines of revelation; and the Arminians think the same of the Calvinists.

Thus also the popular opinion, maintained by the large majority of Protestant divines, is in favour of the doctrine of Christ's second advent after the millennium. But multitudes of learned Christians in each century have maintained that the right doctrine clearly is that Christ will return from the heavens before that epoch, and they therefore regard the doctrine of the majority as erroneous. In the same manner the majority of Englishmen profess to believe that the Book of Common Prayer 'containeth

nothing which cannot be proved by warrant of holy Scripture;' and to all is known how many thousands of learned men, occupants of the benefices of the English Church, have upheld that position for nearly three hundred and fifty years. But all the learned Scottish divines, and all the English Nonconformists, many of whom have been the equals of their opponents in literature and ability, while fully sensible of the many excellences of the Prayer Book, maintain that the New Testament manifestly contains no warrant for Prelacy, Ecclesiastical Courts, baptismal regeneration, or the compulsory support of religion. Thus, finally, the opinion of Christendom, generally, is in favour of infant baptism, and the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; yet this does not hinder a minority, scattered through Europe and America but earnest, learned, and able, from maintaining, with Neander, that the practice of the apostles obviously was to baptise only intelligent confessors of Christ, and that infant baptism, notwithstanding its universality and antiquity, is a pernicious error.

On these grounds, then, we conclude that it is within the limits of parallel experience for Christendom to have erred even on matters so grave as those which now occupy our attention. The history of opinion shows nothing more clearly than the immense influence of ancient traditions on learned criticism, and the gross ignorance or perverseness of many of the expositors who in ancient times pitched the tune which has been diligently followed in after ages. Let any one remember the critical processes by which modern Roman divines of the first distinction operate upon the Scriptures for the support of their ecclesiastical and doctrinal system; and think also of the armies of great names adduced in support even of the most audacious pretensions of that system; —and he will thenceforth learn to admit that other leading ideas in Christendom may be false and falsifying; so that even solid masses of Protestant authority may be found buttressing interpretations having a deceptive show of argument, while rotten at their very foundations. And it is not improbable that the errors which have proved more dangerous and pervasive than any others may be found lurking in those psychological assumptions, which, unquestioned in Europe, as in Asia, underlie in both continents the fabric of strictly theological doctrine. In Europe the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul is the source whence has sprung

the mighty determining tide of past thought on the destiny of man; and if that source has been a well-spring of delusion, its influence has extended over both time and eternity.

The general object of this book is to show that here, in the popular doctrine of the soul's immortality, is the *fons et origo* of a system of theological error; that in its denial we return at once to scientific truth and to sacred Scripture; at the same time clearing the way for the right understanding of the object of the Incarnation, of the nature and issue of redemption in the Life Eternal, and of the true doctrine of divine judgment on the unsaved.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

THE not far from universal judgment of modern Christendom regards as one of the two foundation truths of religion the immortality of the soul; the other being the existence and moral character of God.

It is held by the Christian community, as a first principle of faith, that man possesses a spiritual soul; and that this soul, either as the result of the simplicity of its substance, indissoluble by any natural cause acting from within or from without,—or as a consequence of a general law fixed by the Sovereign Will, that all thinking, free, and accountable agents shall live for ever,—or as the effect of a special decree in relation to man,—is destined in every case to everlasting duration.

By some writers the moral relations of the soul with the Eternal Nature of God are held to necessitate a corresponding perpetuity of existence. The soul's relation to God as Moral Governor is held to involve an eternal continuance in being, to imply and compel an infinite destiny.* Such arguments may impose on the imagination of devout metaphysicians, but they do not carry with them any rational evidence. It might be answered, even out of the Scripture, that while to be 'a God' to Abraham doubtless requires the eternal perpetuation of Abraham's life, the renuncia-

* 'As it is essentially bound up with a moral system which is undoubtedly everlasting, we have no other conclusion open to us than that the soul so constituted and related is destined for an immortal existence.'—PEILL'S *Immortality Proved*, p. 28.

'We hold by this principle of a God-consciousness in man, a sense of the Infinite, the Perfect, the Eternal, which stamps him with the awful character of Immortality, for it could have no root, no permanent hold in a being whose nature is merely mortal.'—A. THOMPSON, *Doctrine, the Old and the New*, p. 22.

tion of the relationship of a 'God' to the disobedient on the part of the Almighty may involve the destruction of individual being. Human destiny does not depend, we may be assured, on any abstract ontological relation of the finite mind to the Infinite, but on the moral relations between the two, as declared by the Deity; and to be cast off by God may be to perish.

A second argument much depended on by some writers is derived from the general doctrine of the indestructibleness of substance. All things that exist, it is said, continue in being. Matter changes its form, but never passes out of existence. There is a perpetual conservation of substance and of energy. Nothing perishes. Nature makes known no example of annihilation. Combinations alter, but substance endures. This, which is demonstrably true of material things around us, must be true also, it is thought, of things spiritual. The whole analogy of nature, so far as known, is opposed to the idea of the destruction of substance;—whence it is argued the soul will last for ever. In the poetic language of John Smith, the Platonist of Cambridge, 'Nothing dies that can discourse, that can reflect in perfect circles.' Why should mind be less durable than matter? Why should intellect vanish out of being when every gaseous atom is naturally eternal? It is to assail a fundamental law of nature to presume on the destruction of mind. Nothing was made to perish; all substance was formed at first for an endless use under varying forms. Therefore also mind was formed to live for ever.

Such reasonings may amuse a theologian's leisure, but it is wonderful that they can satisfy as a basis of hope any serious inquirer. That the soul of man is an uncompounded substance, or indivisible essence, has never been proved, and cannot be proved. All the evidence of comparative physiology rather favours the opinion that it is a complex and therefore dissoluble structure.* Of its essence we really know nothing. Of the destruction of its substance we know nothing. But as, when the body dies, it dissolves, and is no more a living organism, so, if it shall please God to break up the soul, its substance may or may not remain, but its individual life will perish, and it shall be no more a soul. That the soul of man is in its nature less dissoluble than the 'souls' of animals, to use the Biblical idiom, has never

* See Dr. A. BAIN on *Mind and Body*.

been shown—nor is likely to be shown on scientific grounds alone All modern observation tends to the belief in the unity and continuity of nature. The sharp distinction between vegetable and animal is passing away. The sharp distinction between matter and spirit is vanishing also. Meantime this argument for immortality derived from the perpetuity of substance is equally valid for the eternal duration of all life; and no decisive anticipation of immortality for mankind as a substructure for religious faith can be deduced from a premiss which compels the conclusion of an equal immortality for the life-force of zoophytes and infusoria.*

A third, and more promising argument has, in all ages, been derived from the moral instincts of mankind. There is in men a widely developed instinctive expectation of survival in death for judgment. The good hope for, great souls desire, and bad men often profoundly dread, a 'something after death;' and this instinctive expectation of continued life with a view to retribution is thought to prove the soul's indestructible duration.

Men in all ages, and in nearly all lands, have looked with more or less of confidence for a life to come. The tombs of the ancient Egyptians testify to the established belief in a future state

* Mr. Peill dismisses the 'living souls' of animals into non-entity in a brief decided sentence. 'The immaterial principle in the lower animals, whose functions correspond to this sensuous element in man, not being a separate, self-conscious, and responsible nature, and being related simply to the wants of the animal body, will, in all probability, close its particular development upon the death of the body.'—*Immortality Proved*, p. 15. But indeed most of the arguments on which this devout writer depends in proof of man's natural immortality will appear equally available on behalf of the animals, to one who lives in close and friendly relations with them. John Wesley is known to have entertained strong hopes of their everlasting salvation, their immaterial nature with him involving their immortality. Good news indeed for the ephemera; but not a gospel founded on sufficient evidence.

Writers of far greater weight than Mr. Peill, the authors of *The Unseen Universe*, seem to allow that their physical argument for survival of some spiritual substance in man's death is of equal value for the souls of animals, standing alone. But they do not discuss the question whether they are not making a larger demand on the faith of their materialistic opponents than is likely to meet with assent, when they propose as arguments for man's survival a series of considerations which compel the simultaneous belief of the eternal existence of the whole animal creation. See p. 162. Is it not true that these illustrations of the physical possibility of survival become valuable only after the moral and religious argument for survival has been established?

of blessedness or misery. It was not simply a speculation of the priesthood, but a fixed persuasion of the people. In every burial scroll and on every mummy-case there is a picture of the Balance of Justice in which the soul is weighed against the image of truth in the presence of Osiris, the lord of the under-world. The ancient literatures of India and China attest on every page the prevalence of a similar faith in the soul's survival. In Greece Socrates expressed in death the common hope of good men, that they had an inheritance beyond the present life. Before Germany was Christianised the faith in the soul's immortality was widely diffused over barbaric Europe. In modern ages the irrepressible instinct of survival practically triumphs in every country over the opposition of scientific materialism. No stress of physiological evidence on the structure and development of the brain, on the relation of the human brain to that of animals, on the dependence of thought on cerebral machinery, avails completely to silence the 'oracle of God' within the heart, which tells us that 'it is appointed unto men once to die, *and after this, judgment.*'

No valid answer, I think, can be given to these arguments, if they are taken only for what they are worth, as morally probable evidence of *survival* or of *revival;* but if we are to be governed by accurate criticism it will be seen (1) that this probable evidence of survival is far from carrying with it an equal probability of *eternal survival.* The souls of men may survive for a time, and then lapse one by one into the *universum,* as four hundred millions of Buddhists still believe; or some may survive eternally, and some may perish. The light of Nature can give no assurance of *everlasting* duration for all souls. There may be a survival and a transformation, as in the example of many physical organisms, the last transformation to be followed by death. The butterfly rises from the chrysalis, yet the butterfly is not eternal. And (2) the probable evidence of survival arising from the moral consciousness, though it may hold out to men of the better sort, like Socrates, the prospect dimly seen, even of an eternal existence of some kind, whether material or immaterial, throws no light whatever on the cause or quality of that survival or resurrection. The fact may seem to be probable to the moral judgment, yet the reason of the fact be completely concealed. Thus, in the ever touching dialogue of the *Phædon,* it is easy to distinguish between

the comparative solidity of the main hope of some future life, held by the Athenian martyr, and the worthlessness of most of the arguments for pre-existence and immortality by which that hope was supported. 'Contradictories generate each other, therefore death leads to life eternal.' Plato might think it worth while, as a literary man, to spin such gossamer threads as these, but it was not by them that Socrates anchored his soul in his dying hour. No physical argument reaches further than to show that survival of the living energy is barely possible. No argument derived from the progressive nature of intellect offers solid ground until we are assured of the purpose of a benevolent Deity, which is not made very clearly known by the light of Nature. The apparent dependence of intellect on the brain, the black and ugly fact of death, and the ever-strengthening force of the argument for non-survival derived from the side of comparative biology, leave but a faint glimmer of hope to be drawn from some imaginary law of 'everlasting progression.'

Nature 'red in tooth and claw' may be thought to yield small signs of any special regard for humanity as one species of the million who consume the fruits of the earth. No, it is the moral argument alone which carries weight, the probability of retribution or salvation by a living God. Good men like Socrates are drawn to believe, feebly or firmly, in an Eternal Justice which will receive their souls beyond. But this shows that the ontological arguments for the soul's immortality are practically valueless. The fact of survival may be correctly appreciated; the reason of it may be concealed, or concealed from many who have rightly believed the fact. It may not result from the nature of the soul as essentially immortal, but solely from the pleasure of God, that souls of men, of the character of Socrates, will survive in death, and live for ever. It may not be in any degree from the nature of the soul, but from the purpose of God in judgment (who, adding fresh opportunities of salvation to human life, 'exacts the more,' and inflicts fresh penalties on the whole nature), that wicked men are often led instinctively to apprehend a terrible future.

Persons who accept the New Testament theology must moreover allow that no man, however 'good,' can deserve an everlasting life in happiness. All men by nature are sinful, and by

their sins have deserved future punishment, of which conscience warns the wicked in some degree. Therefore nature, if it teach the immortality of the soul, might seem to teach for all sinners, that is for all men, only an immortality in punishment. But indeed nature, which is the voice of Law, teaches nothing of the kind. So far as strict evidence is concerned, we are in the dark under natural conditions as to the future of the soul, except that judgment to come looms in the distance to some men's fears. One philosopher dreams in one manner of its destiny, another in a different manner. (See this shown with great effect in Joseph Hallet's *Observations on the Soul and its Immortality*, an excellent book, published in 1729.)

An affecting summary of the arguments for immortality under natural light has been given by Mr. John Stuart Mill in his recent work on Religion. They are in part cited here, because by many Mr. Mill will probably be accounted an able expositor of what nature, carefully reasoning, really teaches as to the probability of survival, on most of the grounds on which theologians have rested hitherto; and it will be seen that his judgment is not on the side of hope:—

'The common arguments (for immortality) are—the goodness of God; the improbability that He would ordain the annihilation of His noblest and richest work, after the greater part of its few years of life had been spent in the acquisition of faculties which time is not allowed him to turn to fruit; and the special improbability that He would have implanted in us an instinctive desire for eternal life and doomed that desire to complete disappointment. These might be arguments in a world the constitution of which made it possible without contradiction to hold it for the work of a Being at once omnipotent and benevolent. But they are not arguments in a world like that in which we live. . . . One thing is quite certain in respect to God's government of the world, that He either could not or would not grant to us everything we wish. We wish for life, and He has granted some life. That we wish, or some of us wish, for a boundless extent of life, and that it is not granted, is no exception to the ordinary modes of His government. Many a man would like to be a Crœsus or an Augustus Cæsar, but has his wishes gratified only to the moderate extent of a pound a week or the secretaryship of his

trade union. There is, therefore, no assurance whatever of a life after death on grounds of natural religion.'

To the same conclusion came the late Archbishop Whately, who says: 'That the natural immortality of man's soul is discoverable by reason may be denied on the ground that it has not in fact been discovered yet. No arguments from reason, independent of revelation, have been brought forward that amount to a decisive proof that the soul must survive bodily death.'*

Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, after a careful summary of all the probabilities for survival alleged by Dr. M'Cosh, M. Renan, and Jules Simon, thus concludes: 'It cannot be said that such arguments make a future life certain. They make a future life not improbable, but they do not prove it. So far as they are strong, it is because in a degree which we little suspect we bring them in aid of our Christian faith; but apart from that faith they have no solid ground. Take away this faith, and these arguments lose their force. You are left in a world of shadows. The immortality of the soul is a phantom which eludes your eager grasp.'†

It offers too remarkable an analogy between the teaching of Natural and Revealed Religion to allow of its postponement to a future page in this work (as a strict method might demand), that the Scripture, regarded as the multifarious record of divine movements for man's salvation, speaks as little as Mr. John Stuart Mill, or any one else who utters the language of reason, of the abstract or essential Immortality of the Soul. Of the survival of souls in a Sheol, or Hades, it seems to speak often; of the actual eternal survival of the saved it also often speaks; but it never once places the eternal hope of mankind on the abstract dogma of the Immortality of the Soul, or declares that Man will live for ever because he is naturally Immortal.

That the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul is never once explicitly delivered throughout the whole range of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures is a fact of which every reader may satisfy himself by examination; and it is a fact which long ago his drawn the attention of thoughtful and exact inquirers.

If the doctrine be true that the spirit of man is a deathless

* *Archbishop Whately on Future Life*, p. 17.

† *Hulsean Lectures on Immortality*, 1868, p. 31.

intelligence, a power destined by its God-imposed nature to endure as long as the NECESSARY BEING, we might surely have expected to find at least some few traces of this fundamental truth in the ages which were illustrated by direct communication with heaven. Neither men nor languages were so differently formed in antiquity as to necessitate a steadfast neglect of every verbal reference to an idea which is alleged to lie at the basis of the system of Redemption: and one of transcendent importance in every aspect of the case, as the zeal of its modern upholders sufficiently testifies. If Redemption, and the Incarnation of the Deity which gave it its force, were 'wasted' unless man were an immortal, and the object were to redeem him from endless misery, the idea of Immortality would have occurred at least as often as the idea of Redemption. In every other instance we obtain from the Prophets and Apostles clear and frequent expressions of the doctrines which they were commissioned to deliver; even of those which unaided reason was able to discover, as the existence of God and the difference between good and evil. But in this instance nearly a hundred writers have by some astonishing fatality omitted, with one consent, all reference to the Immortality of the Soul; no sentence of the Bible containing that brief declaration 'from God,' or even a passing reference, which would have set the controversy for ever at rest. In our own times scarcely a religious work issues from the press addressed to sinful men, scarcely is a public exhortation directed to them, without a distinct exhibition of the doctrine of Immortality, of deathless being in the nature of man, as the basis of the whole theological superstructure. Now, how shall we explain the remarkable fact that neither Apostles nor Prophets have ever once employed this argument in dealing with the wicked—'You have immortal souls, and must live for ever in joy or woe, therefore repent!'—an argument of almost irresistible force, if it be true? How, otherwise than by concluding that this was not their philosophy, that this doctrine formed no part of the 'wisdom of God,' and that they were withheld from proposing it to the world by Him who has declared that the eternal life of the righteous is the gift of His grace, and that 'all the wicked He will destroy'? We are taught, in certain cases, to argue confidently from the silence of the Scriptures; and since, as in the case of the priesthood of

Judah (Heb. vii. 14), the Bible has 'spoken nothing' in any of its numerous books, during the fifteen centuries of its composition, concerning man's natural or necessary immortality, one gathers courage to ask for the proofs of so important a doctrine.*

An eminent writer tells us, indeed, that 'this is an old and futile argument. The word Trinity never occurs once in Scripture, nor Providence. Are both, therefore, to be denied? Was there no death under the old economy, or no everlasting life for the holy, for angels, for the blessed God? The complete fact is all in favour of the common view: men are said to be mortal, but mortal or mortality is never applied in either Testament to soul or spirit.' But this is to evade the argument. In every modern sermon, prayer, and hymn, you hear of 'immortal souls,'—and every modern address to men is founded on a declaration of their immortality; *it is not so in any one of the many books which compose the Bible.* And not only is the word not used, or any equivalent in Hebrew or Greek, but no single expression of Scripture can be pointed out in which man's natural immortality is affirmed directly or indirectly. The argument is, that if the doctrine were true and important, it would not be left to divines to teach us that we are by nature immortal, any more than it has been left to them to teach us the doctrine of the plurality of Persons in the Godhead, or of God's Providence; but it would be found everywhere in Scripture in one form of speech or another, that all men shall live for ever.

It may nevertheless be asked with reason: 'How is it that a doctrine which, according to you, is destitute of solid foundation in ontological fact, and which is not once explicitly acknowledged in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, has nevertheless taken a hold on the mind of the world in ancient and modern times so firm that the denial of it, even by conscientious inquirers, offers a serious shock to the religious consciousness of the age?'

The answer to this question leads to the consideration of a remarkable portion of the method of the divine government. The practical work of man's world is carried forward for the most part

* The silence of Scripture on man's natural Immortality is treated with great ability by the lamented PROFESSOR HUDSON, of Cambridge, U. S. America, in his works on *Debt and Grace in relation to a Future Life* and *Christ our Life.* Kellaway and Co., Warwick Lane, London.

under imperfect conceptions of the material system, and the practical work of the moral world has been carried forward under equally unscientific conditions. Until quite recently men laboured and navigated under a false conviction that the earth was a plane, and stationary in the centre, while the sun, moon, and stars were whirled round it by a daily revolution of the sky. It is an advantage to know the truth of the Newtonian astronomy; but much sound work was done by mankind under an unshaken conviction of the truth of the Ptolemaic theory. In the same manner if an erroneous psychology and theology have for ages dominated over the western world, as over the eastern, even under such unfavourable conditions it has been possible to answer the chief ends of being in a life devoted to the service of God. The shock occasioned by hearing that there is no reason to place our hope of eternal life on the basis of the soul's immortality, but on the promise of the grace of God, is, after all, not greater than was the shock of learning, as Europe two hundred years since was compelled to learn, that the antipodes existed, that the earth was a rapidly moving globe, and that it revolved once a year round the central sun. In the ages which precede the popular establishment of physical, intellectual, and psychological truth there are interim beliefs which serve well enough the purposes of practical life, although attended with many limitations and disadvantages. There is an elementary revelation of half truth to the senses, and a subsequent revelation of scientific truth to the soul.

Such an interim belief may have been that on the immortality of the spirit. It is, as we hold, when taken in the absolute sense, an error in philosophy and theology; but since it carried with it the belief of retribution it has served the ends of moral probation, by extending the views of men to another state of being, and by carrying the hopes of good men forward into eternity. As Mr. Heard strongly puts it in his chapter on the 'Immortality of the Psyche':* 'The mistake of the Greek thinkers was the most natural one in the world; so natural that they are to be excused, nay, honoured, for holding it. But for us to repeat the error is to betray wilful prejudice. The one hypothesis was as good as the other as a provisional theory to account for the facts of the case. Without these hypotheses or landing-

* *The Tripartite Nature of Man*, p. 230-1.

places, the heights of discovery would never have been scaled to this day. But when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part is to be done away. So with philosophic theories of existence after death. Till life and immortality had been brought to light by the gospel, it would have been reasonable to argue, as the philosophers did, that the soul does not die *because it cannot die*. As there was no external evidence of existence after death, they were obliged to fall back on internal. The immortality of the soul was the hypothesis which accounted very plausibly for the contradiction between man's inner aspirations and the humiliating fact of his early and untimely death. But the resurrection of Christ as the first-fruits of the dead is a fact in these moral speculations which is irreconcilable with all previous hypotheses. Either man is non-mortal because he is immortal; or he is non-mortal because the hour is coming in which "all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." Those who embrace the latter doctrine as the revealed truth of God may well abandon the interim hypotheses of a darker time.'

That Christendom should have fallen back upon heathenish speculations, and returned to the 'beggarly elements' of Asiatic and Athenian philosophy as the basis of hope, is consonant with other parallel portions of the history of European opinion. Europe sentenced herself to fifteen hundred years of priestcraft and restored paganism, through forgetting the lessons of primitive Christianity.* The Reformation has vindicated one half of the original divine revelation against the errors of the middle ages. It may seem incredible to many that a considerable portion should remain still to be rescued from the superincumbent accumulations of pagan and mediæval thought. Yet wisely does Lord Bacon warn the modern world :—'Another error,' says he, 'is a conceit that of former opinions or sects, after variety and examination, the best hath still prevailed, and suppressed the rest; so as if a man should undertake the labour of a new search, he were but like to light upon somewhat formerly rejected, and by rejection brought into oblivion; as if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is

* See DRAPER'S *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.*

popular and superficial than to that which is substantial and profound. For the truth is, that Time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream, which carrieth down to us that which is light or blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.'* I must ask an indulgent application of this hypothesis to explain the facts, at least until the reader has considered the arguments of the following pages.

* Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.*

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE OLD TESTAMENT DOCTRINE ON LIFE AND DEATH.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE ACCOUNT GIVEN IN SCRIPTURE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN.

'The notion of the separate existence of the soul has so incorporated itself with Christian theology, that we are apt at this day to regard a belief in it as essential to orthodox doctrine. I cannot, however, help viewing this popular belief as a remnant of scholasticism. I feel assured that the truth of the resurrection does not rest on such an assumption. What our Lord says, in answer to Martha's declaration, "I know that he shall rise again," when He proclaims Himself the Resurrection and the Life, is to this point. The Jews then entertained a philosophical belief of a future state. Our Lord tacitly reproves an assurance *on such grounds* by His strong reference to Himself: "*I* am the Resurrection and the Life: whosoever *believeth in me*, shall live, *though he die.*"'—Bp. Hampden, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 310.

We have now reached that stage in this argument where it is necessary to commence an examination of the teaching of the Bible. This must be undertaken by us apart from any traditional theory on its verbal inspiration, for Holy Scripture loses rather than gains in authority over men's minds by the enforcement of a uniform church-doctrine respecting the mode of the origination of its various books.

The earlier chapters in Genesis are thought to bear marks of being a compilation from earlier documents, and carry with them admirable evidence of special adaptation to the limited intelligence of an infant nation. The less men know, the less they can be taught. A scientific statement of the genesis of the Earth and Man would have produced more confusion in Hebrew thought than it cleared away. There is a physical revelation made by God to the senses, which is neither infallible nor complete, which requires to be corrected by science, and the vision of the inner eye—yet which is useful, and adapted to the ends of common life. Thus nature presents the sun and moon of the same size and

distance, and alike moving in the sky. Yet we do not herein impute to the Deity unveracity, knowing well that the false impression depends on the limitations of sense and the laws of perspective, while it answers the practical purposes of human existence sufficiently well. An analogous revelation in religion was of old consigned to the patriarchs, including a cosmogony and other monuments, which received their form rather from the limitations of man than from the fulness of God. Moses wrote truth on divinity in a fashion suitable to his times, but his was the unscientific eye, the unscientific voice. To see 'God's back-parts' was the vision vouchsafed to him. He was sent to teach the world that which would *not* do, rather than to propose a permanent theory either in physics or morals. 'The law made nothing perfect.'

The books of Moses were designed for the Church in its childhood. Partly 'because of the hardness (blindness) of their hearts,' Moses was permitted to write many things imperfectly besides the old law of divorce. Astronomy, geology, ethnology, natural history, were written for the times, and no other mode of writing them could have profited the readers. It was sufficient that there should be in every case a certain substratum of fact, and such fact we doubt not underlies even that first chapter which describes the latest act of God in the production of new organisms on earth. At the point where the world's human history joins on to the past, it was inevitable that 'clouds and darkness' should rest on the beginning of the story; and the intellectual condition of the learner dictated in that early age the law which excludes an excess of light from the eye feebly opening on the universe.

The modern objections to the book of Genesis appear to be for the most part as futile as are many of its more slavish defences. The withholding of truth is not deception; knowledge is determined by faculty and experience. Eyesight first—then science. The father speaks to his little sons in such terms as they can understand, and are likely to profit by. When they become men it will be time to 'put away childish things.' Moses was the instructor of the world's infancy; such teaching as his was the only possible training for the time then present, with a view to the future. To ask for science at his hands, or even for strict con-

formity to all the facts, is to forget that darkness is necessarily the swaddling-band of mind awakening from nothingness.

From the noble poem of Genesis, embodying the general idea of Creation by an Eternal Mind, and probably the fact of a recent local action in six days, he passes on to the still mysterious ground of primeval history. After carefully studying the mythical theories, there is no valid reason known to the writer why we should not accept the history of Adam and Eve as a true narrative. It is not necessary to deny that there may have been previous human races upon the earth, as there had been previous animal races. Assuredly science determines nothing which forbids the belief that existing mankind is of recent origin, or that its introduction was accompanied by a fresh creation of animal life in some departments of nature. There is nothing in the narrative of man's creation which throws discredit on its truth. If man sprang directly from the hand of the Infinite Being (at least a more intelligible hypothesis than that he blindly forced his way upward from the brutes, as the brutes originally forced theirs upwards from an abyss of dead atoms), his first stage in life must have been passed in a supernatural scene. Some persons seem to consider that the first chapter of human history ought, in order to be credible, to resemble the last. Such a narrative, however, as that of Genesis is far more credible, *on the hypothesis of God's action in creation*, than would be an elementary history based on any likeness in man's earliest experience to a chapter in subsequent savage or highly civilised life. The supernatural lustre that shines over Eden, so far from offering an obstacle to rational belief, is a spiritual attestation to its truth.

> 'Trailing clouds of glory do we come,
> From God who is our Home;'

and the credit, which the subjective significance of the narrative —describing the earliest experience of man as a trial of moral subjection to the Eternal Wisdom—wins for it from considerate readers, is supported by all subsequent divine revelations. The belief or disbelief in a God working in nature is a potent element in the determination of scientific opinion.

It is beyond question that the fabric of Christian theology assumes the truth of this narrative as the foundation of the divine

dealings with men. Christ very distinctly affirms in His teaching the murder of mankind by the Fiend. It is equally evident that the apostles of Christ make this narrative, as in S. Paul's great epistle to the Romans (ch. v. 12-20), the foundation of their system, whether true or false. Redemption has for its object in part to save men from the results of the sin of Adam; and his fall, or 'death,' is referred to as established by the book of Genesis. Thus the complex evidence of Christianity, miraculous, prophetic, internal, is brought to bear retrospectively upon the credit of this early narrative, and verifies it.*

We purpose to treat it, then, notwithstanding the modern assumption of its mythical character, as a narrative of truth, which has received the sanction of Christ and His Apostles, and is of equal value with the gospel history, itself so abnormal. It is needless to add that under this old-fashioned view it assumes a momentous aspect, as the starting-point in the method of the divine government of the earth, for it is only as we understand rightly the primary condition of man that we can understand the ruin wrought by the powers of evil, or the redemption wrought by Incarnate Love.†

We proceed, then, to examine the Mosaic history.

It introduces Man upon the earth in the character of the king of the world, made immediately by God's hand in God's image.

'And God said, Let us make man in our imagine, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every creeping thing. So God created man in His

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* In the preceding paragraphs I do not pretend to argue the case of the truth of the narrative in Genesis. It is assumed, and these pages are not addressed primarily to those who deny the authenticity and truth of the Pentateuch. My own conviction rests (1) on a persuasion of the reality of Christ's Divine Character and Miracles, and the consequent truth of His teaching—that teaching being based on the reality of the Mosaic narrative; and (2) on the internal evidence of divine revelation regarded as a coherent whole, which lends confirmation to the earliest portions by showing their organic relations with those that follow. This is, I think, the sufficient answer to Mr. Draper's too superficial assertions on the subject in his recent book on the *Conflict between Religion and Science;* but men's views of what is 'sufficient' in argument differ with their spiritual states.

† See this drawn out in a passage from *Athanasius on the Incarnation*, cited in Chapter xxvi.

own image, in the image of God created He him ; male and female created He them' (Gen. i. 26, 27).

The second narrative in Genesis thus resumes 'the wondrous tale,'—

'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; and man became a living soul. And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden ; and there He put the man whom He had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food : the Tree of Life also in the midst of the garden, and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil' (Gen. ii. 7-9).

'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat. But of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, thou shalt not eat of it ; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' (Gen. ii. 15-17).

In attempting to fix the ideas designed by this narrative it is obviously just to insist that the main drift of Moses is such as would be apprehended by an Israelitish reader of the book of Genesis when it was first published in the wilderness.

1. The first observation suggested by the terms of the history is that, according to Moses, man was not formed within the precincts of Paradise, where grew the Tree of Life ; but was created from the dust of the ground in the territory outside it, where animal life abounded, and where, as we now learn from fossil geology, death had reigned over all organised existence from the beginning of the creation. 'The Lord God took the man whom He had formed, and put him in the garden of Eden' (ii. 15).* This circumstance seems to point to the conclusion that if the creature so made enjoyed loftier prospects than those of the animals, to whose organisation his own bore so strong a resemblance, this was not from the original constitution of his nature as eternal, but from superadditions of grace bestowed on a perishable being.

2. The language in which the creation of man is described is such as to fix with certainty the intention of the writer. 'God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; and man became *a living soul*' (ii. 7).

* The rabbins have a remarkable myth to the effect that man was formed in the deep places of the earth, 'made in secret,' and then, at the divine word, was borne into life by the Great Mother.

The notion has prevailed that the design of the sacred writer here is to teach that when the body was formed of the dust, a soul was 'breathed into it' by the direct inspiration of God, which was *of the immortal nature of the Creator Himself*, and could never die. There is nothing more certain in criticism than that this is precisely the reverse of the doctrine intended to be conveyed by Moses.

First of all, the animation of man by the breath of God proves the immortality of his 'soul' no more than a similar asserted animation of brutes proves the immortality of their 'soul.' 'Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created, and Thou renewest the face of the earth. Thou takest away Thy Spirit, they die, and return to *their dust*' (Psalm civ.). Neither does the phrase 'man became a living soul' convey the notion of his receiving an 'ever-living spirit'—but this and nothing more—that he became a 'living being or animal,' placed, so far as immortality was concerned, but not in respect of the image of God, on a level with other living creatures around him. The same phrase, as descriptive of the lives of beasts, is employed by Moses in describing the *animals* with whom 'God made a covenant' after the flood, 'fowl, cattle, and beast' (Gen. ix. 10).* The same phrase is found in the Apocalypse (xvi. 3), to denote the fishes that died in the sea.†

But we have the advantage of a special comment, fixing the meaning of this phrase, from the pen of S. Paul himself. In the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he speaks of the burial and resurrection of a Christian in these terms: 'It is sown a natural body, σῶμα ψυχικόν; it is raised a spiritual

* נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה Heb. *nephesh hayah;* Eng. V. 'creature that hath life;' Gr. ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

† 'Some of our readers may be surprised at our having translated *nephesh hayah* by *living animal*. There are good interpreters who have maintained that here is intimated the distinctive pre-eminence of man above the inferior animals. But we should be acting unfaithfully if we were to affirm that the doctrine of an immortal spirit is contained in this passage. The two words are frequently conjoined in Hebrew, and the meaning of the compound phrase will be apparent to the English reader when he knows that our version readers it, in Gen. i. 20, *creature that hath life*, or each *living creature;* and so in ch. ii. 19, ix. 12, 15, 16. This expression sets before us the organic life of the animal frame.'—Dr. J. Pye Smith, in Kitto's *Dict. Bible*, article Adam.

body, *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul, *ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*; the last Adam was made a quickening, or life-giving, *Spirit*, *πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*. . . . . The first man is of the earth earthy, *χοϊκός*, a man of dust; the second man is the Lord from heaven' (xv. 44-47). The apostle's argument is lost in the misleading English version. The English reader must understand that the word translated 'natural' in ver. 46 (*psuchicon*), is an adjective formed from the noun *psuche*, translated *soul* in the phrase 'living-soul,' of the Greek version of Genesis. It is as if our word *soul* stood for animal, and we had such an adjective as *soulical* formed from it. The comment of the apostle then becomes clear. 'There is *soulical* or *animal* body, and there is a *spiritual* body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul or animal (a phrase distinctly applied in the Scripture to the brutes); the last Adam was made *a life-giving Spirit*. The first man was of the earth, a man of dust; the second man is the Lord from heaven.'

Here, then, we have the authority of S. Paul for deciding that when Moses described the result of the animation of Adam by the Divine Breath, so far from designing to teach that thereby an immortal spirit was communicated to him, *the object was to teach exactly the contrary, that he became a 'living creature or animal,'* neither possessed of eternal life in himself, nor capable of transmitting it. And the phrase *living soul* is chosen, not to distinguish him from the rest of the creation, but to mark his place as *a member of that animal world* whose intellectual powers partake of the perishableness of their material organisations.

In the same manner, the statement that God 'breathed into his nostrils the breath of life,' so far from being intended to indicate the immortal perpetuity of his nature, is specially chosen to mark his dependence on the atmosphere for his continued life. The prophet Isaiah refers to this passage with manifest design of marking man's present evanescence. 'Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, *for wherein is he to be accounted of?*' (ii. 22.)

3. When, then, it is said that 'God made man in His own Image,' we far exceed the intention of the book of Genesis, if we affirm that this signifies that God made man absolutely immortal.

There, is, however, a need to distinguish an absolute from a conditional immortality. Just as the term mortal may be taken to signify either *capable of death*, or *certain to die*, so immortal may stand for *designed to live for ever*, or *certain to live for ever*. The answer to the question, Was man at first made mortal or immortal? depends on the meaning attached to the word. If mortal means *certain to die*, then Adam was not created mortal; if it means *capable of death* in body and soul, he was mortal. If immortal signifies *designed to live for ever*, then Adam was created immortal. If it means *certain to live for ever*, then he was created mortal. For the meaning of this venerable record plainly is that man at first was placed on trial for continuous life to be secured by obedience. If he obeyed, he should live on for ever. If he transgressed, he should die, according to the law which reigns over all other earthly organisms.

The 'image of God' then is to be taken to signify his capacity for understanding God and His works, his capacity for sovereignty, his moral uprightness, and his designed destiny to an immortal life conditional on obedience. 'God made him to be —*i.e.*, that he might be—the image of his own eternity'—as an Apocryphal writer justly declares.

But this continuous life depended at present on an external aliment. So long as Adam obeyed, and abstained from the tree of Knowledge, he was permitted to take of the tree of Life,—the effect of which is declared in this narrative to be life eternal. 'Now lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of Life, *and eat and live for ever*,—so He drove out the man.'

The account which is given by Moses of the constitution of man at his creation differs exceedingly from that account of our nature which is given by modern psychology, and hence the inveterate custom has arisen of compelling these primitive documents to speak a language foreign to their proper meaning. For many ages the European world, in striking contrariety to the habit of the Buddhist world, has maintained the inextinguishable and eternal duration of the animating principle in our nature; knowing of no other basis of hope for a future existence,—because rejecting the testimony of God that our 'eternal life is in His Son.' Coming to the reading of the Mosaic account of the

creation of man under such views, men have compelled the narrative to speak a meaning contrary to its intention.

But of this belief there is no trace in this record. Had the Mosaic idea of human nature been that of modern psychology, that man consisted of a mortal body and an immortal soul, it is inconceivable that it should not have appeared in an authoritative account of the creation. Clearly Moses desired to say something as to man's dignity, in respect of the nature bestowed on him, for he speaks of the Divine Image; and if deathlessness be his inalienable attribute, that was the place in which to declare it. But neither there, *nor elsewhere in the Bible*, does Scripture confirm this lofty opinion of the nature of man. God 'made man in His own image,'—and gave him 'dominion' over all animals, but the utmost said of him is that he became a 'living creature,' a phrase frequently applied to the animal creation itself.

The reason of this silence as to deathlessness will become still clearer if we consider the definition of humanity that prevails through the Bible. According to modern conception, the body is an inconsiderable fraction of our nature, mortal and corruptible. It is the spirit which is the true man, the unseen and everlasting personality. The body indeed scarcely deserves the name of humanity; it endures but for a moment. The soul is the Inhabitant of Eternity, the 'great Coeval of God,' the coequal of holy Angels in the possession of immortality. But in the biblical account of man's creation this grandiose style of thought is reversed. There this despised body is spoken of as *the Man;* 'God formed man from the dust of the ground;' and the whole being takes his name from the ground whence it sprang. He was called Adam, from *Adamah*, the *Earth* or ground. His distinguishing name is taken from that corporeal organisation which is supposed by modern idealists to be little better than a transient appendage of the spiritual humanity. And when he sinned, thereby incurring the curse of death, the words attributed to the Creator are these, '*Dust thou art*, and unto dust shalt thou return;' no mention even being made of that immortal intelligence which is supposed to constitute the veritable personality which had committed the offence.

Now in this simple psychology of the Old Testament it is noticeable that soul, or *nephesh*, which is attributed to man, is

also frequently attributed to the animals. There is indeed no word descriptive of man's inner nature which is not also used to describe that of the animals. If man possesses נֶפֶשׁ a *nephesh*, soul or life (as in Gen. ix. 5; 'at the hand of every man's brother will I require *eth-nephesh*, the life of man'), so do they: 'Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh, for the *nephesh*, the soul or life of the flesh, is in the blood' (Lev. xvii. 14). 'Ye shall not eat the *nephesh*, the life or soul, with the flesh' (Deut. xiii. 23). If man possesses a *ruach*, רוּחַ or רוּחַ חַיִּים 'spirit of life' (Gen. vi. 17), so in biblical phraseology do they. 'Who knoweth the *spirit* of a beast that goeth downward?' 'They have all one *ruach*' (Eccl. iii. 19, 21; Psalm civ. 29, 30 (*Heb.*). If man possesses a *neshamah*, or *spirit*, so do they. 'All in whose nostrils was the *nishmath-ruach chajim*, breath of the spirit of life (which includes the animals, see ver. 21) died'* (Gen. vii. 22). The spirit which is in man is of a superior order, as 'the candle of the Lord;' he has 'more wisdom than the beasts of the field;' nevertheless he shares 'spirit' with all animated natures, although they do not bear the 'image of God.'

The leading feature in the language of the Bible respecting Man is that it agrees in an unexpected manner with the deductions of recent science in treating humanity as an integer. In the language of Mr. Heard,—

'We have not yet reached to the point where we can say what the connection between soul and body is; but all advance is in the direction of a fusion between physiology and pyschology, when we shall neither speak of the body without the mind, nor of the mind without the body. When two gases uniting in definite proportions combine into a new substance with distinct properties of its own, unlike those of the gases when separate, we call this *tertium*

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* Even so great a writer as Dr. Delitzsch seems to have been tempted by the spirit of system, a system which has perhaps but slight foundation in the inconstant terminology of Scripture, to declare that the brutes in the Bible are not said to possess *neshamah*; but the above-cited passage proves this statement to be incorrect. Dr. Pétavel cites the following passage from *The Hebrew National* for 1867:—

'The Midrash (Bereshith Rabba, chap. xii.) does certainly enumerate five appellations of the human spirit met with in Scripture: but those alike designate the principle of life in man and in beast. For that spiritual essence which exclusively is the portion of man, the Hebrew language affords no term.'—*Struggle for Eternal Life*, p. 39.

quid by a name of its own. For all practical purposes Water is still an element. It is not a fusion or a mixture as of water with wine, much less of one floating on the other as of oil or water, but it is a union in which the very substances themselves of oxygen and hydrogen, and not the phenomenon only, are absorbed into a new substance with new and distinct phenomena of its own which we call water. So in the union of mind and matter in the formation of man. Man is not a mixture of mind and matter, much less an immortal mind in a mortal body, but he is the identity of two distinct substances which lose their identity in giving him his. Man is thus the true monad.'—HEARD, *Tripartite Nature*, p. 135.

Throughout the Scripture the sacred writers, as if acting under a superintending wisdom, have persistently spoken of this complex humanity, and not of either of its component elements, as the object of the Divine Government. Under this view the body cannot be dispensed with either for judgment, or for reward. It forms an essential element of man's nature; and apart from its destined union with that organism the animating spirit is not spoken of as the veritable humanity.*

When God is represented as speaking of man, He always describes him as 'dust and ashes,' or 'flesh and blood.' The blood is said to be 'the life of man,' as of all flesh. When Redemption is accomplished by the Incarnation, the Divine Logos is said to have 'become *flesh*,' to have taken on Him the 'likeness of sinful flesh,' and to have 'given His flesh for the life of the world.' And when judgment is administered to both good and bad, there is a resurrection, or reconstruction of the body, at least in some of its elements, in order that *men* may be rewarded according to their works. Although S. Paul explains, by the image of a grain sown, and the ear that springs, that

* The Ante-Nicene Fathers are full to over-flowing of the assertion of this principle—that the soul is not man, and that the body is not man, but that Man is the *tertium quid* resulting from their union. The whole *catena* of proof will be found in the anonymous Defence of Dodwell, 1728, in a work called *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality*. By a Presbyter of the Church of England. Dr. Perowne, in his Hulsean lecture on *Immortality*, vigorously enforces the same truth. Dr. Thom of Liverpool holds, in his book on *Soul and Spirit*, that the first man possessed an animal body and soul only, naturally perishing together, and incapable of procreating an immortal progeny. The immortal nature he attributes to the 'Lord from heaven,' who confers the spirit or πνεῦμα, and impresses the likeness of His own eternity on the body and the soul. See in this connection Mr. Dale's tenth Lecture, on the Headship of Christ.—*Lectures on the Atonement*, p. 401.

there is but a faint atomic relation between the present and future bodies, he nevertheless insists that there is *some* relation between them, as between the rotting grain and the springing ear. One rises from the other. Thus too Christ says, 'All that are *in the graves* shall hear His voice, and shall come forth.' And Christ's own resurrection was the revivification even of the body which had died—altered in form and attributes doubtless, but still atomically identical.

Now such a view of human nature seems to leave no room for the pseudo-philosophic doctrine of an Immortal Soul, which is the true human type. The dissolution of the complex nature is the *death of the man*, irrespectively of the destruction of its component elements. When Christ died, He was, as a man, 'destroyed' (Matt. xxvii.). The 'shedding of His blood' was the pouring out of the 'life' of the 'flesh,' which was the shrine of the Godhead. These views of Man's nature are adhered to with marvellous tenacity throughout the Scripture, and they are such as to commend its teaching to thoughtful biologists.

The Apostle Paul discusses the subject of the Resurrection of the dead, as if the hope of humanity were bound up with that supernatural consummation. The thought of the independent and eternal perpetuity of the 'soul' of unredeemed man appears never to have glanced across his mind as affording any prospect of future bliss or future being. He does not even allow that *apart from redemption effected by Christ's resurrection*, there was any hope of the temporary survival of souls;—since the hades-state is, for good and bad, one of the miraculous results of a new probation. 'If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain, ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which have fallen asleep in Christ have *gone to nothing*'—ἀπώλοντο; for thus he explains the term in the following verse, '*If in this life only* we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.' What can be gathered from this style of reasoning, except that S. Paul regarded the body of the first Adam as being formally the man, that the animating principle within us is not alone or formally a man, that without redemption man would certainly go to nothing at death, and that if redemption is to be accomplished there must be a new birth of spirit—a union of body and mind with Christ, and a resurrection from the dead?

If we have correctly interpreted the general sense of the biblical doctrine on man's constitution, the true idea of death is the breaking up of the human *integer*. *When the complex man is dissolved he is dead*, no matter what may become of the component elements of his being; just as *water* is put an end to, when the combining oxygen and hydrogen are separated. And as water might be destroyed in two ways, by simply separating its elements, leaving them still to exist, or by annihilating those elements, just so man's death might be brought about in two ways,—by dividing the body from the soul or animating spirit, leaving both of those elements to exist in a different manner; or, by putting them out of existence altogether. A man may be thus said to be dead both by a Pharisee and a Sadducee; although the one would believe that the animating principle had survived, and the other would believe that it had perished. The former idea of death is set forth by Christ in the words, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and *die*, it abideth single, but if it *die* it bringeth forth much fruit.' In this case the *death* of the grain is its *disintegration*—the breaking up of the organisation, a process in which one portion survives to gather around itself fresh materials in a veritable resurrection. Such was His own death. The humanity was broken up, 'destroyed,' and 'poured out its soul unto death,' but a divine and spiritual energy remained, around which God built up again the dissolved Humanity, and made that so restored God-man the Life of the World.

What shall become of the residuary elements of disintegrated organisms clearly depends in each case upon their relation to the general plan. In some instances each liberated fraction immediately seeks fresh combinations. In others, the specialised energy, as in the electric fishes, is transmuted into heat in the ensuing decomposition. In others, one of the elements, as in the flesh of beasts, becomes the aliment of living organisms. In others, the disintegration leaves one of the remaining germs to form, as in transformed insects, a new life, the same yet not the same. In others, as in the seeds of plants, a portion of the dissolving organism remains to form the nucleus of a new plant or tree, which perhaps gathers its requisite materials from the relics of the former. In others, as in the case of animals, the animating principle either passes out of existence, or is absorbed,

according to Oersted, by some over-soul of Nature, or 'returns to God who gave it;'—but in every case the destination of the component parts, when their union is dissolved, is determined by the will of God as to the future of the organism. This observation will be of value somewhat further on. In no case does the subsequent disposition of the elements affect the reality of the *death* of the integer. Its dissolution is its destruction. And no temptation to play upon the word 'annihilation,' in its metaphysical sense of abolition of substance, should turn the attention away from the fact that thus *all living things on earth are, one by one, destroyed.*

CHAPTER X.

ON THE NATURE OF THE DEATH THREATENED TO THE ANCESTORS OF MANKIND IN PARADISE AS THE PENALTY OF SIN.

'"LIFE," as applied to the condition of the blest, is usually understood to mean a "happy life." And that theirs will *be* a happy life, we are indeed plainly taught; but I do not think we are anywhere taught that the word "life" does of itself necessarily imply happiness. If so, indeed, it would be a mere tautology to speak of a "happy life;" and a contradiction to speak of a "miserable life;" which we know is not the case, according to the usage of any language. In all ages and countries, "life" has always been applied in ordinary discourse to a wretched life no less properly than to a happy one. If, therefore, we suppose the hearers of Jesus and His apostles to have understood, as nearly as possible, the words employed in their ordinary sense, *they must naturally have conceived them to mean* (if they were taught nothing to the contrary), *that the condemned were really and literally to be "destroyed" and cease to exist;* not that they were to continue for ever to exist in a state of wretchedness.'—ABP. WHATELY, *Lectures on a Future State.*

'THE tree of knowledge of good and evil' has exercised the curiosity of critics in every age; but the most obvious account of it appears to be, that it was a tree by touching or refraining from which our first parents might demonstrate whether they would or would not lead a life of *faith* in God. It would seem to have been conveyed to them that the tasting of this tree would communicate to themselves that knowledge of good and evil which now they were required to receive upon the authority of God.* Simple, therefore, as the elements of the temptation were, all those principles were involved which had been illustrated in the most momentous trials of their descendants,—the claims of Divine Authority, and the rule of choice between the seductions of pride, passion, or falsehood, and the all-obliging commandment of the Supreme.

* Mr. Henry Rogers in the first edition of *Greyson's Letters* has an ingenious chapter on the impossibility of testing Adam by the 'ten commandments.'

The tree of life in the midst of the garden was plainly accessible to Adam until the hour of his transgression; for we read that permission was granted to eat of *every* tree of the garden, with the single exception of the tree of knowledge. The effect of the tree of life seems to have been to repair the decays of nature, and to prevent the approach of death; for we read that after his sin God said, 'Now, פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח lest he put forth (or as Swedenborg rightly interprets, *in order that he may not* put forth) his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever;'—implying a strong negative, that having chosen the creature rather than the Creator he should *not* possess that immortal life, which, under the divine will, access to the tree of life would have sealed to him in obedience.

It is unnecessary to discuss the questions, wherefore the gift of abiding life was to be communicated through so extraordinary a medium as a tree in a mortal world; or whether, after a short period of probation, Adam would have been made 'equal to the angels,' and translated to heaven. It is of more importance to learn the actual results of his probation.

We suppose, then, that from the simple account furnished in Genesis, we are to understand that Adam was not created in the possession of immortality either in his body or soul; yet, also, that he was not created under a definite sentence of death, as was the rest of the creation around him, since the prospect of 'living for ever' by the help of the 'tree of life' was open to him upon the condition of obedience during his trial;—in other words, the first man was not created immortal, but was placed on probation in order to become so. Viewed as he was in himself, there was a noble creature,—the offspring of God,—endowed with capacities for ruling over the world, and for holding communion with Heaven; but as to his origin, his foundation was in the dust, and the image of the Creator was impressed upon a nature, if a 'little lower than the angels,' still also no higher than the animals as to unconditional immortality. His upright form and 'human face divine,' gave token of a spirit formed for intercourse with the Eternal; yet his feet rested on the same earth which gave support to all the 'creeping things' which it brought forth, and, like the subjects of his dominion, 'his breath was in his nostrils.'

Thus according to Moses, was Adam placed in Paradise; midway between the angels and the animals, on trial for everlasting life: midway between an existence which was as a shadow that passeth away, and one, of which it should be beyond the powers of any created mind to calculate or describe the duration. When we attempt to conceive of the heights of blessedness which are attainable in such a life, of that 'far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory' which would have been the reward of obedience; and contrast with this the alternative of returning to the dust to perish, what finite mind can appreciate fully the significance of the trial of the first Man in the garden of Eden? But when, to such reflections upon this destiny, we add the consideration, that in his hand were placed, perhaps, the lives of his countless descendants, language can give no utterance to the sense of infinite loss involved in the conception of his failure.

These statements, however, are founded upon the assumption of that which must be more particularly investigated, the literal interpretation of the threatening held out to this first man on his admission into Paradise: 'IN THE DAY THAT THOU EATEST THEREOF, THOU SHALT SURELY DIE.'

A person who had not previously formed an acquaintance with the commentaries of modern times would certainly be astonished to learn that the threatening of death was explained to signify something different from a literal loss of life, something less and yet more than the utter destruction of Adam's nature as a man. How would the earliest readers of Moses understand it? It can scarcely be thought very likely that the terms of the menace would suggest, under all the circumstances, to an ordinary reader of those Israelites for whom Moses wrote, any other idea than that which we assume as the true one,—that the offender should endure the penalty of capital punishment, and forfeit his life for his sin. 'By death,' says John Locke, 'some men understand endless torments in hell fire; but it seems a strange way of understanding a law, which requires the plainest and directest words, that by death should be meant eternal life in misery. Can any one be supposed to intend, by a law which says *for felony thou shalt surely die*—not that he should lose his life, but be kept alive in exquisite and per-

petual torments? And would any one think himself fairly dealt with that was so used?'—(*Reasonableness of Christianity.*) There seems to be nothing in the language employed intended to convey any other idea than that the punishment for transgression was *immediate destruction.* There is no intimation of a prolonged existence to be afterwards permitted, either in time or eternity; the threatening is brief, direct, decisive: 'In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.' Since Adam was not yet immortal, the signification could not be, as is sometimes supposed, that in the day of his sin he should 'become mortal,' or capable of death (for that which is not yet immortal, in the sense of incapable of death, must be in that sense mortal already), and, therefore, it remains only to receive the terms in their most obvious sense, 'In the day of thy transgression, thou shalt be destroyed, shalt lose thy being as a Man.'

How would Adam have understood this threat for himself? It will probably be admitted that the sense in which the first man would have understood the threatening of death was the true one; for it would be difficult to reconcile it with justice or mercy in the Almighty, if He were imagined to deliver His threatenings to a newly-created being, in enigmas which were beyond the grasp of his faculties, and whose real meaning 'surpassed in horror the apprehension of every intellect but the Omniscient.' Now it would appear that unless Adam were inspired with the knowledge of the comments of Augustinian divines, or at least of some rhetorical and rare forms of speech in the Greek poets, he could affix no other interpretation to the word 'death' than that to which he was accustomed, when he employed it, in his short use of language beforehand, *in relation to the animal system around him.* Life and death must have been opposites to him, as to us; and surely, in the awful crisis of a world, when, if ever, clear terms should be used, we can scarcely imagine that words would be employed in a curious metaphorical sense, entirely opposed to their first signification. With whatever facility, therefore, readers of modern times can dismiss the original notion of death in the employment of the term, and substitute that of endless misery to the exclusion of the idea of destruction, we cannot impute the same extraordinary process of thought to Adam, but must conclude that he

would have understood the threatening to mean the dissolution of his nature, the opposite of 'taking of the tree of life' and 'living for ever.'

And when we remember that in all probability Adam had then no idea whatever of his 'soul,' as *capable of a separate existence*, apart from his body, but conceived of his being as one, we shall find a still greater difficulty in supposing that he could have been metaphysical enough to conclude that death signified *death* for his body, and everlasting life in misery for that 'understanding which was in his inward parts.' But if Adam could not have understood the threatening thus, without some special revelation to enable him to do so, and if that revelation does not appear in the record, it follows that theology has no right to make a gratuitous supposition of its existence, but ought to interpret the words in such a manner as to avoid a slander on the preventive justice of Heaven. For if even the Chinese government considers itself obliged to read to the people periodically the criminal code, in order that they may know what to expect as its punishments, it ill becomes us to impute to the Highest Tribunal a complete concealment of the true meaning of that menace under which the first man in Paradise commenced his probation. The primitive sense of the threatening of death must surely go far to determine its meaning afterwards.

Yet, notwithstanding the existence of these arguments, this threatening is metaphorically understood in modern times. It is alleged by innumerable divines, that whether Adam understood the meaning or not, the menace of death conveyed the complex notion of literal dissolution for his body, called temporal death, and of everlasting existence in misery for his disembodied soul. This latter portion of the curse is denominated spiritual and eternal death, and is conceived to combine in itself the triple notion of eternal existence, moral degradation, and consequent misery in alienation from the Father of spirits. It was supposed to follow from the immortality of the soul, as an appointment of God. By these interpreters the expression, 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' is taken to signify, not death in the day of transgression, but only a liability to death of the body at some future time; so that the life of Adam being pro-

longed, and a race in his own image springing from him, that race is born 'by nature children of wrath;' liable not only to death of the body, but also to everlasting misery of the soul, or death 'in all its senses.'

It will probably become evident to any one who devotes even a few moments to the rationally careful study of this phrase, 'everlasting misery,'—(a phrase which may indeed convey but little to a mind armed with a determination not to think of it, but which confounds and almost paralyses the meditative spirit,—) that such an interpretation of the term death ought not to be *taken for granted.* The allegation of New Testament authority for it is of little avail; for those passages of the New Testament, which are supposed to fix the metaphorical signification of the original curse, have been themselves first interpreted by the rule of a theory founded upon a perversion of these earliest statements of Scripture—a theory based on the inadmissible assumption of the immortality of the soul. And if neither reason nor Scripture permit us to lay as a foundation that exalted conception of man's spiritual part, the whole fabric of interpretations, reared afterwards upon it, falls to the ground.

With a view to a determination of this question, let us now observe, in reference to the ordinary belief, that the death threatened to Adam included the curse of everlasting existence in misery for his 'soul':—

I. First, that our original authority utters not one syllable on the subject. It is true that caution is needful in the use of any argument drawn from the silence of an Old Testament writer, especially in the earlier portions of the revelation. It may be urged, that the second and third chapters of Genesis were the brief statements of 'mysteries,' which succeeding revelations were given to develop; and that, therefore, the greater regard is due to the larger inspired commentary of subsequent prophets, if such exist. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot but observe that the chief outlines of the Paradisiacal history have been generally received in their plain, unvarnished sense; a valid argument in favour of so understanding all its parts, and in bar of suggested additions whether of poetry or prose, wherever the literal sense is

not forbidden by subsequent declarations, and does not contradict the doctrine of redemption.

There is, besides, a wide difference between a veiled promise and a veiled threatening. The former may be worthy of divine wisdom and goodness; the latter seems irreconcilable with divine justice. The blessing of Christ in the Gospel might fitly be promised under the figurative expression, that 'the seed of the woman should crush the serpent's head;' but the curse of the law, which called for the intervention of mercy, should surely be expressed in all the length and breadth of its terribleness. Can any 'honest and good heart' (and let us remember that the Maker of such men, according to Christ, has 'much more,' rather than less, goodness Himself; Matt. vii. 11) suppose, that in the original threatening, a term would be employed which must primarily suggest the idea of an infliction, in its literal sense already sufficiently tremendous—'Thou shalt die!'—and yet, that behind that screen there was concealed a deeper meaning, which transcended the conception of all but the Infinite Intelligence? Is it credible that He who alone knew what an eternity of misery involved, and who in after ages sent His prophets to mourn, without any limit to their loud lamentations, over the merely temporal calamities of His people,—as may be seen in the Hebrew books of Isaiah and Jeremiah—would, in this first fixing of the conditions of human probation, have failed to denote as clearly the positive infliction of suffering intended, as the privation which transgression required? And again, when the curse had been incurred, is it to be believed, that a total silence would be preserved by the Judge on that part of it, which was essentially the curse, after all, and that the stress of the Divine Attention would be directed to that *bodily decease*, as it is termed, which was, when compared with the impending eternal misery of the spirit, but as a grain of sand to the universe, or one point of space to infinity?

II. In addition to the foregoing consideration, the view which it has been shown that Scripture takes of *the nature of man* is opposed to this interpretation. It has been pointed out that, according to the Bible, man is essentially a complex being, consisting of body and soul, presenting his characteristic 'image' in the 'flesh.' It is this complex nature which the later dispensa-

tions of Heaven regard, and which, therefore, we may presume, the primeval dispensation regarded likewise. It follows from this, that if death, threatened to the *man*, involved his everlasting existence in misery, that menace could not have contemplated the spirit alone; for the spirit alone is not man. If the Ruler of Heaven had intended an endless infliction of suffering upon the Man, the curse would have *demanded the associated body to share in that suffering*. The body would not have been permitted to die. We are borne out in this statement by the fact that when it is intended, in consequence of the abuse of a new probation, to punish the wicked of mankind, it is declared that Divine power will raise the bodies of the 'unjust' from the grave to undergo the infliction, of whatever nature that may be. But since it is rightly admitted, even by the writers in question, that the *original curse* contemplated no eternal infliction of pain upon the body of Adam, but only its dissolution, we argue that it is an unwarrantable imagination that the spirit alone was destined to endure an eternity of suffering; for why should the curse of the law take an eternal effect of infliction upon one-half of his nature, when both the promise and the curse of the gospel, or new system of trial for recovery, are directed to the whole of it?

III. Still further evidence that literal death, a loss of life for the compound man, without eternal infliction upon the soul alone, was the curse of the Adamic trial, occurs in the argument of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. In that place, summing up his previous reasonings on justification by Christ alone, without the deeds of the law, S. Paul thus concludes, in verses, 12-14: 'Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and DEATH by sin, even so DEATH passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. (13. For before the law, sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed where there is no law. 14. Nevertheless, DEATH reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him that is to come.)' In the verses included in a parenthesis, viz., 13 and 14, it is plainly the object to show that the statement in the preceding sentence, verse 12, was correct; to wit, that death entered into the world by the offence of one man;—that by the offence of that one man, all had been constituted sinners (as it is afterwards expressed), and rendered liable

to death. He therefore desires to prove that it was not the entrance of the Sinaitic law which brought death, the penalty of sin, into the world for the first time: since, says he, during the period which elapsed before the giving of the law, from Adam to Moses, men died:—yes, and even those that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; by which it is to be apprehended, notwithstanding the objections of some critics, he means infants and young children; for sin, he adds, is not imputed where there is no law. Yet here sin was imputed, as is evident from the penalty endured; therefore there must have been some law more ancient than the Mosaic reigning from Adam to Moses,—a law which consigned personally-sinless beings to death, through reckoning to them the act of their ancestor in its consequences.

Now the argument is as follows:—In the fourteenth verse, when S. Paul declares that *death* reigned from Adam to Moses, over the personally innocent, it must be admitted that he intends no other death than that which is so plainly described, a dissolution of the humanity, without reference to a future eternal state of suffering for the soul. Else, we shall find ourselves called upon to receive the abominable doctrine that the souls of infants, children, idiots, 'from Adam to Moses,' went to a state of everlasting suffering after their natural death; and that, as is specially pointed out, *for no fault of their own.* But if this be an interpretation, repugnant alike to the whole temper of revelation, and to the character of God, it follows, by the rules of clear writing, that the term *death* stands for the same idea in the twelfth verse, which introduces the argument. It is inconceivable that the apostle has changed the signification of the same word in the distance between two verses; for if that be the case here, we might on the same principle conclude, that when he uses the term *faith* repeatedly in the course of his reasonings, he as often changes the meaning of the word in the same sentence, and thus introduces inextricable confusion into his language. If the terms '*loss of health*' were substituted for *death* throughout the passage, we should be surprised to learn that those terms were intended to convey their plain and obvious meaning in verse 14; but that in verse 12 they signified a loss of reputation and property, and the transmission of blindness to all his descendants. Yet this alteration of meaning would

be as nothing compared with that supposed in two reputed senses of 'death:' dissolution, and interminable suffering in hell. If this observation be admitted as just—and it must be a strange exigency which requires the abandonment of this principle of interpretation, in a passage where no variation in the sense of the term is indicated by any of the usual marks of emphasis or allusion or explanation—then it follows, that the *death* which Adam brought into the world, as the wages of sin, was not an immortality in misery, after natural dissolution, but that literal dissolution of the compound nature of body and soul itself,—a definition which will embrace the cases both of Adam and of his innocent infantile posterity.

From these considerations, then, we conclude that the original threatening, 'In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' was intended to signify a literal, immediate, and final dissolution of the nature of Adam as a man; his death, in the ordinary sense of the word, without any reference whatever to the state, or even to the survival, of the spirit beyond.* Adam was placed in Paradise, a wonderful combination of earth and soul; allied to the animals, but a little lower than the angels, and endowed with the image of God; on probation, to 'see what was in his heart;' whether by obedience he would rise to the rank of immortals, and 'never die;' or whether, by disobedience, he would forfeit for himself, and for his posterity, the possession of that prospect of eternal glory which was visible from the heights of his glorious abode in the garden of Eden. This *death* was 'the curse of the law;' not merely of the Mosaic law, but of that law under which Adam was created at first, and of which the thunders of Sinai were a second manifestation. In the language of S. Paul, 'The letter *killeth*' (2 Cor. iii. 6).

This seems, however, to be the fitting place to enter a caveat against a misconception which experience shows to exert a misleading influence in this discussion: we refer to the definitions of Death and Life. The advocates of the theology which is called in question in these pages have sometimes shown an anxiety to fasten upon their opponents a definition of death which shall

* In this sense *the same words* are used by the Almighty in threatening Abimelech (Gen. xx. 7).

restrict its meaning sharply to *annihilation of substance*, and conversely to restrict the definition of eternal life to the naked idea of *eternal conscious existence;* knowing well that under such conditions of controversy a temporary verbal advantage is assured. For nothing can be clearer than that these terms, when used respecting the destiny of a moral being under judgment, carry with them throughout the Scripture certain secondary associations of thought and feeling, the exclusion of which from view will lead to grave error,—error just as pernicious as that which arises from an exaggeration of these secondary associations into the place of the primary radical signification of the terms. *Life* in the Scripture, used in relation to the gift of eternal life, undoubtedly carries with it associations of *holy spiritual blessedness;* and *death* when spoken of as the penal destiny of the wicked undoubtedly carries with it in all cases associations of *sin and suffering* as its consequence, suffering leading to destruction. The measure of that suffering and even its nature will depend on the death which the sinner dies. If it be like that of Adam under the original law, a death incurred through sore temptation, the case is distinct from that second death of obstinately impenitent sinners, who have incurred 'many stripes' by rejecting the covenant of Divine mercy. This observation is required at the outset of the argument, inasmuch as writers of ability have attempted to nullify its general strength by insisting on the adoption of definitions to which it is impossible to yield assent.

Not less is it necessary to guard against the recurrence of difficulties springing from the attempt of some ingenious writers to fasten on us a metaphysical definition of death as an *annihilation of substance*. Of such annihilation in its strict sense we know nothing. The death of which we speak, is both in the first and the second death the destruction of the life of Humanity, by dissolution. What becomes of the elements which composed the Integer depends on circumstances. Where no reconstitution of the complex organism is designed, we suppose the destination of the spiritual element is similar to that of the animating principle in the death of animals. Where such reconstitution is designed, we suppose the spirit is preserved with a view to the resurrection of the Man. Those, whose philosophy requires them to maintain, contrary to their practice in relation to the animals, that the veritable humanity is found in

the mind alone which survives in death, seem unable even to apprehend an argument in which the *humanity* is the living organism, including body and soul. When that complex organism is dissolved the Man is no more. Those who for any reason do not assent to this proposition are at war not only with us, but, may we not add, with true science and philosophy, the whole body of Scripture, and the best Christian antiquity.

The statement that the threatening of death as a penal infliction must be taken in the complex sense of suffering ending in destruction, has been opposed in the manner following. It has been said:* 'The destruction spoken of in the future cannot mean annihilation. Most of those who hold ultimate annihilation, hold that it is preceded by years or ages of suffering. Either these ages of suffering are the destruction, or they are not. If they are, then clearly destruction is consistent with continued life. If they are not the destruction but only precede it then the destruction is not inflicted when Christ comes, as it is said to be, and the threatened destruction which is always spoken of as a punishment, is a blessing, not a curse. It is either suffering or a most welcome release! From one or other of these conclusions we see no escape.'

Substituting in this extract the words destruction of life for *annihilation*, and disclaiming the belief that 'ages' of suffering are to precede that destruction, it is easy to unlock this dilemma, by attending to the language used in the Bible respecting the Death of Christ. All that is comprehended under that designation, is sometimes spoken of as 'the sufferings of Christ,'—sometimes simply as His 'death,' or the 'laying down of His life.' Suppose we apply the above-cited principle of criticism to these phrases. 'Either those dreadful sufferings precedent were the death of Christ, or they were not. If they were, then the death of Christ was not dissolution, but was consistent with His continued life as a man, and *He never died* in the sense in which the evangelists say that He did. If those sufferings were not the death, but only preceded it, then the Saviour was not "dying" during the passion, but only at a single moment between the two evenings at the feast of the passover; and, moreover, the death of Christ, which is always spoken of as a curse, was a blessing.

* See this argument in Dr. Angus *On Future Punishment*, p. 25.

Christ's death was either suffering, without dissolution, or it was a most welcome release. From one or other of these conclusions, we see no escape.'—What would be the answer to such an argument?—The general term death, as applied to Christ's sacrifice, signified the dissolution of His life, but included also the idea of those fearful mental and bodily sufferings, including the 'stripes' laid on Him by Pilate, which preceded and prepared it.

Another example will further illustrate this rule. In Deut. xxviii. 58, Moses thus exhorts the Israelites: 'If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even *great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.* Also every sickness and every plague which are not written in the book of the law, will the Lord bring upon thee, *until thou be destroyed.* And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you, *to destroy you and bring you to nought.*'

A comment on these curses of the law, on the model furnished above, would run as follows: 'Either these great plagues of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance, were the 'destruction' and the 'bringing to nought' here threatened, or they were not. If they were, then the destruction was consistent with the continued life of Israel on the land whither the Lord led them to possess it; and the threatening never contemplated the literal death of the offenders, but solely the infliction in Palestine of great plagues of long continuance on a population which should *exist in misery and in undiminished numbers*, from age to age, and generation to generation. And the 'bringing them to nought,' and 'leaving them few in number,' meant that they were to be made exceedingly wretched in the land of their possession. If on the other hand the 'great plagues of long continuance' were not the destruction, but only preceded it, then the destruction was a 'most welcome release;' and it was a blessing that was held out to the Israelites when it was said they should be 'destroyed from off the land given to their fathers.'—Again, we may surmise that the reader would not find difficulty in allowing that a general threatening of *death and destruction* might well be taken to *include* the prolonged sufferings of the

disobedient people, and the awful abolition of life in which those sufferings should terminate. He would certainly not argue either that destruction could not signify a complex curse of plagues and death, or that the plagues and sicknesses were to be everlasting. He would pronounce that the threatening intended was prolonged suffering ending in a death which was a 'curse,' and a loss of all the blessings of continued life in the holy land and in the Divine favour. It is a gradual and painful destruction. We propose to apply the same rule of interpretation to the more awful threatening of 'many stripes,' and of 'destruction of body and soul, in Gehenna,' held out to those who reject the gospel.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE TRIAL OF ADAM IN PARADISE, AND THE ENTRANCE OF REDEEMING MERCY.

'And that He hath withdrawn Himself, and left this His temple desolate, we have many sad and plain proofs before us. The stately ruins are visible to every eye, that bear in their front yet extant this doleful inscription—HERE GOD ONCE DWELT. Enough appears of the admirable frame and structure of the soul of man to show the divine presence did some time reside in it; more than enough of vicious deformity to proclaim He is now retired and gone. The lamps are extinct, the altar overturned, the light and love are now vanished, which did the one shine with so heavenly brightness, the other burn with so pious fervour: the golden candlestick is displaced, and thrown away as a useless thing to make room for the throne of the Prince of Darkness. The faded glory, the impurity, the disorder, the decayed state in all respects of this temple, too plainly show the Great Inhabitant is gone.'—HOWE'S *Living Temple*, Pt. ii., ch. iv.

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and desirable to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat' (Genesis iii.). It has been usual under superficial views to make sport of this narrative, as if it represented the ruin of a world as turning 'just upon the eating of an apple.' Such is not the representation of the ancient Sage who has been employed to preserve the traditions of the earliest world. The temptation presented was, according to him, one which appealed to the whole un-moral side of humanity—to the lower appetite (*good for food*), to the sense of beauty (*desirable to the eyes*), and, above all, to the intellect and 'Ego-theism' of the probationer (*it was a tree to be desired to make one wise*). And this wisdom is declared by the 'serpent,' who allures the woman, to be such as would exalt them to an equality with God in insight. '*Ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil.*' The whole strength of the

sensuous, imaginative, and ambitious portion of their nature was brought out, as a test of the strength of that higher will which should have preserved them, by faith, in union with their Maker. 'The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life' were set over against the attraction of the Infinite Good, the Infinite Beauty, and the Infinite Will. And as against these no attraction in the creation, no fascination of the tempter, ought to have prevailed. The determining force is represented as lying in the will; a real and mighty Cause, which could produce either life or death eternal, according to its self-direction. There seems to have been no exceptional hardship in the case of the first human beings. The higher privileges of divine sonship with us must be purchased by 'enduring temptation.' Those who 'with full purpose of heart cleave to the Eternal' remain in everlasting union with Him. Those who separate from God, and insist on an empirical atheism of thought and action, sink into darkness. The trial of Adam, then, was a trial of faith; and in no essential respect differed from our own—except in this, that he commenced his probation in a state of healthy moral equilibrium, which made his sin the greater: and we commence ours with an inherited degeneracy that entails a weakened power for resistance.

Yielding to the falsehood of the 'Serpent' (a personage whose true nature and relationships will be considered in a following chapter), Adam and Eve, says the record, disobeyed their Creator, and came under the sentence of Death. This serpent, who is at once marked as more than a serpent (1) by his speech, (2) by fixed defiance of God, and (3) by contradiction of His word, 'beguiles the woman' by an argument drawn from the name of the 'tree of knowledge of good and evil.' 'If it be a tree whereby you may gain *knowledge*, then it is clear that it will not cause death, since the dead cannot *know*. Your "eyes will be opened;" you are now led blindfold by the envious and tyrannical Power which has made you; but then you will see and know for yourselves what is wise.' In such a serpent as this was surely hidden some mystery of power of evil, which, if not explained at once, may expect explanation in subsequent revelation.

Death by the law, however, was due to the law-breakers. Revolting from the rule of the Eternal, they fall back upon their own mortality, and come under that law of evanescence

which had dominated over all living creatures on earth since the beginning of the kosmos.*

According to the history there was now nothing which should delay the execution of the sentence. '*In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.*' It has been argued that sometimes this phrase 'in the day,' is taken in Hebrew in a wider sense, so as not to involve an immediate action, but the commencement of a process which should subsequently end in death. No small importance attaches to this seemingly minute question. For if *in the day* was originally designed to signify instantaneous death, then since Adam's life was spared for a thousand years, according to Moses, the original sentence was not executed, and the subsequent propagation of the human race, *their very existence*, must be set down as the first result of the entrance of redemption. But if 'in the day' was to be taken only in the sense that the certainty of death would date *from that day*, but would be executed only after a thousand years of life,—then the life of the human race was not due to redemption, but came as part of the original order of nature under the law. The question is, whether the human race receives its existence, since the sin of Adam, under the law, or under redemption? I venture to think that there is not much room here for hesitation as to the intention of Moses. The phrase 'In the day,' often occurring elsewhere, in the large majority of cases signifies the occurrence of something *on the day referred to.* The exceptions to this usage are few and dubious. The reference to the phrase, attributed to the mysterious 'Serpent' of the narrative, shows the sense attached to it, both by the persons concerned, and by the historian. When Eve replies to the inquiry, 'Yea hath Elohim said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?'—'Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden Elohim hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die,'—the Serpent rejoins, 'Ye shall not surely die; for God doth know that *in the day* ye eat thereof then your eyes shall be opened.' Now in this bold contradiction of the express words of the Creator, the Serpent uses

* Mr. Clemance demurs to our reliance on the plain meaning of words in this narrative, and to our building theology on such a foundation. If the language suited popular theories better, we should hear of no objection to its authority as a basis of belief.—*Future Punishment*, p. 33.

the phrase—taken from the lips of God—*in the day*, unquestionably in the sense of something *immediately to occur*. 'In the day ye eat thereof your eyes shall be opened.' We conclude, therefore, that in the original menace the signification was *immediate* death.

Accordingly, in 'the cool of the day,'—apparently of the day of their sin,—the Judge descends, and summons the offending pair, now burning all over with a new shame of outward nakedness—corresponding with the inward consciousness of guilt; and 'they hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden.'

The Judge descends; but not to inflict the penalty!

What cause has suspended the thunderbolt? What is it that arrests the course of law? *The soul that sinneth it shall die.* What miracle of mercy unfolds itself before the astonished sinners, who stand in momentary expectation of their doom—the doom of death eternal!

The answer is familiar to ourselves, but will be a ceaseless cause of thankfulness to redeemed sinners throughout the coming eternity. It is, it can be, no other, than that from the moment of the Sin, the action of Redemption began at once to unfold itself, 'that tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us.' And while the sentence of death is postponed, not repealed, during that postponement springs to light the 'manifold wisdom' of a grace which has resolved on 'bringing many sons unto glory.'

I shall now attempt, under the light cast upon this narrative by subsequent revelations, to sketch the method of this redeeming mercy, throwing in at this place a connected statement of the hypothesis which it will be the object of subsequent chapters to establish.

In this succinct view of the supposed dispensations of God we shall assume, since it is not the object of this work to prove it, that the Bible contains a trustworthy record of the history of human redemption.

1. The general course of this argument hitherto has prepared the reader to apprehend that the bestowment of Immortal Life in the restored divine Image is believed by us to be the very

object of the Incarnation of Deity. The prevailing theology regards man as naturally mortal in the bodily part of his constitution and naturally immortal in the spiritual part. In his interior being he is already eternal; his sin is the sin of a will destined to endless duration. Redemption contemplates, it is thought, no change in the quality of his nature or in its durability. The 'resurrection of the body' in glory is a secondary and accidental accompaniment of salvation. The true humanity is found in 'the soul,' and that soul is already immortal. Redemption delivers it from a 'wrath coming' for ever, on a nature destined to live for ever. Hence the 'greatness of the salvation.' It is a salvation from eternal misery. Deliverance from so profound a ruin required a Divine Saviour and a Divine Atonement. Such is the idea of the modern age.

These notions we hold to be anti-scriptural, and part of the 'mystery of iniquity.' We hold that the Scripture teaches that the very object of Redemption is to change our nature, not only from sin to holiness, but from mortality to immortality—from a constitution whose present structure is perishable in all its parts, to one which is eternal, so that those who are partakers of the blessing 'pass from death unto life,' from a corruptible nature into one which is incorruptible in all its parts, physical and spiritual.

2. We hold next, that this mighty change in human nature and destiny, involved in the bestowment of everlasting life, is conveyed to mankind through the channel of the Incarnation, the Incarnation of 'the Life,' of the 'Logos,' or Word of God; who being before all worlds, and creating all things as the Word of the Father, 'became flesh,' took on Himself our mortal nature, 'yet without sin,' and as the Christ, or Anointed One, died on the cross, as a Divine Self-sacrificing Mediator between God and Man, so reconciling in the Divine Mind the act of grace with the equilibrium of government.

3. We believe, next, that God still further unites the Divine Essence with man's mortal nature in the Regeneration of the Individual, by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, 'the Lord and Giver of Life,' whose gracious inhabitation applies the remedy of redemption by communicating to good men of every age and generation God-likeness and immortality, to the soul by spiritual

regeneration, and to the body by resurrection. Redemption from death to endless life in God's image thus depends on nothing less than the union of humanity with Deity—the nature which has broken the law, with the Nature which is above the law; and carries out this purpose by a grace which forgives offences, a meekness which endures the legal curse of sin, and a power which snatches the victims of the Destroyer from his grasp for evermore.

This general idea of the object of Redemption we gather from a comprehensive view of the language which is employed throughout the Scripture. It is not once, nor twice, but persistently in the whole series of revelations, declared, that the Son of God came into the world to give men *Life Everlasting*. The idea now flashing upon so many minds, and ever gathering greater clearness, is that this phraseology must have been *designed* by the Scripture-writers to signify the bestowment of immortality—that there has been a mistake of the first magnitude in the traditional turn given to the term Life, reducing its meaning to a bestowment of 'spiritual life' or moral goodness on a creature already immortal.

The obvious argument occurs, that when we consider the absence from the Bible of any distinct reference to the natural immortality of the soul, and the incomparable fitness of the selected language on *life* to denote that the gift of eternal being as well as holy blessedness was the end of redemption, (supposing that such was the intention,) it seems incredible that Heaven should have allowed its messengers to employ terms systematically, on the chief topics concerned, so liable to be perverted, supposing that man is naturally immortal, and supposing that the gift of immortal life signifies only the gift of immortal perfection and enjoyment.

4. It follows from this leading principle that the execution of the original curse of death denounced on the First Man did not take effect on the day of his sin; that it was in fact postponed for a thousand years in his own person, and that this postponement, which gave space for the propagation of a race descending from him, though in the image of his own mortality, was the result of the action of Redeeming Mercy. Had the sentence of law taken immediate effect, in the deepest of all senses in Adam we all had

died ; the human race would never have been born. The existence of our race then is a boon beyond the limits of law.* We are born, it is true, to a short and evil life ; exiles from Paradise, we are born into a world smitten with a curse which cankers half its blessings ; born in the image of a fallen progenitor, by nature 'children of the indignation ;'—born under the sentence of dissolution, and in the valley of the shadow of death, where mortality not penal but natural has reigned for countless ages over the races that inhabit it ;—yet assuredly this is an existence far better than none, considered even in relation to the blessings of time, inasmuch as 'all that a man hath will he give for his life ;'—but when we consider that the gates of eternal glory open out of this mortal world for repenting sinners, and that by a wise numbering of our days during the period of trial we may obtain immortality, this brief grant of life to the myriads of the earth's population assumes the aspect of a beneficence of which the true dimensions 'pass knowledge.'

5. We suppose further that the entrance of Redemption with new privileges has brought in also new responsibilities upon mankind, involving fresh penalties on those who have 'done despite to the spirit of grace.' Hence there will be a 'resurrection of the unjust,' to give 'account of the deeds done in the body ;' and in order to permit of the reconstitution of the identical transgressor we hold that his spirit is preserved in its individuality from dissipation in the death of the man, to be conjoined again to the body at the day of judgment. This survival of the 'soul' we attribute exclusively (with Delitzsch) to the operation of

* *Note to 3rd Edition.* Adverse criticism is divided on this question in a way which shows that a despotic tone in opponents is quite out of place. *The Church Quarterly Review* treats the statement in the text as a figment for which you 'look in vain' in Scripture. *The London Quarterly Review* (a Methodist organ) affirms it to be 'a necessary implication from the biblical statement' p. 326 ; but in this important admission, that the human race owes its existence to the Incarnation,' *The London Quarterly Review* not only abandons the key to its whole exegetical attack on the interpretation of *Life* and *Death*, but falls back upon the weak theological position, that whereas, under the original condition of trial, the root of human misery would have been destroyed if the sentence had been inflicted, *now* all the wicked will have received their immortal existence in depravity and misery ultimately as the *result of Redemption*. The old Church doctrine is best defended in its integrity. : at least forms a coherent system.

Redemption with its graces and corresponding judgments. We hold, further, that the souls of the righteous have in like manner been upheld in individual being (in '*Sheol*' or '*Hades*' under the old law,—'*with Christ*' under the new—), with a view to the reconstruction of humanity in the resurrection of glory. These conclusions respecting the survival of the spirits of both evil and good men—that such survival is due not to their inherent immortality, but to the entrance of the new system of probation and judgment—are derived inferentially from the whole course of this argument.

6. We suppose that in the evolution of the wisdom of God in relation to the earth, the multiplication of the surviving human race was permitted under an hereditary law, similar to that which operates among animals, but also involving in this case an awful development of moral degeneracy in man.* Evil was destined here to work out its will once for all in the history of the creation. And not only human, but superhuman evil agency, co-operating and conspiring, was to be permitted to concentrate its hostility to God upon the earth. To the original Tempter the world was 'delivered up,' so that he might become the 'God of this world'—and reign over the creatures whom he had ruined, as an all-devouring king, who 'had the power of death.'

A new probation was instituted for man under these fearful circumstances; and it was the design of the All Merciful to deliver the objects of His mercy from out of this seven-walled Egyptian prison-house of a permitted 'kingdom of darkness.' For here was to be reared, under a stress of temptation never known before, a type of faithfulness to God also before unknown, —and every volition of right was to be exerted against the force of the whole combined strength of evil; while in order to allow of the fuller freedom of all wills in declaring their choice, judgment was not to be executed speedily, but postponed till a distant future.

The real existence and frightful activity of Evil Spirits in the history of man we believe to be an essential element of the truth respecting this world. Their action from the first days of humanity until the end of the kingdom of darkness is represented

* See on this head an admirable treatise by the Rev. J. C. Whish, M.A. *Elementary Truths upon Creation*. Bemrose & Co.

as one cause of the special compassion with which God has regarded our mortal condition. 'The devil was a murderer (*ἀνθρωποκτόνος*, man-killer) from the beginning' (John viii. 44) There is a conflict between good and evil principles going forward on earth, a conflict between good and evil men; but there is a conflict behind that, both more ancient and more awful, which alone explains the tremendous strength of evil among mortals,—that between the powers of heaven and a wing of the angelic principalities and powers in bitter revolt against the authority of God. It is on the earth that that conflict is declared to be fought out and ended. The human history is treated as an episode in a direr warfare which divides the universe;—but the earth is the battlefield of the last encounters, and the scene of the final suppression of the rebellion.

7. We believe that in the midst of this 'kingdom of darkness' God has been working from the beginning in the execution of merciful designs. Where spirits of wickedness have striven most earnestly to efface His image and to mingle earth and heaven in confusion, there the Divine Mercy has counterworked the strategy of these 'murderers,' and has unfolded successive dispensations of truth and order, suited to the age of the world, and the comprehension of mankind. In every age some sevenfold central light has been kindled to lead our race into the way of peace. In every age God has 'showed' to men, sometimes more dimly by an inward but unspoken guidance, sometimes by a verbal revelation, the reality of judgment to come, and the hope of life eternal. But the full forthshining of the light came only with the Christ. He has 'revealed the Father'—'full of grace and truth.' In Old Testament times men knew that there would be a resurrection;—even the Egyptians retained so much as that of the primeval faith. The Spirit witnessed in every city of future retribution. But the grand secret of redemption was veiled. When the Christ came, that mystery long hidden was revealed. 'The Life was manifested.' And now all men are summoned to embrace the amnesty.

8. This Christ, the King of Glory, taken up into heaven as a pledge of the enthronisation of humanity, and as a proof of the eternal union of God and Man, will shortly appear again, to over-

throw the adverse Power, to imprison in subterranean darkness those infernal enemies, to dispossess the 'aerial' spirits of evil, and to replace those 'world-rulers,' by glorified guardian saints of human origin;—thus gathering out of His kingdom of the earth, 'all things that offend and do iniquity,' and establishing the reign of right among the nations—until the hour shall strike for ending the mystery of God in the final assize. In that judgment the evil spirits will be consigned to their doom in the 'everlasting fire;' and the impenitent part of mankind, who have resisted all approaches of redeeming mercy, with those whose spirits, ignorant of God while living, have still persisted in rejecting Him in Hades, shall be cast also into hell, there to suffer 'few stripes' or 'many stripes,' 'according to their knowledge of their Lord's will,' and 'according to their deeds;' but all alike at last to perish everlastingly, to be 'killed with death,' to be 'blotted from the book of life,' to suffer ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον, 'eternal destruction,' of 'body and soul in hell,'—thus dying a 'second death' as the 'due reward of their deeds,' because persistently choosing evil, and rejecting good. 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father,' and 'as the stars for ever and ever.'

If these views of the basis of Redemption and of the Divine Method be well founded, we may anticipate the confirmation of them by the testimony of consecutive revelations honestly interpreted. We may expect to find the sacramental institutions of the patriarchal age,—the revelations of the Old Testament concerning the state of man in death, and the resurrection both of just and unjust,—the partial truth possessed by contending factions among Jews and Gentiles,—the leading doctrine of redemption from the curse by a Divine Mediator, as set forth in the writings of the New Covenant,—the teaching of the apostles on the nature and necessity of regeneration, and on the spiritual union of the twice-born with the 'Second Man the Lord from heaven,'—and lastly the awful declarations of the evangelists and apostles upon the penal destiny of those who 'judge themselves unworthy of eternal life,'—consenting to form one intelligible circle of coherent truth, and commending itself 'to every man's conscience in the sight of God.'

CHAPTER XII.

THE SERPENT IN GENESIS; AN EXCURSUS ON THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF AN EVIL SUPERHUMAN AGENCY CONCERNED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND.

Before we advance to the examination in detail of the Scripture testimony on the subjects enumerated at the close of the last chapter, it is necessary to consider with some care the preliminary difficulty presented by the introduction of the speaking Serpent in the Mosaic narrative.

That difficulty ought not to be summarily evaded by the assertion that the whole narrative is mythical, and therefore that the introduction of one personage, less or more, need occasion no disturbance to faith. It is impossible to treat the first section of the book of Genesis apart from the other books of the Bible. The organic unity of the Sacred Scriptures is by far their most wonderful characteristic. Although produced at intervals during at least 1,500 years, and varied in every degree as to style, object, and occasion, there runs through this extraordinary compilation a unity of thought and purpose, as apparent as that which pervades the organic fabric of the earth.* There have been numerous builders on this intellectual edifice, but there has manifestly been One Supreme Architect. However ready, therefore, we might be at first sight to dismiss the Serpent in Genesis as an old-world fancy, it is impossible so to do when we find that Christ and His apostles unanimously refer to this 'ancient serpent' as being no other than Satanas, the *ἀνθρωποκτόνος*, or man-killer, in disguise —the man-slayer 'from the beginning.' We have already remarked that the Bible history of man, and of man's redemption, is inextricably interwoven in the Scripture with another history of superhuman enemies of God; whose temporary victory and final

* See Garbett's *Divine Plan of Revelation.*

destruction are treated as essential elements of the right theory of the kosmos, of the right understanding of the death incurred by sin, and of the immortality bestowed in redemption. '*For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that He might destroy the works of the Devil*' (1 John iii. 8).

We shall, therefore, in this place, interpose a discussion on the Biblical doctrine of evil spirits, and attempt to sum up the declarations of prophets and apostles on this theme. In so doing, some difficulties may be removed, and faith increased in divine revelation as a whole.

The theology of the Bible, when taken in its integrity as a living unity, commends itself to a rational belief, but single portions taken alone, and apart from collateral truths, often and not unreasonably appear incredible. Any considerable addition to, or subtraction from, this unity will prove an occasion of scepticism. Faith in Revelation, as has been said, is never opposed to reason, but always to sight; yet the reasonableness of Christianity can be made to appear only to those who receive the revelation as a whole. It holds together like a vast arch composed of many stones hung in air, in which the removal of one endangers the stability of all the rest.

There can be no doubt that although Moses is silent on the source of the Serpent's murderous inspiration, his silence is vocal, and that he designed to set his readers thinking on the subject. The Serpent occupies too prominent a place in the story to allow of the idea that the writer introduced it as an unimportant ornament to the narrative. The object of this adversary is nothing less than to kill humanity in its origin, to stamp out the eternal life of man. The motive also is, manifestly, a desperate hostility to the Creator; and the method is an unscrupulous use of falsehood to accomplish the end designed. Can any reader of modern times seriously think, with Josephus, that Moses believed this serpent to be a common snake of Paradise? His pen was perhaps stayed by a superior will, as Mr. Tennyson imagines with regard to an 'Evangelist;' but there is everything in this narrative to suggest, if it be but true, all that follows in succeeding revelations as to the abnormal cause of man's mortality.

The speaking of the serpent is one of those difficulties which

appear insuperable on a superficial view; like the speaking of Balaam's ass, and the entrance of the demons into the swine; but which vanish under a more correct appreciation of the powers that underlie the phenomena, and of the moral ends subserved by permitted deviations from law. In this instance comparative inexperience of the capacities of animals, or it might be positive experience of the speech of parrots imitating her own, may account for the small recorded wonderment of Eve at the voice of the serpent. At this point it suffices to affirm that there is no scientific reason for declaring *a priori* that, in case of man's existence originally *under the circumstances supposed*, it is impossible that God should permit the possession of a serpent by some hostile Intelligence, or the employment of unfit organs to produce the effect of speech. The true question is whether the narrative in Genesis is so connected with other facts in the world's history, which carry with them decisive evidence of Revelation, as to compel belief in the literal reality of this narrative. Standing alone it would be of course incredible.

Nevertheless we speak the simple truth when we say that if a man in the biological section of the British Association were to declare his opinion that some of the most lamentable conditions of human life were traceable to the action of evil spirits, he would be regarded, by nearly the whole company of learned persons assembled, as an enthusiast past redemption by argument. Yet strangely enough it is the very persons who hold the highest opinion respecting the moral excellence of man who would be foremost in the expression of displeasure at the utterance of so fanatical a doctrine; preferring, as Mr. Foster long ago suggested, to account for the whole vast sum of wickedness and misery which fills the globe, by the single action of one nature which, as they allege, is marked by no radical defect, rather than by the easier hypothesis of the combined action of two corrupted natures working in concert.

What explanation can be given of the process by which such a result has been reached? Do the chemists, geologists, astronomers, and mathematicians, know for certain that the atmosphere of the earth is untenanted by spirits? Has the subject ever been investigated by biologists? A respectful hearing would be given

to any one who had even the smallest contribution to offer respecting the formation, the habits, the ailment, of any living creature, wild or tame, now inhabiting earth, or water, or air, from the least to the greatest. On the evidence of a single bone, or even of a mould of a single bone in clay or sand, made by pressure in old times, they would believe firmly in creatures which they never saw. The most minute animalcule, invisible to the naked eye, would win the attention of the wisest. The fierce destructive character of the beast or bird or insect would form no objection to the audience. A single tooth of any 'dragon of the prime' would be considered to furnish a basis for solid and respectable knowledge. But if one were to assert the existence of aerial 'dragons' far more terrible, and of a system of prey of which mankind were morally the victims, he could not even obtain a hearing for the evidence in any of the departments of the Association.

Do the scientific men, then, *know* that there are no such beings? By no means. All they know is that *they* have not obtained evidence of their existence through the organs of sense, the aid of chemical analysis, or optical instruments. But as in the last century electricity was unseen and unknown, and the actinic ray in the sunbeam unsuspected, so now there may be agencies at work not the less real because unobserved. Moreover, there may be methods of obtaining knowledge on such subjects quite different from those with which ordinary physicists are familiar, yet equally to be depended on. A large part of every scientific man's knowledge rests on testimony. It is but a fraction of his knowledge which he can personally verify, and there may be solid knowledge which may be obtained in the first place through the testimony, not of man, but of God, though capable of being verified by subsequent observation of physical and moral phenomena. Men of physical studies are in danger of one-sidedness in their training as truly as other men. Some are prone to neglect visible phenomena, others are prone to neglect historical and moral evidence. Professor Huxley has declared with true insight, that 'those who adhere most closely to facts will be the masters of the future;'—but then it must be *all* the facts.

There is indeed nothing intrinsically absurd in the belief that

there are spirits in the air, and that some of them are malevolent. Why should it be a clearer sign of perverted judgment to believe in wild spirits than in wild beasts, if there be but sufficient evidence? What *a priori* argument can be set up against the existence of any kind of beings, in a creation so full of unexpected and unimagined forms of life and activity?

There seems to be no fair answer possible to these questions, in bar of a hasty denial of the existence of malignant spirits of a rank above the human. Nevertheless the persuasion of their real being is in our time dying out from the minds of the majority. In educated society few can be found who believe in the Devil. The Unitarians reject the belief with abhorrence, and they are reckoned by some, as Socrates was reckoned by the oracle of Delphi, among the wisest of men. The humbler Christadelphian materialists follow in their track, and teach, from Birmingham to the Irish and German Seas, that the devil is nothing but evil in man, and that man is nothing but organised matter. The Spiritualists declare with one voice that there is no Satanas, no fallen Angel of light, no great Destroyer of Souls. The philosophers, with Mr. Lecky, demand of us,—do you not know that the belief in evil spirits has been one of the commonest, one of the most vulgar and malignant, types of the superstition which has darkened earth and sky, and degraded human life in every climate where it takes possession of the soul? Do you not know that heathenism has always dwelt largely on this gloomy dogma; that it forms half the so-called religions of India, Japan, and China; and has lain at the root of all the worst corruptions of Christianity during the last eighteen centuries? Do you not know that it has been the custom of every ignorant age to attribute to malign spiritual agency, to evil genii, half the phenomena of nature, and half the events in Providence; and that the progress of science has been a hard-fought battle with this old enemy of knowledge and truth, which has been dislodged from its position only after ages of inquiry, of observation, and careful study of nature and man? Do you not know that the unreformed tendency of humanity is always to believe in evil more than in good, even in a God who is no better than a devil, and to attribute to the Supreme Eternal Power thoughts and passions which are absolutely contrary to the laws of justice and truth?

Yes, we know these things; and if we are, nevertheless, compelled to believe that evil spirits exist, and exert a fearful influence upon human destiny, it is against many prepossessions, and under a full view of the possible perversions of the doctrine.

The question may be brought for examination within a narrow compass. By no fair and straightforward method of interpretation can this doctrine be extruded from the Bible. The one point to determine is—What measure of authority belongs to the Bible on such a subject? The reference to evil spirits, operating on mankind from the air, weirdly extends like a flaming arch across the whole firmament of Scripture. The Bible asserts, and most clearly in its final revelations, that the earth, as it flies along its orbit, is haunted by wicked beings of mighty ambition and sleepless energy, whose aim it is, by exciting passion and misleading thought, to deceive and destroy mankind. 'We wrestle not,' says S. Paul, 'against blood and flesh, but against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. vi. 12).

We proceed now to point out several characteristics of the teaching of the Bible on Infernal Agency, to which sufficient attention has not been paid, though they go far to establish its truth.

1. This doctrine, plainly as it is taught in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, is at once distinguished from the debasing superstitions respecting evil spirits found in heathen systems of mythology and religion, as in China, Ceylon, and India, by this —that it is taught along with the equally clear doctrine of the counteracting agency of good spirits called the angels of God. 'Michael and his angels fight against the devil and his angels.' If the Bible declares that we wrestle against the 'power of the air,' it also declares that there are good spirits 'sent forth to minister to the heirs of salvation.' If a black cloud of asserted diabolic agency covers the world, in the representation of the Bible that black cloud is riven in many places, and through the rifts we see the guardian angels extending as a galaxy of stars across the midnight sky, covering the world with a benignant agency sweeter than the influence of the Pleiades. This is a fact most noteworthy, for it has had this effect, that in no place where the Bible in its integrity has been popularly read has the doctrine

of evil spirits usurped a disproportionate share of attention, or debased the public mind through the pressure of an overwhelming burden of gloom. Good and good beings, God over all, have always been represented by the Bible as supreme. Evil, however powerful, is but a temporary hindrance to the welfare of the universe. 'Satan is to be trodden under foot shortly.' Thus it has happened that the Christian believer in infernal agency is easily distinguishable from the devil-worshippers of Ceylon, or the paper-burning devotees of China and Japan, much more from the adherents of the Oriental theology, in which two equal powers of good and evil struggle through eternity for supremacy.

2. It is to be observed next, that the demonology of the Bible is developed in a method exactly the reverse of that which occurs in every other literature, ancient or modern. Alike in the East and in the West the general order of thought has been from more belief to less; from superstition and credulity to scepticism and rejection of mythologic folk-lore concerning genii and demons; from the old faith in devils to the more recent unbelief of 'science.' The further we go back in the history of nations the larger is the belief in bad agencies and evil spirits, the gloomier the superstition arising from terror at their power; and the nearer we approach to modern times the more has this belief yielded to the influence of doubt and questioning. Thus it was in Greek history. Thus it was in the case of the Romans. Thus it has been in Chinese and Indian literature. And thus it has been in the thought of modern Europe. In the earlier ages men readily believed in ghosts and demons; in our day a man who professes such a faith has to fight a battle, and to render a severe account of his intellectual state to his contemporaries.

Now observe the Bible. There we find, in a remarkable manner, the reverse of the phenomenon to which attention has been called. The farther back you go in Hebrew history, the earlier the epochs to which the Hebrew books belong, the fainter and dimmer is the character of the references to the agency of evil spirits. The nearer you advance towards the maturity of Jewish thought, when it was strongly influenced by Hellenic culture—the nearer you draw to the period of final revelation—the more distinct, the more emphatic, the more positive, the more detailed

and absolute, the more pronounced and dreadful becomes the doctrine of evil spiritual agency. In the books of Moses you find it occurring only as a faint shadow on a background of terrestrial legislation. In the Gospels and Epistles, in the teaching of Christ and His apostles, you find it flaming out like lightning on every side, whose 'flash hangs durable in heaven;' you find a terrible clearness of outline and force of colouring given to the doctrine, which astonish and overawe you. When according to all other experience this doctrine of evil agency ought to have begun to fade away, it comes into the front, the veil seems to be removed, and we are called to battle with enemies that almost visibly fill the air, and carry on a ceaseless war against God and man. And if a slight exception occurs in the scepticism of the Sadducees, that exception serves only to prove the rule with greater emphasis, of a general fixed resolve on the part of apostolic teachers to affirm the reality of the powers which the Sadducees denied. Surely this looks like a special overruling influence; for it contravenes the natural method of human thought.

3. There is another characteristic of the Scripture doctrine on Satanic action, which distinguishes it from pagan mythologies. In the heathen mythologies the so-called good spirits were scarcely distinguishable morally from bad, except in this one particular, that they were reputed arbitrarily to confer physical benefits upon their adorers, while the evil demons are hostile and mischievous. In the Bible the evil spirits are represented as evil, mainly because they are morally opposed to a God who is righteous, and who can be acceptably worshipped only by righteous adorers. There is nothing conventional, local, or peculiar in the quality of the evil ascribed in Scripture to the devil and his angels. The evil of their nature consists in opposition to a God who answers to the highest possible conception of Purity and Truth. The evil spirits of the Bible are the enemies of man because they are the enemies of 'Righteousness.' They are to be abhorred and resisted because they have lost the image of God. Their ill-will is boundless, but their power is limited, and strictly subordinate to the Sovereign Perfection.

Thus the belief in the evil spirits of the New Testament never

operates as a degrading influence on any one who also believes in the revelation of the Divine glory. It operates for evil only when taken out of relation with what is revealed of Divine wisdom, mercy, and truth. There have indeed been many perverted Christians who have believed in the devil a great deal more than in God and in Christ, but these must not be taken as examples of the character which the Bible rightly used will produce in its disciples.

4. The last peculiarity in the Biblical doctrine on Satanic agency is, that it is an essential element in the system of Redemption which the Scripture professes in part to reveal. It is not an accidental excrescence, but belongs to the substance of the whole whether that whole be true or false. There is no special reason for rejecting this portion of the system more than any other. It is interwoven with every other element of Christianity. If the supernatural character of the doctrine be an objection, the same objection will lie against the belief in the holy angels of God, or in any Divine revelation whatsoever. If the circumstance of invisibility be an objection to faith, the same objection lies against belief in God, in Christ, and even in the human soul.

Not only are we taught that the reduction of man to the rank of creatures doomed to die was the work of such an agency, but we are urgently warned that that malign agency continues to dominate over mankind, to poison the world by its influence, to deceive the nations, and industriously to tempt individual souls to their eternal destruction. The reader of the Bible may not approve of this instruction—may find it opposed to his inner consciousness—may secretly doubt or openly deny its truth, but at all events it is in the Bible, it is everywhere in the Christian Revelation, most clearly of all in the teaching of the Son of God Himself. It is in His discourses that we discover the fullest, firmest assertion of the existence, action, and punishment of 'the devil and his angels.' To say, as some do, that Christ herein showed His limitation and ignorance, is not for a man to show his own scientific accuracy. It is to beg the very question in dispute. How do you know that there are no evil spirits? Two hundred years ago men did not know that there were such things as oxygen or electricity; both invisible, and yet both most real.

How do you know that Christ was ignorant, when He asserted, in God's name, that there were such beings?

To say again, as others do, that Christ was not ignorant, but, knowing well that there were no Satanic spirits, He nevertheless dissembled, and accommodated Himself to superstitious usages of speech, to Jewish or Grecian folk-lore, is to strike at the root of His claim to be a heaven-sent messenger at all, much less the Son of God. If the doctrine of evil spirits be not true, there is no falsehood in religion more pernicious, more destructive in its operation, or which more deserves to be assailed and exploded by the prophets of God. The adversaries of the doctrine are witnesses to its pernicious quality, unless divinely true. To represent Christ as teaching wilfully in this matter a lie, is to take away His claim to be listened to on any religious subject whatsoever. If there be no Devil and Satan, no 'murderer from the beginning,' no real 'demons' to be cast out and conquered, then Jesus Christ proceeded on a false path, and has in this respect done more than any other teacher to debase mankind, and, as Mr. Clifford affirms, to 'destroy two civilisations.' But who can seriously believe that when He was professing to 'cast out the spirits by His word,' and to address as personal beings the demons whom He expelled, He was all the while talking to 'Oriental figures,' to 'metaphors for disease and lunacy,' and that He voluntarily deceived both His disciples and the multitude? It is, at all events, clear that Christ believed in the devil and his angels, and believed Himself sent by God to overthrow 'the kingdom of darkness;' and this goes a great way towards establishing the truth of the doctrine.

My object, however, in this chapter, in summarising the statements of Scripture on the action of evil spirits in human affairs, is not to prove the truth of those statements to general sceptics. Their truth can be rendered apparent only to those who believe much besides. Into a belief of their reality, no man can be argued in our time by an independent process. Such a faith must spring, if at all, from a general acceptance of the Christian Revelation, and from some spiritual experience and insight. If a man do not possess these qualifications, it is hopeless to offer him this evidence of an evil agency operating on the earth, since to such

a mind any special argument, however serious, in support of the doctrine is certain to excite ridicule rather than respect.

In this, however, as in other instances, the believers have had a share in producing unbelief. Additions to the Scripture doctrine have resulted in its indiscriminate rejection. The rabbinical, patristic, and mediæval writers have each in turn promoted that state of thought which is now ending in a general disbelief in diabolic power. The very idea of the devil has varied with the spirit of the age. The Devil of the earlier centuries of Christianity was a 'roaring lion,' a 'raging wild beast;' so he is often called by the martyrologists. The Satan of the middle-ages was a grotesque but mischievous imp of darkness. The Devil of modern romance is the Mephistopheles of *Faust* and *Festus*, a mocking philosopher and grimly profane misanthrope. Milton's genius has filled the atmosphere with a brilliant phantasmagoria of contending angels, at once too human and too divine—a vision of chivalry which has resulted in creating either a sympathetic interest, as in Robert Burns's verses, on behalf of the hero of the song—or an unconquerable scepticism with regard to the whole subject.

Dismissing now from our thoughts, as far as possible, all ideas except those which we find plainly set forth in the Biblical writings, what remains?

First of all, the Bible offers no genesis of the kingdom of darkness, no clear account of ante-mundane angelic rebellion. It takes up the history of the spiritual world at the point where it touches the history of man, that is, in the middle of affairs, not at the beginning. Just as it takes up the physical history of the globe at the introduction of man, so it is with the spiritual history of the creation. The book of Genesis for the whole system of things has not been written for us. By geology we have learned that there was a long preadamic history of the globe, and we may infer, perhaps, that there was a preadamic spiritual history, perhaps of this very earth, and a history in which the evil power was concerned; but of this we are taught nothing in the Bible. The record of revelation to man commences with man's creation, and as it unfolds it brings out in vivid colours his relations with some man-destroying agency above him in the air. But there is

no memoir of Satan *pour servir*. The Bible expends one chapter on the final setting of the earth in order as man's abode, the last of the animal ascending series, the first of the sub-angelic, and two chapters on his loss of eternal life by sin; and then adheres closely to man's work and business under the sun, his history, his destiny, throughout its remaining pages.

Towards the latter part of the record, in the biographies of Christ, the fact of the existence of evil spirits, referred to dimly by preceding prophets, comes out into prominence; but there is still no genesis, no history of celestial insurrection, no biography of the Prince of Darkness. Tempting as the subject would have been to the 'will of man,' no prophet's hand was stretched forth to portray on the screen of revelation the awful shadow-picture of the revolt in heaven. There are those to whom these persistent silences of Scripture are as expressive of divinity, in 'reason's ear,' as its positive utterances.

The next noticeable characteristic of the Biblical record on this matter is the reticence of the Old Testament writers in comparison with those of the New. The account of the speaking serpent in Genesis is given so as to suggest to after-thought, rather than to plainly unfold or enforce, the idea of a mighty spiritual agency hostile to man. It was open to a materialistic reader of that narrative to take the story as a mythical representation of the evil which everywhere attends misapplied free agency, or, even in its lowest literality, as a description of the war between mankind and the serpent races. The idea of a superhuman evil spirit, however, appears more than once in the following pages of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch is completely silent; for the reference to Azazel, in the Hebrew of Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26, as the supposed demon of the desert, to whom the sin-laden goat of the Atonement-day is sent, is too dubious to furnish a basis for criticism. But if we assume the moderate antiquity of the book of Job we find a clearly-developed idea of an 'Adversary,' who operates from the air, and even exerts enormous power over the elements in persecuting the saint of the Lord.

Excepting the 'lying spirit' in Micaiah's vision (1 Kings xvii. 23), there is no similar reference till the Captivity; for the allusion to the temptation of David by Satan in the matter of numbering

the people does not occur in the earlier book of Kings, but in the compend of the Chronicles, which belongs to a much later age. In this age there are several distinct references in the prophets to evil spirits. In Daniel x. 13-20, we find the angel Michael resisting a power whom he calls 'the Prince of the kingdom of Persia' during the twenty-one days that the answer to Daniel's prayer was delayed through the absence of the hierophant; the reference being indubitably to some demonic force believed to influence for evil the destinies of that court. In Zechariah iii. 1-3, we find Satan appearing in a vision of the Prophet as a foe to the high priest Joshua, who represents the Jewish people, and he is there rebuked by name as a personal being. There ends the Old Testament demonology. It could not well occupy a narrower space in the record of a revelation extending through several millenniums.*

Very striking is the change of tone at the appearing of Jesus Christ. The historians of His life are men of the Roman age, that age so supremely realistic and business-like in its tastes, so proud and pitiless in its scepticisms. Yet these Evangelists, after detailing in the most prosaic style the birth and early history of Jesus, with dates, places, and other particulars thereto pertaining, bring into their narration of the commencement of Christ's ministry, in the most deliberate manner, an account of His direct 'temptation by the Devil' in the wilderness,—a devil so real and personal that he quotes Scripture deceitfully, and is corrected by Christ,—asserts his control over the political system of all nations on earth, yet offers to abandon his sovereignty if Jesus will do him homage. This account of the existence and activity of the Devil is delivered by Matthew, Mark, and Luke to mankind; and is distributed in every province of the Roman Empire, as a true history, in the full blaze of the Roman day, as a thing which the Evangelists themselves believed, and expected other men, even of the highest intelligence, to believe also.

* If it be said that Jews learned this lesson from the Persians and the Chaldees, it may be replied that the Persians and the Chaldees learned it perhaps from a primitive antiquity. Truth was not revealed only to the Jews. And all Oriental traditions and doctrines are not false because they are 'Oriental.'

The residue of the evangelical biographies is answerable to this beginning. So far from retreating from these introductory statements into the light of common life, Christ seems in their pages to be surrounded by evil spirits. Notwithstanding the singularly realistic style of these writings, their freedom from ordinary signs of exaltation, their strange quietness of tone in narrating events which have furnished pabulum to the arts of nearly two thousand years, they adhere throughout to this representation of the life and speech of Jesus. His days are spent not only in healing diseases and in raising the dead, but specially in 'casting out unclean spirits' (or δαιμόνια). These are constantly distinguished from 'the devil' (ὁ διάβολος), but are represented to us (whatever their origin, whether departed evil souls of men or fallen angels, of which nothing is affirmed) as forming a part of the Power of Darkness. More than this, the ability of casting out *daimonia* was imparted, say they, to Christ's disciples. Various are the effects attributed to the demonic action in the New Testament. In the Gospels they appear as causing deafness, dumbness, madness, epilepsy, and exhibitions of violence equal to the rending of bands of iron. In some cases they acted alone, in others by 'sevens,' in others they 'swarmed,' (Luke vi. 18, οἱ ὀχλούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων) as in the instance of the Gadarene who filled the midnight darkness with his awful shrieks and wailings; out of whom went a 'legion' of evil spirits (a legion in that day contained 6,500 men); beseeching Jesus that they might not be sent out into the 'abyss' (ἄβυσσον or 'bottomless pit' of Rev. xx. 1), the under-world of Hades. They are further represented as seeking liberty to transmigrate into the bodies of two thousand swine, and as accomplishing the destruction of the whole herd as by the passage of some malignant whirlwind;* at another time as possessing a slave-girl at Philippi, and enabling her owners to make 'much gain' by her supernatural spiritualism; a 'divination' so effectual that when the spirit was cast out there was no legerdemain remaining, or natural clair-

* Those who believe in the reality of this occurrence will learn to look upon the old-world Asiatic doctrine of metempsychosis with fresh interest. It is scarcely possible to regard the action of the demons in this instance as an isolated fact. If the demons of the Gospels were departed spirits of men, as many suppose, the subject acquires still further interest. See Dr. J. H. Newman's *Historical Sketches*, iii., 208.

voyance, so that the 'hope of their gains was gone;'—loudly crying up the apostleship of Paul and Silas as 'the servants of the Most High God,' so as to fasten the brand of their abominable advocacy upon the ministers of the Gospel—and then leaving the wrathful proprietors of the dispossessed medium to wreak their vengeance on the evangelists before the magistrates of Philippi, who beat them cruelly with rods and cast them into the prison. But all these spirits, whatever their number, force, origin, or malignity, are represented as subject to the Son of God. Him they 'knew' when men knew Him not. His power they feared as that of their destined judge and 'destroyer.' 'He cast out the spirits by His word, and suffered them not to speak,' when they offered their infernal testimony to Him as the 'Holy One of God.'

From such descriptions of the subordinate powers of evil the Gospel writers never shrink: they insist upon this testimony to the end. But their chief effort is directed to bring out their Master's tremendous doctrine respecting the Devil himself. In the four Gospels the personality of this mighty Destroyer is nearly as pronounced as that of the Scribes and Pharisees; Jesus Christ speaks of him with an edge and a fervour, and of his doom in 'the everlasting fire' with a fearful reality of tone, which leaves no doubt at all as to His own belief in infernal agency. With Him it is 'the Devil' who plucks away the good seed sown in man's heart;—the 'enemy who sows tares' among the wheat to ruin the crop is the Devil;—falsehood is traced by him up to no abstract origin of evil, but to its fountain in the Devil; 'for he is a liar and the father of it.' The Mosaic narrative of the fall and death of Adam and Eve is plainly assumed by Christ to be literally true, and the serpent is described as this same 'Devil' who was a 'man-killer from the beginning' (*ἀνθρωποκτόνος*, John viii. 44). Hear His piercing words, 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do! He was a murderer *from the beginning*, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar and the father of it!'

Can we wonder if, after such language from the Master, who said that by His death 'the Prince of this world should be cast out,' and that He would thereby 'draw all men to Himself,' we

read S. John's deliberate statement that '*after the sop* Satan entered into' Judas (τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σατανᾶς, xiii. 27), words in which he affirms a personal possession and incarnation of the chief Evil Spirit for a season in the body of the traitor, even as the Logos was incarnate in the person of Jesus Himself? Can we wonder that S. John afterwards sums up the end of the incarnation as being the destruction of the works of the devil, by the abolition of death, and of sin its cause?—or that at the close of his long apostleship S. Paul, after conversing for thirty years with the sceptics of the Roman world, in the most deliberate language asserts that the conflict of godliness is to be carried on not simply against earthly forces, but against that mighty realm of evil spirits unveiled by the Son of God? He says (Eph. vi. 12), 'For us the wrestling-match is not against blood and flesh, but against the governments, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against spirits of wickedness in the heavenlies,' or aerial regions. Such words accord well with his statement to Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 18), that when he received his commission from Christ, then risen into a realm where no human illusions could obscure His vision, our Lord sent him 'to open the blind eyes, and to turn men *from the power of Satan* unto God.' They accord with his frequent allusions to the same Satan as an active enemy of man, who was ever on the watch to deceive the Churches by 'transformation as an angel of light' (2 Cor. xi. 14), to 'overreach' them by the temptation to excessive severity with an offender (2 Cor. xi. 11);—who was capable of 'hindering' an apostolic journey (1 Thess. ii. 18); of inciting the younger women to turn aside after himself, to their own perdition. He attributes the spiritual condition of mankind as 'alienated from the life of God' to the direct inspiration of a spirit that 'energises in the children of rebellion' (Eph. ii. 2); he speaks of excessive anger as 'opening the door to the devil' (Eph. iv. 27), of pride in a neophyte bishop as leading him to the 'doom of the devil;' of the necessity there is for a bishop to avoid the 'trap' set for him by the devil (1 Tim. iii. 7). Again and again he describes this arch-enemy of God, and his subordinate agents, as resorting to all imaginable arts of deception to effect the perversion of Christendom. He speaks of the 'wiles of the devil,' as well as of the sleight and legerdemain of his

crafty emissaries; of the 'all-deceivableness of unrighteousness' in the 'working of Satan;' of his manifold 'devices,' as well as of his 'fiery darts.' He addresses Elymas the *Goes*, or spiritualistic sorcerer, as one of Satan's sons—'Thou child of the devil!' He does not scruple to speak of this mighty spirit in the loftiest terms when describing his influence over human affairs. He is the 'Prince or ruler of this world;' he is even Θεὸς, 'the God of this world,' the 'Governor of the demons.' Surely such language in S. Paul well accords with the language of our Lord Himself, recorded by the Evangelists.

But now, to digest these testimonies into definite forms, what are the conclusions to which they seem to compel assent? We submit to the reader the following:—

1. We learn, if the Bible is true, that the moral life of mankind is closely interwoven with the life of spiritual beings inhabiting the earth's atmosphere. It may be that all planetary and animal life is subject to the government of higher intelligences. But the case of the earth is peculiar. From whatever cause, of which the history is concealed, the κοσμοκράτορες, or world-rulers of this globe have revolted from God, and have succeeded in propagating their revolt to its human inhabitants, with the result of bringing them decisively under the law of death which has reigned during all past ages. We are taught that there is one sovereign Archangel of stupendous power, capable of embracing in his thoughts the government of the world, and of prosecuting through all ages a fixed purpose in that government; who, together with his allies, is carrying forward on earth a war of resistance against God and of extermination against man. For the conflict in its essential end respects the immortality of man. Man, at first hovering in his constitution between death and life eternal, was brought under definitive sentence of destruction for the sin into which he was tempted by these envious foes. The letter, or law, 'killeth.' But redeeming mercy came to our relief in that love which seeks to save our lives with a great deliverance. The Incarnation of the Divine 'Life' secures the immortality of all who are united with Him by regeneration of the Holy Spirit, but the finally unregenerate will perish; and thus, to achieve the destruction of the greatest possible number is represented as the

object of Satanic action from age to age. 'Your adversary, the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' His passion for soul-killing is represented as extending this system of prey over all the earth. He is the controller of the conduct of natural men. His access to the minds of wicked men is described as direct. Satan 'put it into the heart of Judas' to betray his Master. He 'filled the heart of Ananias to lie to the Holy Ghost.' But his power is limited by the soul's compliance. Christians can 'resist the devil, and he will flee from them.' The spark is impotent where the powder is absent. The resolved will leaning upon the power of God ensures absolute safety against the machinations of evil. The will of man acting through the medium of the power of God suffices to overcome 'all that is in the world.' But the invisibility of the force to be resisted supplies one main element in the trial of the human soul, and brings into probation all the spiritual energies of our nature. When there is *no resistance* to evil attempted by men, they are said to be 'led captive of the devil at his will;' the soul is then carried along by the mighty stream of universal depravity, like a corpse floating upon the Ganges, and is swallowed up by the destroyer.

2. A review of the above-cited passages shows it to be the doctrine of Scripture that those Powers of Darkness, in the prosecution of their design, or general purpose of 'man-killing,' direct their special endeavours to raising up and consolidating systems of government which shall effectually promote the deception and degradation of mankind. In the temptation of the Son of God, Satan is represented as asserting his political dominion in plain words. He showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, and said, 'All this power will I give thee, for to me it is delivered, and to whomsoever I will I give it' (Luke iv. 6). The same idea is conveyed in S. Paul's description of the evil spirits as 'principalities and powers;' and it is repeated in symbolic language in the Apocalypse, where S. John, speaking of the sovereignty of that 'ten-horned wild beast' which is usually supposed to represent the Roman Empire, says, 'The dragon gave him his power and seat and great authority.' And the present general abandonment of the political providence to the Devil is implied in the contrasted statement that hereafter 'God will take unto Himself

His great power and reign.' This fearful description of the origin of most of the world's sovereignties and priesthoods (to be qualified of course by much exceptional victory of good), at all events agrees well with their recorded history. If evil spirits had openly assumed the government of the nations, they could not have surpassed the ordinary reigning houses and hierarchies of the earth in the neglect of the true ends of administration, or in the active promotion of every influence which can delude or deprave mankind. The history of government, civil and sacred, is the history of a wickedness which, if not infernal, at least strongly resembles it.

Under this view the union of the civil and religious authorities under one head—perhaps the chief agency in the spiritual ruin of the world—is revealed in its true character, as the policy of 'the power of the air.' No lesson of the Apocalypse flashes forth more clearly than the evil origin of the craft which places the woman (the Harlot-Church) on the back of the wild beast. She has made the nations 'drunk with the cup of her fornication,' and has 'shed the blood of saints and martyrs' till heaven itself cries, 'Lord, how long!' The marvellous stability, through long ages, of governments devoted to the maintenance of superstition, receives its most intelligible explanation in this doctrine of the Prophets—that the Rulers of the earth are not men, but the hosts of darkness, and that Kings and Priests are but their tools.

3. The next fact that comes out in the Biblical testimony is that the diabolical rule over mankind is maintained less by open war with the religious sentiment than by its perversion; less by inciting men to atheism and vice than by deceiving them into God-dishonouring and soul-destroying superstition. S. Paul, the most effective adversary with whom evil ever contended, lays the utmost stress on the 'wiles,' the 'devices,' the 'stratagems' of the powers of darkness. The warfare is carried on everywhere from an ambush. There is little advocacy of evil as evil; the effort is directed to presenting evil as good. There is no coming forth with an open proclamation, 'We are devils, in revolt against God and His Christ; join us in the insurrection!'—but the mischief is wrought by deception and personation, and by combinations of good and evil, which indicate the vast reach of the subtlety which

creates them. The politically useful is united with the theologically false. The corrupting idea is adorned with the most attractive beauty. Art in all its magical fascination is set to 'face the garment of rebellion with some fine colour.' The solemnities and sublimities of devotion are associated with the foulest misrepresentations of the character of God, as when the New Testament idea of the love which 'reconciled the world unto itself' is exchanged for the detestable paganism of the Roman doctrine of mediation and satisfaction. The humility and self-denial of the celibate priesthood are set forth to facilitate the enslavement of the world by their means. All that can attract the senses—incense, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, magnificent ceremonial—all that can enchant the imagination—is lavished to recommend creeds which contradict in their essential instructions the revelations of God.

The same end is attained by the most diverse 'devices.' The object, as we see, is reached at one time by idealism, at another by materialism; at one time by laxity and a cry of freedom, at another by an extravagant and cruel orthodoxy; at one time by despotism, at another by revolution; at one time by excessive puritanic strictness, at another by all the genialities of an 'enlightened self-indulgence.' The power of darkness becomes at will Papist and Protestant, Christian and Heathen. Any religious forms, any philosophical speculations, any policy, any art, any literature, any civilisation, any barbarism, you please, if Christ may be but set aside, or His truth caricatured, or Apostolic Scripture kept out of view, or the Gospel discredited, or its faithful teachers deprived of their moral power. Nay, in an age of positive philosophy, when 'Christianity is worn out through its own contentions,' you shall have a brand-new revelation of 'Christian spiritualism' from heaven itself, or at least from 'the air,' with 'miracles, and wonders, and signs,' and 'holy ghosts' that can solve every mystery, and demonstrate the salvation of all men, against the express and ever-recurring declarations of the apostles and prophets that the unrighteous shall 'perish;' a 'revelation' which shall finally put an end to that black old legend of the 'devil and his angels,' by making *known*, through table-rapping, their non-existence! 'Evil men and γόητες, sorcerers, wax worse and worse, deceiving and *being deceived*.'

4. This brings us to the last characteristic of the Scripture doctrine of Satanic agency. We are warned by the apostles and prophets of Christ to expect a series of pretended revelations adapted to successive ages, with a view of obscuring the revelation of God. 'In the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and teachings of *demons speaking lies* in hypocrisy (*δαιμονίων ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων*), forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.' 'Then shall that lawless one be revealed, whose coming is after the working of Satanas, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish.' 'For this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe the false, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness' (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2; 2 Thess. ii. 8-12).

Protestants of all ages have commonly thought that these predictions have received at least one signal accomplishment in the history of post-Nicene and mediæval Christianity. I see no reason to question the application, especially since the Apocalypse assigns a local centre to the spiritual apostasy of Christendom on 'seven hills' (Rev. xvii.), on which stood, in S. John's time, the great City which 'reigned over the kings of the earth.' But be that as it may, the lesson is obvious: the Devil in Scripture is described as an eminent inspirer of false revelations, which come with the force of demonic delusion, of 'new truth,' and 'timely aid,' from Heaven to men who have grown weary of the 'words of God.' In such revelations to Christendom he will doubtless maintain his character for generalship, as well as for piety. Evil is not all black; for it is one of the devices of evil to lead men to think falsely that Satanas is nowhere without the odour of brimstone. As a matter of fact, evil wears a coat of many colours, and dresses in the philosopher's cloak, as well as in the richest ecclesiastical costume. Bad tendencies are not pushed to open excess. Much shining goodness is tolerated, and even encouraged, so long as it is used to support what is distinctly anti-Christian. Thus we see the world covered with the ruins of religions and philosophies, which have each in their day been an improvement on worn-out superstitions. Laoutzeism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Brahminism, Mohammedanism, Romanism, political Protestantism, Positivism, Germanic Idealism, Mormonism, the modern spiritualistic Sorcery,

(with its signally inconsistent denial of the Scripture doctrine on infernal spirits),—have not these all alike been works of art adapted to 'deceive the nations' into rejecting true Christianity? Evil could not pass into currency except it were gilded. Falsehood must glitter; chastity must be sublimed into asceticism; music almost divine must enchant the ear; 'a fair show in the flesh' must be made, even if the interior be 'dead men's bones and all uncleanness.'

'Let Christ, the King of Israel, come down from the cross, and we will believe in Him!' That is the cry of superstition and of 'free-thought,' now as of old. If you will but abandon the doctrine of the Cross, 'the power of God unto salvation,' you are welcome to the crucifix, and even to self-crucifixion. If you will but give up praying 'in the Spirit,' you may have beads, Paternosters, and Aves innumerable. If you will but set aside the truth on man's justification exclusively in Christ, you are welcome to a distorted doctrine of sanctification by the Sacraments. If you will but nullify by criticism and free-handling the truth on Atonement, you may retain all the rest of Christianity, and pass for liberal Christians, without hindrance from the chief enemy of Christ. And thus it has come to pass that the 'veil is spread,' the darkness thickens, and the unwary are beguiled on every side. So long as God is kept out of men's *hearts*, they are welcome to become civilized, devout, liberal, broad, enlightened,—what you please; only let 'the Prince of this world blind the minds of them that believe not,'—for then, since their 'religion' (θρησκεία) must needs be only a form, and not godliness (εὐσέβεια), their destruction is sure.

If these things be so, we can comprehend the urgency of S. Paul's exhortation that, in resisting this crafty and malignant Power, we should take the 'panoply of God,' and specially wield 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the Divine Word.' It is, as in Christ's temptation, this which alone avails against all craft and force, while we pray, 'Deliver us from the Evil One!"

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PATRIARCHAL DOCTRINE ON A FUTURE STATE.

Section I. *Animal Sacrifice*

Section II. *Indications of Patriarchal Faith in a Future Life by Resurrection.*

THE object proposed in this and the three following chapters is to trace the gradual development of the truth of redemption from death up till the time of the Incarnation.

The first topic which occurs in this historical order is that of *Animal Sacrifice.* It has been argued with probability, from the divine sanction given to sacrifice in the patriarchal ages, that it was originally of divine appointment, and was instituted immediately after the expulsion from Paradise, as part of the worship of the exiled sinners. The skins with which 'the Lord clothed' the fallen pair after their transgression, in merciful concealment of their shame, and in symbolic representation of the righteousness reckoned on repentance, are reasonably enough thought to have belonged to animals which they were instructed to offer up as emblems of the 'propitiation' to be revealed in future times.*

Whether sacrifice was of early or subsequent appointment, it was certainly afterwards divinely sanctioned. The question, then, arises, what were the ideas conveyed to the minds of the sacrificers, in the rite of putting to death an animal, by the shedding of its blood, and then of committing its body to the flames?—The answer may be given in the language of Dr. Pye Smith. He says,—

'The modern Jews, though their aversion to Christianity has led them, in various important points, to abandon the theology of their ancestors, have recognised statements on this subject, which we may justly deem concessions One of their most learned writers, Isaac Abravanel, says, "The blood of the

* See Pye Smith and Hengstenberg, on Sacrifice, and Graves on the Pentateuch.

offerer deserved to be shed, and his body to be burned, for his sin: only the mercy of the Divine Name accepted this offering from him as a substitute, and propitiation, *whose blood should be shed instead of his blood, and its life instead of his life.** Could it have been difficult to perceive the meaning of this significant action? or was it possible for a serious and thinking mind to avoid recognising and deeply feeling principles such as these?—that *sin* is an offence against the blessed God; that the essential righteousness of JEHOVAH renders it necessary that sin should be *punished*;—that *death*, in all its tremendous meaning and extent, is the proper punishment of sin;—that the sinner is totally *unable*, by any power or resources of his own, to escape the punishment due to his offences; yet that God is full of *mercy*, and graciously willing to pardon the guilty offender;—that the way of pardon is through the *substitution* and sufferings of a piacular victim;—and that, on the part of the suitor for pardoning mercy, there must be such a proprietorship in the victim as to create a beneficiary interest; and such a moral disposition as cordially acquiesces in the punitive acts of Divine justice.' (*On Sacrifice.*)

From these representations it will appear that the object of sacrifice was to set forth the punishment due to sin, the punishment of *death*. In this statement every reader of the Scripture will concur.

But then the inquiry is naturally suggested, If death, in the case of Adam, signified the dissolution of his compound nature, and after that, the infliction of *everlasting* suffering upon his soul in hell (a definition which assuredly fixes our attention upon the fate of the spirit; a fate, in comparison of which the mortality of the body was a circumstance unworthy of regard), how could the simple death of an animal, the shedding of its blood, which was the extinction of 'the life thereof,' convey to his mind the idea of such a destiny? He was not commanded to inflict on the unoffending creature a series of prolonged tortures; much less was he directed to contemplate the condition of its 'spirit' when the life was gone; but he was ordered to slay it, to kill it, to destroy it, to put it to death.† How, with any semblance of truth, could it have been said to him, 'This is death;' 'the desert of punishment;' if the dissolution of the living animal, the taking away of its life—which surely could typify nothing but a

* This great Rabbi says (*Summary of the Faith*, ch. 24), 'The wicked in their lifetime are called dead, and their soul is to be destroyed with the ignominy of the body, and will not have immortality.' David Kimchi taught the same doctrine. See his comment on Psalm i. See also the Supplement to chap. xvii., *post*, on the doctrines of the Talmud.

† See Pétavel, *Struggle for Eternal Life*, pp. 68, 69.

death which was *destruction*—was but the faint emblem of one portion of the complicated curse, and that the most insignificant portion of it? This consideration seems to support the inference that the death of the lamb offered in sacrifice was a true representation of death, the 'proper punishment of sin,' 'in all its tremendous meaning and extent;'—of that death which was threatened to Adam in the original curse. Thus regarded, the immolation of an animal, the taking away of its *life*, would portray for all ages the execution of the sentence under which mankind lay—death, like that of the 'beasts which perish;'—a loss of life, and of the prospect of immortality. Nothing could more vividly set forth the holiness, and, at the same time, the mercy of God, than the dramatic representation of such truths as these;—that man by refusing to lead a *divine* life in holy obedience to the living God, had justly incurred the doom of the animal creation;—that it was infinite goodness alone which withheld the stroke from man;—that he could hope for restoration to life eternal only through the sacrifice of One who, through death, should abolish death, and bring immortality to light;—and that a final rejection of the remedy offered left them still liable to the penalty, but aggravated by the guilt of trampling under foot the mercy of God displayed in the supervening redemption.

Interpreted by these ideas, the history of typical sacrifices receives a forcible illustration. We learn to trace in the numberless effusions of blood, practised under the two ancient dispensations, an easily understood testimony to the desert of sin: *The soul that sinneth it shall die.* We see a vivid image of that 'curse of the law' under which men are born, the dissolution, or breaking up, of humanity.

These considerations lead us to conclude, that the preceding representations concerning the result of the Fall of Man are therefore correct.

Section II.

Indications of Faith in a Future Life, among the Patriarchs.

From the beginning of the world mankind has existed under a dispensation of mercy, having for its object to bestow in a

higher form the 'eternal life' from which Adam was excluded by transgression. 'At sundry times and in divers manners' this hope of recovering the lost paradise has been made known to men; and hence none can rightly understand the earlier portions of the Old Testament who thinks that such a hope was hidden from the patriarchs. Nevertheless the opposite opinion has widely obtained, and it is still common to hear it laid down that the ancient fathers either knew nothing at all of a future world, or held ideas respecting it so dim and uncertain that their faith resembled a flickering candle-flame rather than a steady watch-fire.

The origin of this opinion is easily perceived. It has become in modern times an established canon, that whenever a nation believes in a future world, they will found that belief on the immortality of the soul, and will accordingly expect eternal blessedness for the good *and eternal suffering* for the evil. So deeply is this habit of thought infixed in modern readers, that when they do not find both of these last-mentioned expectations clearly expressed, they at once doubt the reality of the belief in either. When men do not find the doctrine of eternal suffering in a historical record of faith they are unable to recognise the doctrine of eternal life. Thus it has fared with the Old Testament, and especially with the books of Moses; not only in our own age, but in the days of the Sadducees, whose error, as will be suggested hereafter, was a natural reaction from the opposite psychology of the Pharisees.

One of the first phenomena which draws attention in the Pentateuch is the omission, both in the historical and preceptive portions of it, of any mention of the immortality of the soul. If this view of man's nature be true in our time, it was true from the beginning, and true in the time of Moses. And if it be as important as it is supposed to be now,* it was equally important then. Yet no single indication of it is discoverable in the writings of Moses. The prophet who had opened his book on the Genesis of the world by an explicit reference to a *lost* prospect of 'living for ever' ('*lest he take of the tree of life and eat and live for ever*'), —showing thereby that his mind had revolved the conception of

* See, for an example of the zeal of its modern believers, Mr. Darby's treatises on Immortality and Punishment, and Canon Garbett's recent papers in the *Christian Observer*.

Immortality,—preserves an unbroken silence in every after-page on that immortality of the soul which carries with it, if true, an eternity of being, independent of the 'word which endureth.' There is but one tolerable explanation of this silence. Moses was withheld by divine control from teaching what was not true; a doctrine which was radically opposed to the fundamental facts of man's sin and mortality, on which Redemption proceeds.

If the immortality of the soul had been a truth, it was not only in itself a truth of transcendent moment, but one to be published and enforced, as in all ages, *so especially in the earlier generations of men, and under the preparatory dispensations.* But of an eternal soul Moses seems to know nothing, and is so persistently silent on the innate and intrinsic dignity of man as a 'coeval of God' that many readers have even imagined that he lived and died altogether without faith in the soul as a spirit, utterly disbelieving in a life to come. This they have imagined of a man who was 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' with whom the life to come, and the resurrection of the dead, were the grand interests of the life that now is, with kings, and priests, and people: as is proved by the sculptures and paintings on their tombs, and by the mummies still waiting 'the awakening' in the soil of Egypt. Strange, if all that such a man, thus trained, learned by close communion with the Eternal God, was to deny these immortal hopes for the righteous, which burned even in the ashes of the worshippers of Amon and of Phtha. Strange, if Moses believed in a final extinction in death for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—when under every Pyramid beside the Nile there lay a royal slumberer, however evil, who was embalmed in sweet odours with 'a hope full of immortality.' In such a case there would have been a new reason for the 'great mourning of the Egyptians in the floor of Atad' when they bore to his long home in Hebron the patriarch who had died, as Moses thought, without a soul, and without a future! Well may they have sympathised with Joseph in the loss of a father who, in his belief, had relapsed into eternal nothingness.

But such fancies receive no sanction from the Mosaic writings. They teach indeed no doctrine of the immortality of the soul; but they teach the reality of a life to come in conformity with all other parts of the Old Testament.

1. The fate of Abel suggests a clear inference of the reality of *some* future reward for good men, and so may well be thought to have directed the minds of the earliest men to that conclusion.

'For consider,' says Dean Graves, 'what would have been the effect of this tragic event upon every human being, if they conceived death to be a final annihilation. He perished in consequence of his acting in a manner conformable to the will and acceptable in the sight of God. To conceive that a just and merciful God should openly approve the sacrifice of Abel, and yet punish him, by permitting him, in consequence of that very action, to suffer a cruel death, which put a final period to his existence, while his murderer, whom the same God openly condemned, was yet permitted to live; all this is so monstrous, so contradictory to the divine attributes, as to prove beyond the possibility of doubt, that this event was allowed to take place, partly at least, in order to show that death was not a *final* extinction of being.'

2. The translation of Enoch, the antediluvian prophet, must be regarded similarly as a designed instruction on the part of Moses respecting the blessed destiny of the righteous. We read, 'And Enoch walked with God, and he was not (וְאֵינֶנּוּ), for God took him' (Gen. v. 24). The alternatives in interpretation are that we understand here bodily translation to heaven, or a death which was followed by a rest in God for the spirit. If the former, there was a public indication of future blessedness for the integral humanity—involving a 'resurrection' or a 'change' of the physical manhood. If the latter (as some modern critics suppose, on insufficient grounds), still the 'taking' by God was evidence of an eternal home with Him. But it is better to abide by the comment of the author to the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 5), that 'Enoch was translated that he should not see death,' a comment which carries with it the authority of the apostles and companions of the Son of God, to whom Elijah had 'appeared in glory' at the transfiguration—(Luke ix. 30)—after nearly a thousand years' residence in the skies.

3. 'The next circumstance I shall notice,' proceeds Graves, 'in the history of the Patriarchs, is the command of God to sacrifice Isaac. As to the purport and object of this command, I adopt the opinion of Warburton, who with equal ingenuity and truth has proved, that when God says to Abraham, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest," etc. (Gen. xxii. 2), the command is merely an information by action, instead of words, of the great sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of mankind, given at the earnest request

of Abraham, who longed impatiently "to see Christ's day;" and is that passage of sacred history referred to by our Lord, when conversing with the unbelieving Jews (John viii.). Of the principal reason of this command, the words of Christ are a convincing proof. Nay, I might say that this is not the only place where the true reason for it is plainly hinted at. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of this very command, says, 'By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure,' ἐν παραβολῇ, *in a parable;* a mode of information, either by words or actions, which consists in putting one thing for another. Now in a writer who regarded this commanded action as a representative information of the redemption of mankind, nothing can be more easy than this expression. For though Abraham did not indeed receive Isaac restored to life after a real dissolution, yet the son being in this action to represent Christ suffering death, for the sins of the world, when the father brought him safe from Mount Moriah, *after three days*, during which he was in a state of condemnation to death, the father plainly received him under the character of Christ's representative as restored from the dead. For as his being brought to the mount, there bound, and laid upon the altar, figured the death and sufferings of Christ, so his being taken from thence alive, as properly signified and figured Christ's resurrection from the dead. With the highest propriety, therefore, might Abraham be said to receive Isaac from the dead in a parable or representation.'

If we may adopt this explanation of the history, the doctrine of a resurrection to life must have been known to Abraham and Isaac, as well as to their families. Doubtless, then, as now, the truth was best apprehended by spiritual minds; and may have been called in question by the Sadducees of the period; but this circumstance by no means diminishes the reality of the 'expectation' on the part of holy men of old.

The answer of Jacob to the Egyptian monarch, in which, when questioned as to his years, he denominates his life *a pilgrimage*, indicates, as is argued in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a distant aim of the weary traveller, beyond the limits of the present state. 'The days of the years of my *pilgrimage* are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my forefathers in the days of their *pilgrimage*.' 'Now they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country.'

That the hopes of the patriarchs in a life to come were founded upon an expectation of a resurrection, may be solidly inferred from the following premisses.

4. The belief in resurrection to eternal life was thoroughly established among the spiritual part of the Jewish nation, both in Palestine and throughout the world, at the time of Christ's advent. We discover several traces of this in the gospel histories; and the book of the Acts of the Apostles contains no intimation that they were then compelled to promulgate the doctrine for the first time amongst the people of Israel. The language of Martha, in reply to Christ's assurance of the resurrection of her brother, illustrates this point; *I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day.* Now from this it may be soundly inferred that the belief in the resurrection to eternal life was of primeval antiquity. It is not infrequently said that this and many other less wholesome beliefs came in at the time of the Captivity. Doubtless there was then an importation of some philosophical notions from the Oriental world. But if we are to listen to certain recent critics, we might imagine that the whole of the Old Testament dispensation was invented at the time of the Captivity, by the aid of the Chaldees and Persians. No epoch, however, can be assigned for the commencement of belief in resurrection among the Hebrews with any semblance of probability. In the books of the Maccabees, and of Enoch, there are clear records of faith in a 'better resurrection,' in view of which the martyrs of Antiochus Epiphanes sacrificed their lives for their religion.

In the book of Daniel (xii. 2) there is an explicit declaration of the 'awakening' of the righteous from the 'sleep in the dust of the earth,'—and an angelic promise to Daniel that he should 'stand up in his lot at the end of the days.' In the book of Ezekiel the restoration of Israel is described under the pictorial parable of the resurrection of the dry bones, showing that both the prophet and his readers were at least familiar with the conception of such an event.

5. We thus reach the times of the prophets. But who will suppose that Daniel was acquainted with a resurrection of which Jeremiah was ignorant, of which Isaiah was ignorant, Isaiah who sings, 'Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall arise'? (c. xxvi. 19). To imagine that so stupendous an expectation was raised in the Hebrew mind by contact with the Babylonians or Persians is entirely to misconceive the genesis of thought in ancient times. Their old taskmasters the Egyptians could have

taught them the doctrine of the resurrection, ages before the Captivity, if they had required the instruction. But the sons of Abraham stood in no need of pagan tutelage on the main hope of righteous men. Elisha's bones miraculously caused the resurrection of the dead man who was placed in his sepulchre; indicating that those bones were very full of a 'lively hope' of rising again for themselves. Elijah's translation to Heaven was a presage of immortal glory for all who faithfully served the same Lord. David himself spoke of his 'flesh resting in hope, because God would not leave his soul in *sheol*, nor suffer his holy one to see corruption.' We thus reach the eleventh century before Christ.

At every step backwards in time we learn the primitive antiquity of these ideas; the truth of the statement of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews,—who at least as a learned Jewish Christian (Apollos?) was an important witness to the immemorial antiquity of the natural belief,—that the patriarchs 'all died in faith,' 'looking for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God' (Heb. xi. 10). The whole of that wonderful chapter is an elaborate assertion of the 'faith' of the earliest fathers in a future eternal life for the saints, and in a *resurrection from the dead*. In no single instance is this faith described as reposing on a belief in natural immortality. It was traced to the purpose of God in redemption, and not once in any Old Testament writing is reasoned out on the lines of Plato's argument from pre-existence, or from any Pharisaic presumption of natural eternity. It is the whole man who shall live again, and therefore, it is, as is reasoned by the Highest Authority, that the declaration of God to Moses that he was 'the God of Abraham,' four hundred years after his death, proves *the resurrection*, against the Sadducees; since the departed spirit was not the veritable Abraham, but only one element in the constitution of him who slept in Machpelah. The argument is that God would not declare Himself the God of a dead man, unless he had predestined his revival. Though dead, they 'all live to Him,' who are to rise to the life immortal. And if Abraham's resurrection after his death was so certain from the relationship of a *God* borne to him by His Heavenly Guardian, it is unquestionable that during his lifetime it must have seemed equally certain to himself; since the

Eternal Being who appeared to him by night, and said, '*I am thy Shield, and exceeding great shall be thy reward*,' would not have mocked him, if an ephemeron, with the pretence of His 'friendship,' but must have taught him to confide in His endless Love.

The expectation of the old fathers of an everlasting inheritance must be distinguished from an understanding on their part of the method of redemption. A ray of Divine Mercy shone upon them. The detailed explication of that mercy, by the opening and unfolding of the Sunbeam of truth in the spectrum of the New Testament revelation, was withholden. Christ, in the purpose of God, was the life of the world, from the day of Adam's sin; but His coming was only dimly foreseen by the saints of old times, and the method of His work was wholly unknown. 'The prophets inquired and searched diligently, searching what things, or what manner of times, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven' (1 Peter i. 10-12).

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE DEATH-PENALTY OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

THE nature of the death-penalty of the law of Moses becomes a question of vast moment under the present discussion. The law of Moses was the law of God, 'which entered that the offence might abound;' that sin, by the commandment, might become exceeding sinful' (Rom. v. 20; vii. 13). St. Paul and the other apostles treat this as a root-principle of the gospel theology. The Mosaic Law was not an institute of human origin, seeking only temporal ends for the Jewish race. It was a Divine Economy: the Ruler and Moral Governor of the Universe condescended to come down and reign over Israel, and in attestation of His righteousness He gave them a law 'holy, just, and good' (Rom. vii. 12)—a 'spiritual law' (Rom. vii. 14), requiring not only outward obedience, but inward purity of motive, an obedience springing from loyalty to God. This law was designed to exhibit the sinfulness of man, and thus to be a 'schoolmaster to bring him to Christ.' Sin was to be shown forth in its unfilial disloyalty, in its anti-social and criminal mischievousness towards other men, and in its danger as bringing penalty upon the sinner. The law was the *Præparatio Evangelii.*

It follows from this that the penalty denounced in the Mosaic Law represents the punishment of sin under the moral law of God. If that penalty be eternal suffering of either body or soul, or both,—here is the place where that penalty ought to appear on every page. Sinners might then have learned from Moses of the doom from which they are redeemed by Christ.

But there is not in the law of Moses a sentence, a line, a single syllable, not even a letter, which by any ingenuity of perverse criticism can fairly be made to convey the idea of a threatened eternity of suffering. This is generally acknowledged.

The Jews themselves have never pretended to derive from the Mosaic law a defence of the doctrine that eternal suffering is the legal punishment of sin. The greatest of the modern Rabbins, Maimonides, Abravanel, Kimchi, Bechai, with one voice teach that the punishment of impenitent sinners is literal and absolute extermination at the last judgment, and they represent this as the tradition of the Jewish Church in interpreting the law. The absence of the doctrine of eternal suffering from the law is decisive proof that modern men have misinterpreted the Revelation, by foisting into it the philosophic doctrine of natural immortality, thus compelling Scripture to utter a language not its own.

The penalty of the Law is DEATH—death inflicted in various modes, sometimes with 'greater plagues, and of long continuance,' preceding it, sometimes with less,—but the characteristic curse of the law is always capital punishment,—*loss of life*, *excision* or *cutting off*, *utter destruction*, *perishing*, *being blotted out from under heaven*. 'He that despised Moses' law *died without mercy*, under two or three witnesses' (Heb. x. 28).

Eleven offences are mentioned in the law as liable to the punishment of death (מָוֶת);—Striking a parent, Blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, Witchcraft, Adultery, Unchastity previous to marriage, or in a betrothed woman, Rape, Incest, Man-stealing, Idolatry, False witness.*

In other passages of the law, *karat* (כָּרַת; ἐξολοθρεύω, LXX.) or *cutting off* is allotted to thirty-six offences. An attempt has been made to affix the lighter meaning of *excommunication* to this penalty in some instances; but it is unlikely, as Ewalda urges, that a clearly annexed penalty would signify some light punishment in one case, and capital punishment in others. In the majority of the thirty-six laws the punishment is unquestionably capital. Nearly all commentators, Jewish and Gentile, have agreed that the death-penalty is designed by *karat*. It was attached to uncircumcision, to fifteen cases of incest, neglect of the passover, sabbath-breaking, neglect of atonement-day, work done on that day, offering children to Moloch, witchcraft, anoint-

* See on this special point, and on the subject of the death-penalty, the careful article on *Punishments* in Smith's Biblical Dictionary, by Rev. H. W. Philpot, M.A.

ing a foreigner with holy oil, eating leavened bread during the passover, eating fat of sacrifices, eating blood, eating sacrifices while unclean, offering too late, making holy ointment for private use, making holy perfume for private use, neglect of purification in general, not bringing an offering after slaying a beast for food, not slaying an animal at the door of the tabernacle, touching holy things illegally.

The penalty of death for sin was thus brought home to every man's door, and brought near to all the concerns of common life. Any sin partaking of the nature of *wilful contempt or profanity, however seemingly trivial in form*, was treated as a treasonable offence against the Majesty on High, and was punishable by *karat*, i.e., death, by Stoning (Exod. xvii. 4), or Hanging (Numb. xxv. 4), or Burning (Lev. xxi. 9), or by the Sword or Spear (Exod. xix. 13), or by Strangling.

The person or thing devoted to utter destruction, 'accursed' under the law, is called in the Mosaic writings חֵרֶם, *cherem*, translated by the Greek ἀνάθεμα, *anathema*. The Hebrew word is derived from a verb signifying (1) primarily to shut up, or devote, and (2) to *exterminate* or root out of life or being.*

Idolatrous nations marked out for destruction by the decree of Jehovah were made *Anathema*. The *extermination*, being the result of a positive command, was applied to the destruction of men alone (Deut. xx. 13), of men, women, and children (Deut. ii. 34), of all living creatures (Deut. xx. 16), and to whatever objects could be burned with fire (Joshua vi. 26). The word used in the Greek version of the LXX. to denote חָרַם, *charam*, is ἐξολοθρεύω. The use of this term by S. Peter (Acts iii. 23), 'It shall come to pass that every soul which shall not hear this prophet *shall be destroyed* from among the people' (ἐξολοθρευθήσεται), shows that the punishment of rejecting Christ is *karat* or the *anathema*,—extermination, under 'sorer infliction.'

It is further to be observed that all the terms used in the law of Moses in illustration of the meaning of the death-penalty, which was the generic 'curse of the law,' signify the same idea; and in no case look forward to the infliction of suffering on a being living for ever; and this notwithstanding there is a wide difference in the intensity and duration of the positive inflictions

* Gesenius and Fuerst *in voc.*

of suffering, by which the ultimate destruction, or extermination, was to be wrought.

The Law denounces this capital punishment not only on individual offenders, but on the mass of the Hebrew nation, in case of their disobedience. In chapter xxvi. of the book of Leviticus, and in chapters xxviii. and xxix. of Deuteronomy, there is a perfect thunderburst of anathemas pronounced against all who in future ages should disobey the divine law. An examination of these theatenings will bring out even more clearly into view the penalty of Sin under that dispensation, which was given to make known its 'exceeding sinfulness,' and its 'wages.'

In Leviticus xxvi. occur such threatenings as these:—

'If ye will not hearken unto me . . . I will also do this unto you; if ye shall despise my statutes or if your soul abhor my judgments, I will even appoint over you terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes and cause sorrow of heart . . . and I will set my face against you and ye shall be slain before your enemies. And if ye walk contrary to me I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins; I will also send wild beasts among you which shall rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle, and *make you few in number*, and your highways shall be desolate. And I will send the pestilence among you to avenge the quarrel of my covenant, and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins. And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, *and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols*, and my soul shall abhor you. And ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies, and ye shall *perish* among the heathen, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up.'

In Deuteronomy xxvii., xxviii., and xxix. there is a still more direful catalogue of curses denounced upon apostates and rebels. The Curses were to be denounced from Mount Ebal as soon as they entered Palestine, to hang like thunderclouds of death over the nation in every succeeding generation.

'But if thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, all these curses shall come upon thee. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, *until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly* (עַד־אָבְדְךָ—עַד־הִשָּׁמְדֶךָ). The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave to thee *until he have consumed thee from off the land* (עַד כַּלֹּתוֹ אֹתְךָ מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה). The Lord shall smite thee with blasting, and mildew, and fever, and inflammation, and extreme burning, and they shall pursue thee *until thou perish*. And the Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust, it shall come down upon thee *until thou be destroyed*. The Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, *even great plagues and of long continuance, and*

sore sicknesses and of long continuance. And every sickness and every plague which is not written in this book of the law them will the Lord bring upon thee *until thou be destroyed.* And it shall come to pass that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good and to multiply you, so the Lord will rejoice over you *to destroy you and to bring you to nought* (לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם), 'to exterminate you.'

Such are the awful variations on the original theme in the revelation of judgment according to the law. The sinners were to be *consumed out of the earth*, to be *exterminated* after plagues of long continuance, to *die*, to *perish utterly*, to be *slain*, to be *cut off*, to be *destroyed*, to be *brought to nought*.

There is not a word of the indestructible life of a sinner, or of the endless suffering due for sin; it is always, and everywhere, *The soul that sinneth it shall die.*

If it be replied, These were temporal punishments, and related only to men's state in time, the answer is obvious: the Law was given to manifest sin, and its danger, both for time and eternity; and the *time* when actions are done is of no account in relation to the moral government of God. Sin was 'exceeding sinful' then as now. It was here, if anywhere, that the 'wages of sin' should have been plainly declared, and they are declared in language which uniformly signifies *the infliction of suffering ending in death.* It is to us inconceivable that if God were dealing with immortal beings and exhibiting to them the 'due reward of their deeds,' that reward being, in part, impending *everlasting misery*, He would have commissioned Moses His servant to speak of no punishment except one, which signifies extermination of the offender. It seems to be the extreme of perverseness to assert either that the language of the law means *in genere* anything else than destruction, or that, meaning this, there was yet hidden behind it, in the purpose of God, an eternity of misery of which not a syllable is spoken to warn men to escape it.

Besides, if it be alleged that these threatenings relate to time only, the main argument is abandoned. For the words used by Moses to denote, as is conceded, 'temporal' *destruction of life*, are the very words used by the Apostles of Christ to denote the penalties of Gehenna; they employ the same terms *death*, *destruction*, *perishing*, *utterly perishing*, *consumption*, in their Greek equivalents, which Moses employs in the Hebrew of the law;

and it is surely to make a large demand upon men to ask them to believe that such terms under one dispensation signify all that can be even imagined of utter and complete *extermination;* and, under the other, all that can be imagined of *indestructible being*, and endless misery.

We possess, however, a comment on the threatening of death, the characteristic Curse of the Law of Moses, from the pen of the greatest Apostle of the Gospel,—and that comment seems to be so explicit as to leave not an inch of ground on which to found the prevailing interpretation.

In the Epistle to the Roman Church S. Paul has occasion to speak largely of the Law and its Curse. This curse he says is death: and he traces it up to the first sin of humanity in paradise. *By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin*, and so *death* passed upon all men, in him in whom all sinned (or, for that all sinned). This death he identifies, in the subsequent verses of this fifth chaper, with the curse of the law, which 'entered that the offence might abound;' but 'where sin abounded grace did much more abound, that *as sin hath reigned unto death*, so might grace reign.'

This death he traces in its action through the following (sixth) chapter, ending with the sentence, 'The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life' (ver. 23).

Then in chapter vii. he carries on the argument on the function of the Law to convince of sin, not to *save*, showing that it brings men under condemnation to death, and cannot give life eternal. But here (as has been shown in a previous page) he uses a word in explication of the *death*-dealing action of the law, which fixes the signification. He says the commandment (law) 'ordained to life I found to be unto death. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, *and by it slew me*,'—δι' αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. Now this verb ποκτείνειν, to *kill*, is used as the explanation of death, an explanation inconsistent with the Augustinian idea of death, as endless misery. *To kill is to take away life*, and nothing else. And not here alone S. Paul employs it in exposition of the death which is the curse of the law. In 2 Cor. iii. 6, he repeats it—τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτέννει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ, 'The letter (or law of Moses) *killeth*, but the Spirit (the gospel) giveth life.' As has been remarked already, if the sup-

posed moral and figurative sense of death be the apostolic sense—if men were intended to understand by θάνατος, *death*, eternal suffering in hell, then the synonymous word ἀποκτείνειν, to kill, ought to be capable of similar treatment; and it ought to make sense to say that a sinner is *killed* and *slain* in the eternal miseries of hell. But not even Augustine, or Calvin, or Edwards have ventured to apply ἀποκτείνω in this signification; the violence of the perversion would have too plainly appeared.

We conclude, therefore, that the death-penalty of the Law of Moses signified the destruction of life, and that this is the curse, however varied in the details of infliction, from which the Divine Incarnate Life descends on earth to redeem mankind.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DOCTRINE OF FUTURE REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IN THE POETIC AND PROPHETIC BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *The hope of eternal life in the Old Testament.*

When the law promises *life* to perfect obedience, we have the authority of Christ for believing that that life is eternal. '*What good thing shall I do to inherit eternal life?* Thou knowest the commandments. *This do and thou shalt live.*' But no law 'could be given to man by which he should gain' eternal life. because his nature was degenerate, and the rule of justification by law demands that perfect obedience which man cannot render. By the law comes only the 'knowledge of sin' and its penalty.

But from the beginning of time sinful beings have been placed by divine mercy under a dispensation of reconciliation. Man, legally condemned to death, is 'brought nigh.' Before the world Redemption was prepared in Christ, and through Him there has been a ministration of the Spirit in all ages, by which sinful men, 'born again,' may be led to the hope of life eternal. The 'gospel was preached to Abraham,' and to all the fathers who died in faith; not in full doctrinal form, but in power, so that every one who repented and turned to God in 'every nation' was, for Christ's sake, 'accepted' of God; even though knowing little, or perhaps nothing at all, of the Saviour. Christ Himself represents nothing greater than God. If, then, men believed in God, and by yielding to God's Holy Spirit turned to Him, they were saved, from the beginning of the world. Thus millions innumerable were 'prepared unto glory' in the ages before the advent of Christ. The Saviour's influence was felt long before His person was revealed. There was a long dawn before the

sunrise. Accordingly we find in the Old Testament writings abundant evidence of a 'hope full of immortality.'

The writings of Moses comprise two revelations different as light and darkness. They comprise the elementary revelation of 'grace,' and they comprise that 'law' which entered in order to enforce and condemn the sin of man. In the same manner the remainder of the Old Testament scriptures of the prophets comprises a history of the working of the law, in stimulating and bringing to the surface the 'sinfulness of sin,' in the chronic rebellion of the Hebrew nation; and they also comprise manifold indications of the working of grace in the hearts of men of good will.

It is also to be considered that the entrance of Redemption, with promises of pardon and eternal life, had indefinitely aggravated the sin of impenitence, as against God. Of those 'to whom much is given more will be justly demanded.' Hence there is not only that *death* which is the hereditary curse on the descendants of the first sinner, and the due reward of law-breaking in his descendants, but also the 'judgment' demanded by the rejection of mercy, on 'a hard and impenitent heart.' In the Old Testament writings we discover indications both of the hope of the righteous, and fear of the ungodly. These we now proceed briefly to collect and interpret.

The institution of *Sacrifice* by divine authority carries with it a promise of life to penitent men. What meaneth sacrifice, if not that God, the Judge who condemns man to death for sin, has found some ransom by which He can restore His 'banished ones'? The hope of restoration to Paradise and the Tree of Life dawned upon men from the hour of the exile. Our first parents were 'driven out' with a whisper of promise in their hearts, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.' Adam called his wife's name *Havvah*, Life, because she was the Mother of all living; for 'being high priest that same year he prophesied,' without knowing it, that the woman's Son should 'abolish death, and bring life and incorruption to light by the gospel.'

At the gates of Eden were 'made to dwell the Cherubim, and a revolving flame to keep the way of the Tree of Life,'

words which receive some explication when we perceive in these cherubs emblems of man's dominion as lord of the living creation. They are found in the tabernacle, *upon* the throne of grace, within the veil, even in that Holy of Holies which represented the lost Paradise; where were the 'propitiatory,' and 'the pot of manna' which symbolised the bread of life eternal, and 'Aaron's rod' that blossomed with life out of death; mysteries setting forth the work and victory of that 'Man Christ Jesus' who should sit 'down on the throne of God;' because all things 'should be made subject unto Him;' who should 'give His flesh' as the bread of God, the celestial manna, 'for the life of the world;' discharging the priesthood of the everlasting covenant under which man, though dead, lives again, and for ever.

When, then, the servants of God 'went into His sanctuary,' as Asaph confesses in Psalm lxxiii., 'then understood they' the 'end,' or future destinies of men (*acharith*). They understood the eternal life of the saints; they meditated upon the sacrifices of blood, the holy candlestick, the golden altar of acceptable prayer, the hidden oracle of the Holiest, the type of the lost Paradise, into which 'once a year' Man already entered;—and they broke forth in songs of praise to the Living God.

> 'Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel
> *And afterwards receive me to glory.*
> Whom have I in heaven but Thee?
> And there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee.
> My flesh and my heart faileth,
> But God is the strength of my
> Heart, and *my portion for ever!*'

If the heart of one devout man under the old dispensation can be distinctly proved to have burned with these immortal hopes, we may be assured that it was the common hope of them all. Such expectations cannot be the idiosyncrasies of a select few among the saints. The soul's love to the Eternal carried with it the prevision of Immortality: and everything around assured their hearts that if God would 'dwell with men upon earth,' it could not be that He might simply watch His servants dying like insects around Him from age to age. No: their

faith in every generation led them to cry aloud to God, 'Thou wilt make me full of joy with Thy countenance.'

Of the Psalms, which express the familiar spiritual thoughts of saints and prophets during a thousand years, a large number give explicit utterance either to the hope of salvation from death, or to the expectation of the Coming of that Mighty King 'in whom all nations should be blessed, and whose glory was connected with power over death.'*

But in no single instance do we discover in the book of Psalms, or in the poetical books, or in the book of collected Proverbs, or weighty sayings of the wise, or in the Prophets, the expression of the Socratic hope of eternal life, *founded on man's essential nature* as eternal. The hope of life is restricted to *righteous* men, to the true servants of God. There is not one ray of hope of an eternal future which shines on the head of a rebel in the Old Testament. The immortality of the *nephesh* was a speculation unknown to the

* The following Psalms seem to be full of thoughts which would never have entered into the minds of men to whom death was a sleep that ended all. Psalms i., ii., iv., v., viii., xv., xvi., xviii., xxiii., xxv., xxvii., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvii., xxxix., xli., xlix.. l., li., lxii., lxxii., lxxiii., lxxxiv., xc., xci., xcii., xcv., c., cx., cxvi., cxix., cxxxix., cxlv. Having quoted Mr. Spurgeon adversely in a previous page, I have the greater pleasure in recommending his elaborate work, *The Treasury of David*, as an extraordinary collection of valuable comments on the book of Psalms.

The reader who will study in this order these sublime odes of many writers ranging from the age of Moses (as Psalm xc.) down to the Captivity, will find the conviction deepening upon him that of all groundless delusions of modern times one of the most groundless is that these 'old fathers looked only for temporal promises.' They looked indeed, as we also should look, first of all to 'inherit the *earth*,' they looked for the coming of God's King, and with him of God's kingdom *on the earth*, that here 'His will might be done as in heaven;' but their hopes extended infinitely beyond. They were not so far behind the materialistic Egyptians. Their 'own God' was the Ever-living Creator, and while His gracious relation to them implied the gift of immortal life, their relation to Him implied the faith of it. 'They looked for that city which hath foundations.' Even the learned authors of *The Unseen Universe* have been seduced by Dean Stanley into the opinion that 'although there are a few scattered passages which favour immortality, yet these are so few that we cannot err if we maintain that this doctrine was not brought to the mind of the Hebrews in the same way as was the Unity of God. Not from want of religion but from excess of religion was this void left in the Jewish mind. The future life was overlooked, overshadowed by the consciousness of the presence of God Himself.' Page 9.

saints and prophets. 'All the wicked will He destroy.' 'When the wicked spring as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed for ever.' That with them is the end of the ungodly. No man lives for ever but in God. 'Evil shall slay the wicked.'

It cannot be insisted on too urgently that the hope of the Old Testament saints was a hope of Resurrection. They believed indeed more or less vividly in a survival of souls in *Sheol* or *Hades*, as we shall attempt to show in a future chapter; but that state was thought of as one of comparative torpor and incapacity. The main hope was that 'in the flesh' they should see God. We have already adverted to a part of the evidence of this fact. A few points of interest now remain to be noted.

The sixteenth Psalm expresses, a thousand years before Christ, this hope of God's servants. 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life, and make me full of joy with Thy countenance.' It is true that this promise made in a climate where corruption occurs before the 'fourth day' (John xi.) applies primarily to the resurrection of One who must therefore rise soon after death. But His resurrection carries with it the hope of all God's servants.

The prophet Isaiah (we shall assume with Dr. E. Hawkins the homogeneous authorship of the whole book bearing that name) has two remarkable passages expressing in the most distinct manner the faith of the Resurrection.

In the celebrated 53rd chapter, which describes the sufferings of the 'Servant of God,' 'by whose stripes we are healed,' the following words occur:—

'When thou shalt make his soul (or *nephesh*) a sin-offering (אָשָׁם) he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands.'

Here it is declared that after his life is poured out as a sin-offering, he shall nevertheless 'prolong it.' This can be only by a resurrection. Can it be that men who thus prophesy are destitute of faith in the resurrection? Do we not trace in these words the same hope that dwelt in David when he says of the same Saviour, 'My flesh shall rest in hope, because Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy

One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of Life, and make me full of joy with Thy countenance.' Either the Messiah is here, or the Hebrew believer is here. In either case there is a solid confidence in the resurrection of glory.

The other passage of the Prophet Isaiah is in chapter xxvi. 19:—

> 'Thy dead shall live;
> My dead bodies shall arise:
> Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust,
> For thy dew is as the dew of herbs.'

Here the lot of the righteous is contrasted with that of their tyrants and oppressors, who are described as רְפָאִים, *Rephaim*, wicked ghosts:—

> 'They are dead men! They shall not live! They are Rephaim! They shall not arise! Thou shalt visit and destroy them, and make all their memory to perish.'

Here again is language which expressly indicates the awakening of the just; and in the former passage, the forgiveness and glorification of the saints is ascribed to the Resurrection of the Servant of God. Daniel but re-echoed the faith of his predecessors when he said, 'At that time many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, to life everlasting' (xii. 2).

II. *Old Testament doctrine on the Future Punishment of the Wicked.*

It has been shown at the commencement of this chapter that Man, placed from the very epoch of the fall under two distinct systems of moral government, the law and the gospel, is subject to two distinct systems of penalty; the one, normal, congenital, and hereditary, as well as due for our own sins; the other incurred by persistent rebellion against the mercy of God. The death or destruction of earthly life is the curse of the Law, the Second Death in 'Gehenna' is the curse of rejected redemption. These conclusions we gather in their clearest form from the Christian revelation; but the question arises whether the second order of penalty in 'judgment to come' was known to the ancients, and if it were, in what measure of clearness.

Those who are of opinion that all men are immortal, reading the Hebrew Scriptures with a predisposition to find the corresponding doctrine of eternal misery in every part, have found, or thought they found, this threatening in several passages of the prophets. Compelled to discover it only in language which requires severe pressure to make it speak the sense of a 'death which *never dies*,' such critics have fastened with warmer zeal upon the few sentences which, especially in the English version, seemed to be capable of the desired interpretation. Of these the chief must be noticed, even although criticism has long abandoned them as defences of the article of eternal suffering. Dr. Horberry, one of the most strenuous and able asserters of this doctrine in the last century, admits (and it is a remarkable admission on the part of those who allow that men in ancient times stood in no less need of solemn warnings than to-day) that 'the Old Testament has *nothing* so clear and express upon this subject as the New;' intending doubtless nothing so clear as he thought he found in the New;—but the following passage is cited in proof, even by many careful writers, and is used in popular discourse to this day without apparent suspicion of irrelevance.

(1) The words of the Prophet Isaiah (chap. xxxiii. 14) are adduced by Dr. Jonathan Edwards in his Reply to Chauncy, chap. v., as Old Testament evidence of endless misery: '*The sinners in Zion are afraid; fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?*'

A correct translation is the first step to a true interpretation. Sir Edward Strachey* gives the passage thus: 'The sinners in Zion are afraid: fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us can abide the devouring fire? who among us can abide perpetual burnings?' A slight attention to the context shows (as may be seen in the accessible commentaries, of very different pretensions, of Barnes, Delitzsch, and Gesenius) that the chapter whence these words are quoted refers to the desolating invasion of Palestine by the Assyrians. On this these commentators are all agreed. *The cited words have not the most remote reference to future punishment;* but refer to present punishment on earth. They represent the outcries of terrified sinners in Jerusalem, who

* *Jewish History and Politics*, p. 435.

rightly feared that the perpetual conflagrations of war, the devastations of fire and sword caused by the invader, would end in their *destruction;* for who, said they, *can* dwell in these perpetual burnings? In ver. 10 the Lord thus addresses them: 'Now will I arise; now will I be exalted. Ye conceive *chaff* and bring forth *stubble*, and my Spirit like fire shall *consume* you. And the people shall be burned as lime (crumble to dust), as *thorns cut up shall they be consumed in the fire.*' Then follows this text, quoted with an indifference to the sense of Scripture which deserves severe reprobation, since such proceedings in hermeneutics are fatal to the honest study of theology. 'Who among us can abide the devouring fire, who among us can abide perpetual burnings?' It is manifest that the fires of ver. 14 are the same with those of ver. 12, but they were the flames of war kindled in Palestine by the Assyrians, the effect of which *could be withstood* by the righteous, and by them alone; for they *can* dwell in these perpetual conflagrations. It is the wicked who *cannot* dwell in them.

(2) The second passage from the Old Testament cited in support of the doctrine of endless suffering is in chap. lxvi. of Isaiah's prophecy, ver. 24:—

'*And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men who have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring to all flesh.*'

It is argued that, in Mark ix. 50, our Lord Jesus Christ quotes the last two clauses in proof of the eternal sufferings of the wicked in hell, thus giving decisive evidence that such is the signification of the words in the original text. We deny both the premiss and conclusion. Christ does not cite the words in proof of the 'doctrine of eternal suffering.' He utters not a syllable to that effect. He warns His disciple to enter into 'life' halt or maimed, rather than, 'having two hands or feet,' to be cast into the 'eternal fire;' for He says 'it is better that *one of thy members* should *perish*, rather than that thy whole body should be cast into Gehenna.' But what remains true is this, that our Lord's citation of the passage from Isaiah in reference to *future* punishment sanctions the belief that the passage, as it stands in Isaiah, bears the same reference; to judgment, in fact, inflicted on God's enemies during the kingdom of Christ. The nature of the

punishment is a 'miserable destruction,' as appears from the following considerations:—

1. The condition of the victims of divine vengeance is expressed by the word *carcases*. 'They shall go forth and look upon the (פְּגָרִים, *pegarim*) *dead corpses* (so the same word is rendered in the account of the slaughter of the 175,000 Assyrians —2 Kings xix. 35)—of the men who have transgressed against me.' 'In the morning they were all *dead corpses*,' *pegarim*. The persons referred to are dead. Their life is destroyed.

2. The attempted figurative sense given to the 'undying worm,' as an ever-gnawing *Conscience*, can be imposed on the clause only by taking the word *die* in the sense of literal death. 'Their worm shall *not die*,' signifies their worm shall not *cease to be*. The addition of a negative does not alter the signification of a verb. Thus the prevailing argument that death stands for eternal suffering can be made out from this passage only by taking the word die in the natural sense of ceasing to live,—that is to say, the sense which we suppose to be the general sense is taken here for the true meaning, because when so taken, *with a negative*, the passage can be made to speak of eternal suffering.

3. Our Saviour has fixed the signification of *living* and *perishing* in the context of Mark ix., by drawing the contrast, 'It were good that one of thy members should *perish*, and not that thy whole body should be cast into Gehenna,' the effect of which is that it also would 'perish.' Now the 'perishing of one member,' by *cutting it off*, is for it to be deprived of life; not to expose it to endless misery. Therefore the *perishing* of the whole body results in similar destruction. And therefore, also, the persons whose 'worm shall not die' are those who have been reduced to *pegarim*, *dead corpses*, as we read in the prophecy whence the citation is taken.

When, therefore, the fanciful post-Christian writer of the *Book of Judith* declares that 'the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms, and *they shall feel them and weep for ever*,' he goes beyond the prophecy, and yields to the influence of a philosophical doctrine on immortality learned from Greece and Egypt, and not found in his national scriptures.

(3) The third and last passage in the Old Testament which is sometimes cited in support of the idea of eternal misery is in

Daniel xii. 2: '*And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*'

'So it reads,' says the learned Mr. Maude, 'in our English version; Dr. Tregelles, however, who will not be suspected of any heretical bias, with many other Hebrew scholars, translates: "And many from among the sleepers of the dust shall awake; *these* shall be unto everlasting life; but *those* (the rest of the sleepers, those who do not awake at this time) shall be unto shame and everlasting contempt." And he adds, "The word which in our Authorised Version is twice rendered 'some,' is never repeated in any other passage in the Hebrew Bible, in the sense of taking up distributively any general class which had been previously mentioned; this is enough, I think, to warrant our applying its first occurrence here to the whole of the many who awake, and the second to the mass of the sleepers, those who do not awake at this time."* And the correctness of this translation is confirmed, not only by the fact that it is the interpretation given by the most eminent Jewish commentators,† but also by the internal evidence of the passage taken in its context. For the "time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation," spoken of in the preceding first verse of the chapter, must certainly be identified with the "great tribulation" spoken of in Matt. xxiv. 21-30, which will be endured during the reign and blasphemy of the last Antichrist—"the Man of Sin"—even him "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming" (2 Thess. ii. 8). Hence the resurrection here spoken of by Daniel synchronises with the period of the Second Advent, and is plainly a prophecy of the *First Resurrection*, all the partakers in which are "blessed and holy."'

It is added, however, that even if the wicked do not then rise,

* *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions of Daniel*, p. 174.

† 'Thus the famous Aben Ezra, in his commentary on the chapter, quotes Rabbi Saadias as declaring that "those who awake shall be (appointed) to everlasting life, and those who awake not shall be (doomed) to shame and everlasting contempt." The words of Saadias himself are that "this is the resurrection of the dead of Israel, whose lot is to eternal life, and those who shall not awake are the forsakers of Jehovah," etc.'

they are reserved 'for shame *and everlasting contempt*,' and this indicates their conscious existence for ever to endure the contempt. That this is not so is proved by the Hebrew word here employed. It is דֵּרָאוֹן *deraon*,—the very word employed in Isaiah lxvi. 24 to represent the '*abhorring* of all flesh,' which is the fate of the wicked men just before described as *dead corpses* or *pegarim*. It follows that the everlasting contempt or abhorring may fall, for anything that is taught in Daniel xii. 2, upon the *dead*.

We do not learn that any passages excepting these three are cited from the Old Testament writings in support of the modern doctrines. Let us consider what is involved in this admission. During certainly five, and possibly six or eight, thousand years preceding the advent of Christ, there was an innumerable race of sinful creatures on earth abandoned for the most part to hereditary superstitions, for the most part also unable to read or think clearly, and nearly at the mercy of their kings and priests. Now these seemingly mortal creatures were all according to this theory immortal, destined to endure as long as the Eternal God ; they were all born in sin, they were all sinners, they were all liable to *everlasting misery* in hell. And yet the only recorded references made by their merciful God to this frightful doom in the way of warning are discovered in three disputed texts of two Jewish prophets, living in a late age in comparison with the length of the world's past history ; and these three texts are declared by the most competent critics to have not the least relevancy to the supposed impending destiny. Is this the method of the Divine government? Is there not here rather the method of theologising handed down to us by men of the fourth century, who knew little of Scripture, little of history, and still less of God, the Righteous and the Merciful?

What, then, we must now inquire, were the beliefs of Old Testament times respecting future judgment? Are there no decisive indications that men were taught to look for future retribution, and if there be any, what were the evils they feared?

The safest method of investigating the beliefs of antiquity is to begin at this end of the history, and in this case to seize the clue

offered to us by the statements of Christ and His apostles. They lived only 1,800 years ago, and were far more likely to know what their predecessors believed, and what the prophets taught, than modern men who look at the remote past through the medium of modern theories.

Let it be observed, then, that our Lord never even makes a question of it, but decisively takes it for granted that 'Sodom and Gomorrha,' which were destroyed once by fire for their sins, have yet to undergo a second and more awful infliction in 'the day of judgment.' 'Tyre and Sidon' are spoken of as reserved for a similar retribution.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, expressing himself as if giving utterance to an acknowledged belief, says, 'As it is appointed unto men once to die, but *after this judgment*' (ix. 27). The apostle Jude, citing perhaps the apocryphal book of Enoch, nevertheless only signifies what was the consenting voice of ages, that from the earliest times God has announced by His prophets retribution for the sins of time in a state still future. 'Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of His saints to execute judgment upon all' (ver. 14).

In the centuries immediately preceding the gospel this belief was unhesitatingly held. In the book of Ecclesiastes—a work written during or after the captivity, more probably than by Solomon, if we trust the latest criticism—the closing verses reveal the faith of the writer. 'Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man. *For God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing*, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.'

That such expectations of judgment should prevail among the Israelites, as the punishment of rejecting God's offered mercy in time, is in accordance with the almost universal instinct of both ancient and modern times which leads men to 'the fear' of, what Shakespeare calls, '*something after death.*' Whether the retribution would come upon the spiritual element of the dissolved nature in *Sheol*, or on the whole awakened man in a future judgment, might be doubtful—but of the fear itself there was general recognition as a divinely implanted instinct. The punishment of Sodom and Gomorrha was regarded not only as the due reward of their deeds, but as an *example* to them that should after live ungodly; which

could not be unless they understood that judgment by fire from heaven was prepared for sinners. '*Upon the wicked He shall rain destruction, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest;* this shall be the portion of their cup' (Psalm xi.). 'His hand shall find out all His enemies. He *shall make them as a fiery oven in the day of His wrath*, and His anger shall devour them' (Psalm xxi.). 'Behold the day cometh that shall *burn as an oven*, and the proud and all that do wickedly shall be as stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn them up, that it shall *leave them neither root nor branch*' (Malachi iv.).

Such expressions as these are frequently, but most unwarrantably, taken to refer only to temporal punishments. The plain indications of faith in a survival of souls in death, many of them in a state not blessed, nor leading to blessedness, adds force to the impression given by the fore-cited passages announcing Judgment. These we shall examine, together with the New Testament doctrine of Hades, in a separate chapter (xxi.). That the Jews themselves had gathered from their own Scriptures and had received by tradition from their fathers the fixed anticipation of a 'resurrection both of just *and unjust*' is certified to us by S. Paul and S. Luke, who declare that they themselves 'allow this' (Acts xxvi.). The 'Second Death' of the New Testament revelation is but the repetition of an old Testament doctrine. The souls of the wicked remain in Sheol, the under-world, and are termed רְפָאִים, *Rephaim*, but they, like the souls of the righteous, await a judgment before the Lord, who comes to 'judge the world in righteousness.' Then, says the Prophet Isaiah, 'the earth shall *cast out the Rephaim*. The earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain' (Isaiah xxvi. 19).* All

* The entire chapter (Isaiah xxvi.) deserves attentive study. Sir Edward Strachey's comment on the prophecy xxv.-xxvi. is highly valuable. The prophet describes the final victory of God over the foes of His Church. 'He shall swallow up death for ever.' The church however complains of delay, the delay of resurrection and recompense. 'We have as it were brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance, *neither hath the earth brought forth the inhabitants of the world*—(for judgment). Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust—and the earth shall cast forth the Rephaim' (the wicked dead). אֶרֶץ רְפָאִים תַּפִּיל׃

And just above the prophet had said—ver. 18, 'O Lord, other lords besides Thee have had dominion over us. But by Thee only will we make mention of

human life is to reappear for judgment. And whatever may be the spiritual sufferings of some souls in Hades, judgment requires the *whole humanity* to appear. The departed spirit is not the Man, but only one element of his being. If the man is to be judged, he must rise from the dead to appear before God.

The bodily resurrection of the wicked who had lived before the advent is doubted by some writers, on the ground that it is not distinctly taught in the ancient canonical books. I submit that it is taught in as many places as the resurrection of the righteous is there taught; neither of them are numerous, yet the whole moral structure of the Old Testament dispensation implies the reality of the judgment to come, as the readers of Christ's time justly judged. But the main noticeable fact is that the final destiny of the wicked is spoken of in the general terms of the curse of the law itself. There was no prospect of eternal suffering set before the sinners. Their end would be death,—extermination. 'When the wicked spring as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity flourish, it is that they shall *be destroyed for ever*' (Psalm xcii. 7). Hence the faint distinction made in the perspective of prophecy between the *death* which was the legal curse, and the *death* eternal. The one dark cloud is seen against the background of a blacker darkness—but the general impression left is that the wicked will ultimately perish, and miserably die.

The prophets, who could speak so eloquently of the woes of mortals in time, as we see by the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah, do not vary the form of their speech when speaking of a wicked man's final destiny. They only deepen their colours, and introduce terms which declare that his ruin shall be irreparable and his destruction complete and eternal.

There is much doubt as to the date of the Book of Job. Recent criticism inclines to the opinion of a more recent original.

Thy name (of God). They are dead, they shall not live; they are Rephaim (wicked and lost men), they shall *stand up*. Thou wilt visit and destroy them, and make all their memory to perish.' 'For behold' (ver. 21) 'the Lord cometh out of His place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity, and the earth shall *disclose her blood*, and no more *cover her slain*.' Here is the contrast between the righteous and the wicked. The wicked (Rephaim) shall be brought forth, *cast out* by the earth as an abortion—but they shall not *stand up*, יְקוּמוּ. But the righteous shall 'stand up' and 'live.' See Psalm i. 5, with Kimchi's comment, in Perowne on the Psalms.

Of whatever epoch, this sublime poem contains numerous examples of the contemporary beliefs respecting judgment to come.

A steadfast silence as to the endless duration of the lives of the ungodly characterises this book. It contains frequent and animated references to the punishment of the wicked; and being composed in the 'lofty style of the Asiatics,' we might anticipate amplification in the detail, and a copious vocabulary of curses to pervade those portions which describe their doom. For it is not the genius of oriental speech to compress infinite ideas into tame and inadequate expressions, with Spartan sententiousness, but rather to magnify them. And, surely, if such a conception as that of *everlasting existence in misery* were intended to be conveyed in the style of Eastern poetry, it would find its natural and appropriate vehicle in the terrific language of the Koran, rather than in the brief declarations of this composition. The following are examples of the threatenings held out, in the book of Job, to the enemies of God:—

Chap. xviii.—'The light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine. His strength shall be hunger-bitten, and destruction shall be ready at his side. It shall devour the strength of his skin: even the first-born of death shall devour his strength. His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the king of terrors. It shall dwell in his tabernacle, because it is none of his: brimstone shall be scattered upon his habitation. His roots shall be dried up beneath, and above shall his branch be cut off. His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street. He shall be driven from light into darkness, and chased out of the world.'

Chap. xx.—'Knowest thou not this of old, since man was placed upon the earth, that the triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment? Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds; yet shall he perish for ever like his own dung: they which have seen him shall say, Where is he? He shall fly away as a dream, and shall not be found: yea, he shall be chased away as a vision of the night. The eye also which saw him shall see him no more; neither shall his place any more behold him.'

Chap. xxi.—'How oft is the candle of the wicked put out? and how oft cometh their destruction upon them? His eyes shall see his destruction, and he shall drink of the wrath of the Almighty.'

The Book of Psalms may be supposed to represent the popular belief during the best instructed ages of the Jewish commonwealth. The menaces of vengeance to the ungodly found in

this collection of sacred songs, in addition to those already cited, are as follows :—

Psalm i.—'The ungodly are not so : they are like the *chaff*, which the wind driveth away. The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous : but the way of the ungodly shall *perish*.'

Psalm ii.—'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron ; thou shalt *dash them in pieces* like a potter's vessel. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye *perish* by the way.'*

Psalm ix.—'Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked ; thou hast put out their name for ever and ever. The wicked shall be turned into *Sheol* (the state of death), and all the nations that forget God.'

Psalm xxxiv.—'The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. Evil *shall slay the wicked :* and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate.'

Psalm xxxvii.—'Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious at the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be *cut down like the grass*, and wither like the green herb. For evil-doers shall be cut off : but those that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth. (See Matt. v. 5.) For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be : *yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it shall not be. The wicked shall perish, and the enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of lambs : they shall consume ; into smoke shall they consume away.* For such as be blessed of God shall inherit the earth ; but they that be cursed of him shall be *cut off*. I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like the green bay tree. Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was not ; yea, I sought him, but he could not be found. Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright ; for the end of that man is peace. *But the transgressors shall be destroyed together : the end of the wicked shall be cut off.*'

Psalm xlix.—'Man that is in honour, and understandeth not, *is like the beasts that perish*.'

Psalm xcii.—'O Lord, how great are thy works ! and thy thoughts are very deep. A brutish man† knoweth not ; neither doth a fool understand this. When the wicked spring as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity do flourish ; it is *that they may be destroyed for ever.* (*Lehishshamedam*, the word used in Gen. xxxiv. 30 ; Levit. xxvi. 30 ; Numb. xxxiii. 52 ; Deut. i. 27.) For, lo, thy enemies, O Lord, for, lo, thy enemies shall perish ; all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered.'

Psalm ciii. 9.—'He will not contend for ever, *neither will he retain his wrath to eternity* (*legnolam*),'—words which never could have been written by a believer in the doctrine of endless torments.

Psalm civ.—'My meditation of Him shall be sweet ; I will be glad in the

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* From this passage Rabbi David Kimchi takes occasion to teach in his Commentary the literal destruction of the wicked.

† Hebrew, אישׁ־בער, *ish-baar*, literally the *man beast*, or animal-man.

Lord. Let the sinners be destroyed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more.' Could the Psalmist have really found a 'sweet' subject of meditation in the God of Augustine and Edwards, who would never cease throughout eternity to inflict suffering on the wicked?

Psalm cxii.—'The horn of the righteous shall be exalted with honour. The wicked shall see it and be grieved; he shall *gnash with his teeth, and melt away.*' (See Matt. xiii. 50, 'There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.')

The wisdom of SOLOMON dictated to him expressions on this subject in conformity with the declarations of David :—

Prov. x. 24.—'The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him: but the desire of the righteous shall be granted. As the whirlwind passeth, *so is the wicked no more:* but the righteous hath an everlasting foundation. The fear of the Lord *prolongeth days*: but the years of the wicked shall be *shortened*. The hope of the righteous shall be gladness: but the expectation of the wicked shall perish. The way of the Lord is strength to the upright: but destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity. The righteous shall never be removed; but the wicked shall not inherit the earth.'

Prov. xiii. 13.—'Whoso despiseth the word *shall be destroyed:* but he that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded. The law of the wise is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of *death.*'

Prov. xiv. 12.—'There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.'

Prov. xv.—'The way of the life is above (an upward road) to the wise to depart from *Sheol* (the state of death) beneath.'

Prov. xxi. 16.—'The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead' (*Rephaim*—Heb.).

After the preceding citations, it is not necessary to enlarge on the general style in which the PROPHETS denounce God's judgments to the ungodly. Their words are uniformly to the effect, that the sinner shall be *destroyed*, shall be *consumed*, shall *die*, *perish*, or be *slain*.*

* An objection has been raised by the Rev. C. Clemance to the quotation of Old Testament writers 'without considering, Who said it? and, When was it said? Chapters written in an early age for infant minds, are dealt with as if they were written in precise formula.' 'We cannot consistently in the same breath maintain that the Word of God, especially in its earliest stages, is written in a style not scientific but popular, and then appeal to its rudimentary chapters as if they were not popular but scientific' (pp. 33, 34, *Future Punishment*). Mr. Clemance plainly forgets the most remarkable element of the case for consideration, viz., that *the Bible writers of all ages use the same terms throughout* to denote the final curse of God on sin; and hence the 'popular and scientific' are not only not at variance, but coincide.

The 18th chapter of Ezekiel's prophecies contains a fair example of the prophetical mode of address :—

'Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so the soul of the son is mine. *The soul that sinneth it shall die.* Have I any pleasure that the wicked should *die?* saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his ways and *live?*' 'For when the wicked turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he *shall save his soul alive;* because he considereth, he shall surely live, he shall not die. For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye!'

The following passage occurs in a critique in the *British Quarterly Review*, February, 1846 :—'We know that the soul is immortal by intuition, the savage and the sage alike; aye, the savage often more surely than the sage; and God Himself assures us in revelation, as through intuition, that the souls which He has made shall never fail from before Him.' With respect to the former part of the learned writer's assertion, it suffices to allege that the Bechuanas and Australians, and several tribes of Central Africa, have been found destitute of the notion of immortality. The Scripture referred to is Isaiah lvii. 16 : '*For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls that I have made.*' From these words it is evident, in the first place, that there is no such doctrine as 'everlasting wrath' in the Old Testament: and, secondly, that the holy prophet declares such an intention on God's part as an eternal infliction would necessarily be followed by the 'failure' or cessation of the souls which He has made. He declares that human souls are not made by God strong enough to endure an endless torment. The reference was, therefore, altogether misleading.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON THE OPPOSED DOCTRINES OF THE PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES IN RELATION TO A FUTURE LIFE; AND ON CHRIST'S REJECTION OF BOTH.

We are indebted in recent times for an excellent summary of all that is known respecting these two sects of the Jews to four articles by Mr. Twisleton and Dr. Ginsburg in the great Biblical Dictionaries of Dr. Smith and Dr. Kitto.* They offer to the inquirer a remarkable phenomenon in the history of thought, doubly remarkable as appearing at the very end of the Mosaic Dispensation, while standing also in close contemporary relation with the teaching of the 'Word made Flesh.'

The date of their origin as distinct parties is somewhat obscure, but under their present names their existence is not traceable beyond the second or third centuries before Christ. Their opinions and general line of thought belong to an earlier epoch. Modern critics are agreed that the Sadducees, properly speaking, were a priestly and aristocratic party, professing to 'stand upon the old ways,' to adhere closely to the Mosaic law, taken in its most literal and limited sense, to reject tradition, and that 'oral law' of unwritten explications and additions, which their opponents the Pharisees made the rule of all their thought and action. The most prominent result of this general position was that they rejected altogether the doctrine of a life to come. The account given of their standpoint on this question by S. Luke in his two historical books tallies in every respect with what is learned of them from other sources. It is a misfortune that no work written by a Sadducee remains, but so far as the main dispute between them and their opponents is concerned there is no reason to

* Both Mr. Twisleton and Dr. Ginsburg rightly acknowledge their great obligations to Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel.*

imagine that less than justice has been done to them by the New Testament writer. 'They deny,' says S. Luke, 'that there is "any resurrection"' (οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι—xx. 27). He adds (Acts xxiii. 8), 'For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, but the Pharisees confess both.'

Josephus says, 'They take away the survival of the soul (διαμονὴν) and the punishments and rewards of Hades' (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14). Again (in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4) he says, 'Their doctrine is that souls perish with the bodies;'—literally—'their doctrine makes souls to vanish together with the bodies,' συναφανίζει.

The later Rabbins give the same account of the Sadducean opinion; which is indeed a logical result from their general mode of regarding the Law, and a natural reaction by antipathy against the indefensible tenets of the Pharisees.

The basis, then, of the doctrine of the Sadducees was the silence of Moses, the complete silence, as they thought, respecting a future state. The less astonishment ought to be felt at this conclusion when we remember that some of the foremost Jewish and Christian scholars in modern Europe are equally convinced that in the Pentateuch Moses preserves an unbroken silence respecting a future life or a resurrection. The opinion of Warburton in the *Divine Legation* is earnestly maintained by the learned French Jew, Grand-Rabbi Stein, in his work on Judaism in 1859. Dr. Stein says:—

'What causes most surprise in perusing the Pentateuch is the silence which it seems to keep respecting the most fundamental and consoling truths. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of retribution beyond the tomb, are able powerfully to fortify man against the violence of passions, the seductive attraction of vice, and to strengthen his steps in the rugged path of virtue: of themselves they smooth all the difficulties which are raised, all the objections which are made, against the government of a Divine Providence; and account for the good fortune of the wicked, and the bad fortune of the just. *But man searches in vain for these truths which he desires so ardently; he in vain devours with avidity each page of Holy Writ; he does not find either them, or the simple doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, explicitly announced.*'*

Dr. Stein then goes on to maintain that these truths of man's natural immortality and future retribution were supplied by the

* Smith's Dictionary, iii., p. 1088.

Oral Law. A citation of his argument will serve as an exposition of the position of the Pharisees in Palestine, for his opinion and theirs, if we may rely on Josephus, are identical. The Grand Rabbi of Colmar proceeds :—

'Nevertheless—truths so consoling and of such an elevated order *cannot have been passed over in silence*, and certainly God has not relied on the mere sagacity of the human mind in order to announce them only implicitly. He has transmitted them verbally, with the means of finding them in the text. A supplementary tradition was necessary, indispensable: this tradition exists. Moses received the law from Sinai, transmitted it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders transmitted it to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great Synagogue.' (*Le Judaïsme, ou la Vérité sur le Talmud*, p. 15.)

This was, it is supposed, the position of the Pharisees. They were compelled to acknowledge, with the Sadducees, that the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and a future eternal existence in penal retribution, were not to be found in the Pentateuch, nor anywhere else in the Old Testament scriptures. Looking, like Dr. Stein, with dismay upon their Law, that spoke no single word of comfort on the natural dignity of man as an immortal being, they took the course which was morally inevitable, and invented or borrowed the doctrine on which that law observed so fatal a silence. It was among the Pharisees who represented and sympathised with the body of the nation, Dr. Ginsburg tells us, 'that the glorious ideas *were developed* about the Messiah, the kingdom of heaven, *the immortality of the soul*, the world to come, etc.;' and since Scripture was silent on man's natural Immortality as the basis of the expectation of a future state for righteous and wicked, they set up the 'Oral Law,' or immemorial tradition, as the authority which supplemented the deficiencies of the Scriptures.*

Our direct knowledge of the psychology of the Pharisees depends on the testimony of Josephus alone, and his testimony is generally discredited on such subjects by the most learned men

* A valuable analysis of the book of Enoch will be found in Dr. Pusey's work on the Prophet Daniel, p. 391. Dr. Pusey assigns the date of the chief portion to the time of the Maccabees, but maintains that it consists of contributions from several authors. It can be quoted, therefore, on either side of the present discussion, because it expresses both the belief of the Pharisees in endless suffering, and also that of the elder Jewish Church, that the righteous shall live for ever, and the wicked be 'annihilated everywhere.' See Archbishop Lawrence's *Translation of Book of Enoch*.

of both the Jewish and Gentile communions. Dr. Pocock's sentence upon him is as follows:—

'If we have not cited Josephus it is no wonder, since in giving the views of the sects he names, respecting the other world, he seems to have used words better suited to the fashions and the ears of Greeks and Romans, than such as a scholar of the Jewish Law would understand, or deem expressive of his meaning.'—*Notæ misc. in portam Mosis*, c. 6.

To the same effect Professor Hudson says: 'The account given by Josephus of the doctrine of the Pharisees is in a nomenclature to which the Jews were strangers, which is unknown to the Talmud, but with which the Greeks, Romans, and Orientals were quite familiar' (*Debt and Grace*, p. 224). Professor Marks pronounces a similar unfavourable judgment. Nevertheless, this witness of Josephus, such as it is, is decisive. He says, 'The doctrine of the Pharisees was, that every soul is imperishable' (*Wars*, II., viii., 14). In his own speech to his soldiers he expresses himself thus (*Wars*, III., viii., 5): 'The bodies of all men are corruptible, but the soul is ever immortal, and *is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies*.'

[The fragment on *Hades*, formerly bound up with the works of Josephus, and still cited by the Rev. Bodfield Hooper, in support of similar opinions, is excluded from the best modern editions of Josephus as spurious. It is rejected from the last Leipzig edition of the Greek original, by Tauchnitz, as well as from all the latest English and French translations.]

On the whole, though Josephus's temper and character create much suspicion, there seems reason to believe that the Palestinian Pharisees held the borrowed opinion of the soul's immortality, founding their faith on the same arguments which satisfy their successors, the modern Rabbins. In the *Antiquities*, his latest work, Josephus re-affirms the statements in the *Wars* (XVIII., i., 1-4):—

'They believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life, and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have power to *revive and live again*, on account of which doctrine they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people.'*

* See Supplement to chapter xvii., for further treatment of Jewish opinion.

It is easy to understand that two parties, one sacerdotal, aristocratic, sceptical, the other popular and devout, would react upon the mass of each other's opinions, and render compromise or modification impossible. The Sadducees would naturally object to the Pharisaic party,—'that their notion of an oral law, accompanying and supplementing the defects of the Mosaic code, was a fiction, equally worthless as history, and pernicious as religion. If an oral law, containing a revelation of eternal life, was delivered by Moses,—it was by far the most important part of his institutions;—as much more important than the written law as eternity is more important than time; since to the oral law was due the doctrine of man's immortality, not found in the Pentateuch. At least, therefore, some plain intimation would have been given by Moses in the written Law, that this all-important commentary was 'committed to Joshua,' to be by him transmitted to posterity. There is no such sentence; because the oral law is a dream, or development, of the Pharisees. 'It has been excogitated,' the Sadducees would say, 'in recent ages by successive teachers, bent on moulding the Mosaic system to their own heathenish philosophy; and proving the thoroughly human character of its contents by its gross irrationality, its conspicuous injustice, and its frequent puerilities of interpretation.'

The argument of the Sadducees would in fact be parallel to that of the Protestant sects, against Roman Catholic tradition. Christendom likewise has its 'oral law,' its unwritten tradition, on which rests the fabric of modern ecclesiastical religion. But Protestants reply to its lofty claims, and unhistoric assertions, by simply pointing to the New Testament Scriptures. *There* is to be found no Roman primacy of Peter, no provision for a Papal Succession, no assertion of the authority of an Infallible Church or Papal Oracle; and the silence of Scripture is thought a sufficient answer to the presumptuous speech of all succeeding centuries.

But further, the Sadducees urged with victorious force,—'Why is it,—if this oral law (with its doctrine that "every soul is imperishable," and destined to eternal joy or woe) has been in existence since the days of Joshua, and through all the centuries of Judaism till the times of Ezra and Malachi,—why is it that none of the prophets who have assisted in writing the canonical

books, and who must have been acquainted with the oral law, have introduced into their histories or predictions, or sacred psalms, *one single sentence* from it, conveying the "truths" which Moses omitted?' By what signal fatality, we add, did their inspiration lead them to avoid every reference to doctrines, so 'consoling' and so 'necessary,' that Dr. Stein declares 'they *cannot have been passed over in silence*,' although they are 'nowhere to be found in Holy Writ'? How can it be that 'truths' concerning which David, Solomon, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, are wholly silent, could, as Dr. Ginsburg says, be 'developed among the Pharisees' of the centuries just preceding Christ's advent, if they were indeed handed down from the days of Moses? Certainly the case of the Sadducees as against the oral law was formidably strong: and they occupied an unassailable position in declaring that the imperishableness of the soul was not to be found in the Law of Moses, or the Psalms, or the Prophets.

The position of the Pharisees, however, had its elements of strength, and though they could not completely answer the Sadducees, either as to the general basis of their belief in the rule of faith, or as to the particular question of a future life, they felt that in some way they were right; and that their materialistic opponents were distinctly in conflict with the moral instincts of mankind, and not less with many plain declarations of the Old Testament Scriptures. It was this fidelity of theirs which, notwithstanding their mistakes, gave them a mighty and a desirable influence upon the mass of the Jewish nation.

There is something in the human soul, except when it has been brutalised by savage life, or seared as with a hot iron by sensuality or by perverse reasoning, which instinctively looks forward to retribution. The Pharisees took their stand upon this fact,—and so far they were right. Men, too, who live with God here are inspired with a profound moral conviction, as was Socrates, that in some way, whether it can be scientifically argued out or not, they shall live with God hereafter. The Old Testament Scriptures, in their own method, support both of these expectations. It is impossible to admit, with the Sadducees, that Moses designed no lesson of hope for good men, when he began his history with an account of the paradise *lost*, and followed that account with so

many indications of the persistent grace of the reconciled God, in the histories of the Patriarchs. The ascension of Enoch, the promise of an everlasting inheritance, and of the eternal God Himself as a 'Reward' to Abraham, even if they stood alone, sufficed to shatter the wretched system of the Sadducees, and to establish the hope of Eternal Life for the just. The hypothesis of an oral law would have been a pardonable invention, if no more solid ground of hope had been furnished of a world to come. It was impossible for spiritual and thoughtful men to assent to the frightful positivist dogma which wrapped in thick darkness at once the destinies of the human race and the character of God.

Yet no escape from that dark conclusion was known to the Pharisees of that age except by the assertion of the un-biblical doctrine of the soul's Immortality. The idea of an immortality which was a gift of God under redemption alone, and not a natural attribute of humanity, had probably died out of the general Jewish mind in the last ages, just as the same idea has died out, and from the same causes, from the later popular mind of Christendom. The notion of a God-given and conditional immortality, of which the righteous alone shall partake, had ceased to exist in the mind of most of the readers of the Old Testament Scriptures, as it has now ceased to suggest itself to most of the readers of the New. We shall show further on that this was the faith of the primitive Christian Church, but was gradually lost sight of, through the growing influence of Oriental, Greek, and Roman modes of thought in the following centuries. In the same manner, we doubt not, it had gradually been lost in the growing humanisation of Judaism after the days of the Great Synagogue. The modern Rabbins are quite right in speaking of the doctrine of natural immortality as an 'oral' tradition. It is the voice of man supplementing the revelations of a God whom he has ceased to understand.

There are, however, dynamics of opinion. The absence of a single idea from a system of thought sometimes leads to and compels ages of controversy. The existence of two such parties as the Sadducees and Pharisees was a necessity of the times, under existing one-sided conditions of belief. The Sadducees occupied

an unassailable post when they declared that Moses and the Prophets knew nothing of the Immortality of the Soul as a basis of hope in futurity. The Pharisees were equally in strength when they declared that the Scripture proclaimed the promise of eternal life. But both alike erred, from failing to grasp the truth which would have reconciled them—that man has lost the hope of life eternal under the law, and regains it by the grace of God in redemption.

The conduct of the Incarnate Life towards each of these parties throws a flood of light upon the cause of their honest differences, and the true mode of reconciliation. The existence of the two sects seems to have been permitted by Divine Providence as the most effectual method of leading men to the Christ who alone can open the gates of Life Eternal to the dead.

Towards the Sadducees our Lord, as was inevitable, presented a front of stern rebuke. Their professed zeal for the letter of the law of Moses won them no favour with 'the Prince of Life.' They prided themselves on a theology built exclusively on revelation. Yet they 'erred, not knowing the Scriptures.' 'That the dead *are raised*,' said he, 'even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham. For he is not a God of the dead (*νεκρῶν*), but of the living, for all live unto him' (Luke xx. 37-8). It must be noted that this argument was used to prove the resurrection, not primarily the survival of the soul. That it is S. Luke's design to represent our Lord as proving the resurrection, and not simply survival, is certain from his use of the verb *ἐγείρω* both in his gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, which is strictly confined to denote *resurrection*. But how does the word of God to Moses prove the resurrection of Abraham? It is not that the phrase, 'I am the God of Abraham,' proves that his spirit exists somewhere, although that also was true. It is that the spirit alone of Abraham was not Abraham; and that if God was still the 'God of Abraham,' it was because Abraham, sleeping in Machpelah, was to rise from the dead to enjoy God for ever. The relationship of a 'God' looked forward as well as backward—and He who IS 'calls those things which are not as though they were.' In this sense, then, all 'live unto Him.' Those who are to rise from the dead and to live for ever, are, in the view of God, alive now; and therefore

He calls Himself their God, 'because He has prepared for them a city' (Heb. xi.).

Certain of the Scribes, of the Pharisaic party, exclaimed, 'Master, Thou hast well spoken.' And the Sadducees were effectually 'put to silence' (ἐφίμωσε, Matt. xxii. 34). The priestly party of materialists were summarily put to flight by Him who came to speak 'the words of life eternal.'

Did, then, Christ turn a more sympathetic aspect towards their opponents the Pharisees? Every reader of the New Testament knows that His earthly ministry was spent almost in one continuous battle with the supporters of the Oral Law. Christ was short and sharp with the Sadducees; but in dealing with the Pharisees his speech became as terrible as a thunderstorm. 'He denounced them,' says Mr. Twisleton, 'in the bitterest language, and in the sweeping charges of hypocrisy which He made against them, He might even, at first sight, seem to have departed from that spirit of meekness and gentleness in judgment which is one of His own most characteristic precepts.' Christ must have satisfied the Sadducees themselves in the thoroughness with which He exposed and denounced the Pharisaic fiction of the 'oral law' as a rule of faith and practice. 'Full well,' cried He, 'ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep *your own tradition*.' 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye enter not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.' Neither did Christ enter into any distinction between the part of the Pharisaic system which was better and that which was worse. He linked them in His fearful anathemas along with the Sadducees, and denounced in one breath the 'doctrine' of both. 'Then they understood that He bade them beware of the *doctrine* of the Pharisees and Sadducees' (Matt. xvi. 12, διδαχῆς).

Our Lord on no occasion took part with the Pharisees on their own ground, as against the Sadducees. If the Pharisaic doctrine of the oral law (the doctrine also of modern Rabbinical Judaism) were the truth—that the 'soul of man is imperishable,' and that the expectation of a future eternal state is built upon man's immortal nature, there was not only no reason why the Incarnate Wisdom of God should not confirm the doctrine of the tradi-

tionalists, but there was every reason why He should do so, and in the clearest language. But from this Christ steadfastly abstained. He was not of the sect of the Pharisees, any more than of the Sadducees.

What, then, was the position practically taken up by the Lord of Glory between the two contending factions?

(1) To us it appears that He did contradict in His own way the errors of both parties, and asserted the truths which they maintained. The Sadducees were in the right in affirming that Moses wrote nothing respecting an eternal state depending on man's nature, or the natural immortality of his soul. (2) The Pharisees were right in affirming that the writings of Moses contained clear indications of eternal life for 'the sons of God,' a hope confirmed by all subsequent revelation. (3) But this life is not of man, nor in man's nature. It is the gift of God in Redemption, His unspeakable gift in His Son. The words of Christ cover precisely this ground. 'Ye search the Scriptures,' said Christ to the Pharisees, 'for *in them ye think ye have eternal life*, and they are they which testify of Me. But ye will not come to ME, that ye may have life.'

'Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and died; this is the bread that came down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die' (John vi. 49, 50).

'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have *no life in yourselves*' (ἐν ἑαυτοῖς—ver. 53).

This teaching caused a combination of both Sadducees and Pharisees against Him. They, who could agree in nothing else, agreed to 'kill the Prince of Life,' and were instant with loud voices for His death. The Sadducees were 'grieved' that the apostles should 'preach, *through Jesus*, the resurrection of the dead.' And the party of oral tradition, Jewish and Gentile, the party which holds the doctrine of natural immortality in man, will combine in every age, even with materialists and infidels, in excommunicating those who teach that Life Eternal is God's gift to men, through the blood-shedding of the 'Lamb.' For those who think that salvation is man's work towards God, or that Immortality is man's native attribute, never come to terms with

those who maintain that salvation is God's work towards man, in all the stages of its development, and that it is Christ the Lord who is the Life of the World. Those also who have learned these truths can never enter into a compromise with the 'sect of the Pharisees'—however splendid their virtues—because the assertion of man's natural immortality is the direct cause of the creation of a God-dishonouring theology, carrying with it generally the dogma of misery that shall never end,—which has done more than any other notion to hinder men from coming to the Living God for life immortal.*

* See further on Pharisaic opinion, and its right to determine the sense of New Testament language, in the Supplement to chapter xvii. *ad fin.* In the same Supplement will be found a sketch of modern Rabbinical doctrine on eschatology (3rd Edition).

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE ON THE OBJECT OF THE DIVINE INCARNATION, AND THE METHOD OF REDEMPTION.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INCARNATION OF THE LIFE; OR THE LOGOS MADE FLESH THAT MAN MAY LIVE ETERNALLY.

SECTION I.

THE doctrine of a distinction of Persons in the Godhead, and of the union of the Personal Word of God with the human nature of Jesus of Nazareth, is, and always has been, the great stumbling-block in the way of the reception of Christianity by the nations of the world.

The Jews as a nation have, from the beginning of the gospel through all following centuries until now, maintained a stout opposition to a doctrine which they believe to be as profane as baseless.* The Mohammedans have learned from the Koran to regard as an assault upon the majesty of the One Lord of Heaven and Earth the notion that He has a Son or an Equal. And Unitarians, to be numbered within and without the churches by myriads in Christendom, whether bearing a distinctive name or not, have in every generation held fast to the belief that original Christianity was marred by no such blot on its brilliant disc as the exaltation of Jesus into the place and name of Deity.

It is easy to suggest by anticipation arguments on every side against the dogma of the incarnation of the Logos. The whole world of human probabilities is opposed to it. That the Godhead should be itself distinguished into Persons, such as may be denoted by the relationships of Fatherhood and Sonship, or by such images as that of Mind and Speech, or Thought and Word, is

* The Logos of Philo was impersonal, and he would have shrunk with horror at the idea of its personal incarnation. Even Dr. Davidson admits, 'an important link is wanting between Philonism and the theory of the fourth gospel.'

itself a notion altogether foreign to the circle of ideas respecting Deity gathered by the study of matter and mind. But that there should be three distinct Persons in the Godhead; that One of these should lay aside the 'form of God' and descend to be born of a Virgin, so as to become part of the integral personality of the Christ; and that this occurred 1877 years ago in Palestine, in the Son of Mary,—is a proposition of *primâ facie* incredibility so confounding to sense and reason that the tendency of the thinking public, learned and unlearned, has ever been largely in the direction of scepticism or resolute denial. And when to this has been erroneously added, that the object of the Incarnation was to constitute a spotless personality, which Eternal Vengeance might strike for the salvation of sinners, a personality of worth so transcendent that His sufferings might outweigh the deserts of men in everlasting misery, the reason assigned has rendered the 'fact' a thousand times more incredible than it was before.

Nevertheless the documents of apostolic Christianity, if dealt with by the same rules which govern the interpretation of other books, afford no fair escape from the conclusion that the body of Jesus of Nazareth was the shrine and temple of Deity, in such a sense as has never been true of any other man, however God-inspired. After every deduction from the doctrine on the side of its Athanasian form; after stripping the statement of the article of every special ecclesiastical peculiarity, even those of the second and third centuries,—when, as Dr. Liddon acknowledges, 'the language of the ante-Nicene Fathers was such as to allow of, rather than invite, an orthodox interpretation,'—there still remains so complex a mass of evidence that all the apostles and evangelists desired to represent their Master as the Son of God, in no simply moral or human sense, but in the sense of a living incarnation of One Person of a tripersonal Godhead,—that it is vain to struggle against the argument. Is it not better to reject Christianity altogether than to receive it in the gross, and then explain it away in detail, on the theory of a simply human personality in the Saviour?

The three synoptic gospels—varied editions, under the different circumstances of the three great churches of Palestine, Italy, and Greece—of the one primitive history of Jesus,—though having

for their object the presentation of the wonderful Humanity, present that never-fading portrait to the world crowned with a divine aureola, which leaves no reasonable doubt that they regarded this Person, with more or less distinctness of thought, as a Present God. Two of them commence their history by an assertion of His miraculous conception; certainly the most effectual hindrance to European faith in their narrative, supposing their desire was to be believed; and one which has no meaning apart from an implied Divine Incarnation. They represent their Master as assuming a tone of personal authority unknown to all previous legislators and prophets, an authority extending even to the raging elements and unclean spirits. They represent His very piety and virtue in a style which, however consistent with the filial subjection of the Son to the Eternal Father, is wholly unsuitable to a mortal, and which compels the reader to choose between the alternatives of true Deity in the Saviour, or a blasphemous impiety in His pretensions as a man.* If Jesus were not more than man, then He was certainly much less than a good man of the ordinary description. The rational alternatives to-day, as of old, are those of 'stoning' Him or 'worshipping' Him. To maintain that He was a holy person, as a man, is consistent only in those who maintain that He was infinitely more than man. For if merely human, His 'piety' was of a type to encourage by example the most profane assumptions on the part of every one who professes to be a teacher of righteousness.

Besides this, the synoptic gospels contain pretensions which are intelligible only on the theory that their writers believed the subject of their memoirs was the incarnate Son of God. They show Him to us as receiving a 'worship' (Matt. xiv. 33) which angels themselves are said to have refused when offered by these same apostles (Rev. xxii. 8). They show Him to us as pronouncing absolution from sins without reference to the delegation of His authority as a minister of heaven, assuming in fact the attribute and the tone of Deity; as was objected by learned Jews who heard Him often commit the supposed offence. They depict Him as claiming the possession of a nature which none but the Father 'knows' or fathoms; and as declaring absolutely that

* See this argument drawn out with wonderful power and beauty in ch. x. of Bushnell on *Nature and the Supernatural.*

'no being knows the Infinite Nature except Himself, and those to whom He is pleased to reveal it' (Matt. xi. 27). In teaching us the final destiny of men and angels, He speaks of Himself as the arbiter of doom (Matt. xxv.). The sublime scenes of His Baptism, and of His Transfiguration by night on the southern summits of the Hermon,—when the synoptics tell us that God spoke of Him as His 'Beloved Son,'—are difficult to reconcile with any conception of Jesus simply as a good man, or as perhaps the first and best teacher of virtue among millions of others; but entirely agree with the idea of a Sonship which is Divine.* S. Matthew ends his gospel by openly associating the Son with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the form of baptism.

If we pass on to the Fourth Gospel, it is necessary to assign a reason for setting aside recent doubts as to its authorship by the Apostle John. Suspicion has been thrown on its apostolic authorship of late years, (1) in consequence of the noticeable superiority of its Greek to that of the Apocalypse, which was undoubtedly John's, and belongs to an earlier date; (2) in consequence of the apparent lateness of its general acceptance and quotation, no decisive examples of citation occurring before the first third of he second century; (3) in consequence of its internal character.†

(1) The primary argument for the Johannine authorship is what may be fairly called the unbroken external tradition of the earliest ages, the like authority on which we depend for our knowledge of the authorship of the other anonymous books of Scripture, or of the Odes of Horace, or of the Æneid of Virgil. (2) Secondly, there is the internal evidence of John's striking individuality as depicted in the three synoptic gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and his undoubted Epistles and Apocalypse; and which appears in every line of this gospel also, at least to those who possess the critical dramatic faculty that qualifies them to form a judgment. (3) There is the exceeding holiness of the book, which it is not

* This argument (on the synoptics) is drawn out exhaustively in Dr. Dorner's first volume on the *Person of Christ*.

† The history of the attack on the Fourth Gospel will be found in Baur, Strauss, Keim, Davidson, and Taylor; that of the defence, in Bleek, Dorner, Ebrard, Mayer, Schneider, Godet, Liddon, Farrar, and Beyschlag. Dr. Matt. Arnold (*Contemp. Rev.*, May, 1875) may be fairly reckoned on the same side, though his suggestions are not original.

conceivable could proceed from a writer consciously forging the narrative, under the pseudonym of the holy apostle—an argument which will produce the deepest impression on those who are 'spiritual' (1 Cor. ii. 14).

How, then, are we to account for the late diffusion of this gospel, and its remarkably late quotation by writers of the east and west; and how shall we account for the improvement in the Greek as compared with the Apocalypse?

The following replies seem to offer a strong appearance of truth.

(1) When John was imprisoned in Patmos, almost in solitude, he carried with him the provincial Greek of his early Palestinian days. In that Greek he wrote the Apocalypse.* When later in life, long after the destruction of Jerusalem, he lived at Ephesus, and wrote his gospel, he had the advantage of daily association with men who spoke accurately grammatical Greek, from whom S. John would gradually gather a similar accuracy, or even receive editorial assistance. This would account for the improvement of the style of the gospel upon the Apocalypse.

(2) As to the latter diffusion of the gospel, it deserves to be remembered that the fifty years following on the destruction of Jerusalem, from A.D. 70 to A.D. 120, were fifty of the most terrible years the world had ever seen. They were years of war, confusion, turbulence, and fearful massacre of both Jews and Gentiles. In such an epoch a new book would perhaps spread itself less rapidly than in more peaceful and orderly times.

(3) There was, however, a further and far deeper reason for

* For an accessible account of these defects in the Greek of the Apocalypse see Alford's *Prolegomena*. The author of *Supernatural Religion* (ii. 406) thus describes the two works: 'The language in which the Apocalypse is written is the most Hellenistic Greek of the N. T.' 'The barbarous Greek and abrupt, inelegant diction, are natural to the unlettered fisherman.' Of the Gospel he says, 'Instead of the Hellenistic Greek, abrupt and barbarous, we find the purest and least Hebraistic Greek of any of the gospels, and a refinement and beauty of composition whose charm has captivated the world.' On the ground of this difference the author rejects the fourth gospel. Dr. Luthardt agrees with this criticism, but rejects the conclusion. 'As regards grammar the Gospel is written in correct, the Apocalypse in incorrect Greek;'—but Dr. L. strangely accounts for this difference by referring to the sovereignty of the Spirit, who chose to deliver the prophecy in inferior and the gospel in superior language.

the later reception of S. John's Gospel; and this is found in its contents. The fact of its later diffusion, now brought forward as an argument against its apostolic authorship, was rather in part the result of its late composition, and the effect of the peculiar character of its two main lessons. These two prominent doctrines, of the Personal Deity of the Christ, and of man's Immortality depending on Him alone, were as much opposed to all ancient thought as they are to modern philosophy and modern theology. They could be effectually taught in the first age of the Church only when the ground had been somewhat prepared by the circulation of the gospels of the Divine Humanity. The lesson of the Human Divinity was for the later rather than for the earlier intelligence of the first century. Thus the writings of John, both from their date and their subject, necessarily had a somewhat later circulation than the synoptic gospels, or even than those epistles in which Paul and Peter, building on the same bases, set forth rather the effects of Redemption on man's relations to his Judge and Master. '*I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now*,' are words which were true of the Church of the first century—even after the coming of the Comforter. There are some things which cannot be explained thoroughly until the complex whole is explained together. The divine incarnation, the sacrificial death of Christ, His ascension, the free pardon of sinners, the world-wide aspect of redemption, the final issue in an endless life,—all these are parts of a system, incredible in fragments; and you must expound the whole at once to render any single portion thoroughly intelligible. But however desirable, it was very difficult to teach these mysteries all at once and fully, to the first generation of men who had seen the Lord. The humanity of Christ both revealed and obscured His Deity; and until His Personal Deity was thoroughly understood, His life-giving power could not be fully believed in. Thus these two correlated doctrines, of the Deity of Christ, and of our Immortal Life in Him, were so closely connected that they could not be completely divulged except in combined radiance, as complementary colours of one heavenly sunbeam of truth and godliness; and this process belonged to the later stages of the Church's earlier life. So much I venture to propose hypothetically in explanation of the

later reception and citation of the fourth gospel, and in vindication of its Johannine origin. The value of these observations will, I think, appear more clearly when the present argument is completed.

What is it, then, that we discover in this gospel? It does indeed appear to be an intolerable abuse of criticism to pretend that Christendom has been mistaken in the east and in the west, in the north and in the south, in the general drift of this book—and to deny that the manifest intention of the writer was first of all to Deify Jesus. Dr. Vance Smith almost allows that this was his aim. The phenomenon indeed is singular and unexampled in history. There has been many an illustrious teacher in every land; but the last thought which has occurred to his immediate friends and followers, *immediately after death*, has been to give out that he was the Infinite God incarnate. This can scarcely be maintained respecting the Buddhist sages who have since been regarded as avatars of Divinity. Plato and Xenophon would never have ventured on declaring that Socrates was the Infinite Mind made flesh. No modern biographer would have found it possible to assert the Divinity of any artist, theologian, or man of science; nor would the imagination have ever entered a healthy brain. In Roman times, *after their deaths*, the emperors were regarded as in a low sense Divine (*Divus Julius*, *Divus Augustus*, *Divus Titus*), but no friend or flatterer thought that by ascribing to them that title they asserted that in Augustus, or Tiberius, or Titus the Supreme God dwelt as a part of their personality; or dreamed of teaching, in a historical book, that *during their lives* they spoke and acted as if they pretended to be Jupiter in disguise.

But John goes much farther than this. He, a Jew, a member of a nation where the first principle of thought was monotheism; where the gulf between the finite and the Infinite, the creature and Creator, was held to be impassable and unfathomable; where for a *man* to claim divine honours was held to be the consummation of wickedness; where men would die rather than allow the statue of Caligula in the temple; where no such phantasy had ever crossed the mind of any Hebrew since the formation of the Commonwealth,—John distinctly asserts of this peasant-carpenter

of Nazareth, his Master and Friend, that He was the 'Word made Flesh,' that Word by whom 'everything was made that was made.' The history of the miraculous conception, with which Matthew begins his gospel, was a trifle in comparison with this portentous declaration with which John commences his. Let us note the precision of his language. He says,—

'*In the beginning was the Logos;—and the Logos was with the* (great) *Theos*' (this is the force of πρὸς τόν Θεόν);—'*and the Logos was Theos*' (without the definite article: He was A Divine Person, not the great original *Theos*,* or Deity).

The evangelist then further elaborates his idea that the Logos was a Divine Person, the Agent of the Father in creation, and existing before all worlds. In verse 14 he distinctly asserts the Incarnation of the personal Logos, who was *Theos;* and the whole gospel is one prolonged commentary on this claim which he makes for Jesus, to be the Divine Creator of the Universe (verse 3), the Representative Deity, in human form. Again and again he carefully details discussions between 'the Jews' and Jesus Christ, in which he affirms that,—

1. He came down from Heaven, yet was in Heaven, iii. 13, 31;
2. That He was God's 'only-begotten' Son, whom God gave to the world for its salvation, iii. 16;
3. That what things soever the Father doeth, these doeth the Son likewise, v. 17, 19 ('making Himself equal with God');
4. That as the Father raises up the dead, so could He, v. 21;
5. That God had committed the judgment of the whole world to Him, v. 22;
6. That at His voice all the dead should rise, v. 29;
7. That the Father Himself attested these claims, v. 36;
8. That He was the Bread which came down from Heaven to give life unto the world, vi. *passim;*
9. That before Abraham was He was, viii. 38;

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* Origen (in *Johan.* 46) points out the force of the definite article in the second clause, and of its omission in the third clause of this verse. Λεκτέον δὲ αὐτοῖς κ. τ. λ. 'This scruple of many pious persons may be thus solved. We must tell them that He who is of Himself God, is ὁ Θεὸς, but that whatever is God, besides that underived One (αὐτοθεὸς), being so by communication of His Divinity, cannot so properly be styled ὁ Θεὸ: the great God, but θεὸς, a divine person (οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ἀλλὰ θεὸς κυριώτερον λέγοιτο).

See also Dr. J. H. Newman's Tract on the *Principatus* of the Father—in which he, though with great caution, uses language similar in effect.

10. That He came forth from God, and went to God, xiii. 1-3 ;
11. That He should *send the Holy Spirit* of God, as the Comforter, xvi. 7 ;
12. That He had a glory with the Father before the world was, xvii. 5 ;
13. That He and the Father were ἕν, one, x. 30.

And these statements, powerful when taken in isolated citation, are far stronger when looked at in their connection, so that those who can eliminate from this gospel the doctrine of the personal Deity of Christ, as the Son of God, can perform any feat of transformation on the words of the New Testament, or of any other writing.

The English Prayer Book was 'proved' by Tract No. 90, under the auspices of the Oxford conspirators, to permit practically of a *Roman* interpretation ; and the gospel of John, under similar treatment, may be regarded as the work of an apostle who was a Unitarian.

For ourselves—while rendering just homage to the many noble qualities of our Unitarian brethren, and lamenting, in the interests of truth, the excesses of the falsely so-called Athanasian orthodoxy, which have occasioned and perhaps excused in part the reaction towards a purely humanitarian view of Christ's person,—we must nevertheless abjure as scarcely deserving refutation these efforts of critical artifice. To us Christ is the Lord,—the all-creating 'Word made flesh,'—'God over all, blessed for ever.' 'Being in the form of (θεοῦ) a Divine Person, He thought it not a thing to be snatched at to be equal to a *Theos*, but emptied Himself, and took on Him the form of a *servant*, and was made in the likeness of men ; wherefore God (ὁ Θεὸς), the supreme *Theos*, hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is *above every name*, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and of the under-world, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is LORD, to the glory of God the Father' (Phil. ii. 6-11). He is 'the First and the Last—the Beginning and the Ending,—which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Ruler of the Universe' (Apoc. i. 8 ; ὁ Παντοκράτωρ).

We cannot then separate from Apostolic Christianity the transcendent mystery of the incarnation of the Logos. It is the foundation of the whole system. If the New Testament

was written to teach modern Unitarianism, there is no series of books on earth more elaborately contrived to fail of their purpose. There is none which so much requires an apparatus of special criticism to bring out that sense; for they leave on the minds of all who will permit them to make their natural impression an ever-deepening conviction that the doctrine of Christ's Deity is the Shekinah of the temple, and the secret of man's Redemption. The writers leave also the impression that this doctrine was as great a natural improbability to themselves as it is to us; that it was gradually forced on them by the overpowering evidence of the facts, by a divine inspiration, and by the words of Jesus Himself, supported, and proved to be true, by a blaze of miracles which rendered unbelief impossible.

Eighteen hundred years of further meditation on this sublime mystery have not, however, lessened the wonderfulness of the message, that the everlasting Nature has joined itself once and for ever to humanity in the Christ. On the contrary the thought of it, as the vastness of the universe is further disclosed, weighs more and more heavily upon the labouring mind;—yet, while there open through this gateway infinite prospects of glory, one beyond the other—crowding on the vision of the enraptured spirits who contemplate them in earth and heaven,—the evidence brightens as the future unfolds; and though the fact of the Incarnation 'passeth knowledge,' the soul is compelled to recognise in the loftiest conceptions of man's destiny through redemption the nearest approaches to the truth of God. The Eternal Love which created us has given Itself, its All, its 'heights and depths and lengths and breadths'—(τὰ πάντα; Rom. viii. 32)—in His Only Begotten Son!

Section II.

We have now to direct the current of our special argument into this broad and mighty stream of truth on the Deity of Christ which makes glad the city of God,—a tributary to its fulness, as we believe, having its origin also in the heights of divine revelation. In executing this purpose, it will be necessary to direct continued attention to that gospel of John which is the object of

so natural a hostility to those who misconceive the scope and method of man's redemption by the Incarnation.

It will be observed by careful readers of this gospel that there run throughout its course two parallel lines of thought and speech. The first has been already noted—the assertion, chiefly in Christ's varied and solemnly reported words, of the Incarnation of the Divine Nature in His person: and an incarnation or 'becoming flesh' (i. 14) so real and so vital that the Logos became as truly a part of the complex personality of the Christ, as is the thinking power a part of man's integral being. This union of the Divine and Human natures is represented as so close as to constitute the Logos a Man, and the Manhood Divine: so close, that when Jesus speaks of 'I,' it may be either, or equally, the body, the mind, or the Eternal Spirit, which speaks: (1) 'I thirst;' (3) 'I will, be thou clean;' (3) 'I will raise it up at the last day.' He was, as the Creed declares, 'Perfect God and Perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting; who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ; One—not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God—One altogether—not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ.'

The second line of doctrine which runs throughout the gospel of John from the first paragraph to the last, is that this Incarnation of the Divine Logos of God has for its object TO GIVE LIFE ETERNAL TO MANKIND. This is repeated more than thirty times in the most emphatic manner. And if the epistles of John are added to the account, it will be found that nearly fifty times does this apostle declare the gift of LIFE, or LIFE EVERLASTING, to be the end of the Incarnation. A few striking examples of the phraseology may be selected.

(1) In the proem of the gospel the Divine Logos is described thus: 'In Him was Life, and the Life was the light of men.'

(2) In conversing with Nicodemus, Jesus declared that 'God so loved the world as to give His Only Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but should have everlasting life' (*μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον*; John iii. 16).

(3) He assured the Samaritan woman that the water which He

would give would be within a fountain of water springing up to everlasting life (iv. 14).

(4) In the fifth chapter Christ declares again and again that with Him rests the power of raising the dead, and giving them life (ζωοποιεῖ). 'He that heareth my word and believeth hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is *passed from death unto life*.'

(5) In the sixth chapter there is a prolonged argument with the Jews to prove that He was the Bread of Life; that the fathers ate manna in the desert *and died*, but this was the bread that came down from heaven that a man should eat thereof *and not die*, καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, verse 50. The statement is reiterated in every possible form that His work on earth is to *give life, everlasting life*, to prevent men from *dying*, from *perishing*. He declares that whoso eateth His flesh and drinketh His blood, *hath eternal life, and He will raise Him up at the last day*, ver. 54. 'As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he *shall live by me*.' 'He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever,' vers. 57, 58. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life *in yourselves*,' ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ver. 53. This discourse, delivered in the synagogue of Capernaum, deserves careful and consecutive study, for it may be taken as the fairest battle-ground of this whole controversy. What is said elsewhere is but a repetition of what is here declared with a persistence and fulness which are fitted to arouse earnest inquiry as to the design of our Saviour's words.

(6) S. Paul and S. Peter have many expressions of the same character—affirming that we owe our 'everlasting life' to that Christ,—that He is our 'Life'—our 'hope of life,'—and apart from Him we shall '*die*,' '*perish*,' and be '*destroyed*;' but although at least fifty times such expressions occur, no practical purpose would be answered by multiplying here parallel quotations from their writings.

What, then, if we may follow the natural and proper sense of these declarations of Christ, is the result to which they lead us?

Is it not THAT THE VERY OBJECT OF THE INCARNATION IS TO IMMORTALISE MANKIND; that man can *live for ever* only by spiritual union with the Incarnate Deity; that apart from such union man will '*die, perish,* and *be destroyed*.'

When we wish to express the idea of perpetual existence, or the loss of being, there is no language in which we can so naturally and properly convey our meaning as in these words of Christ. Some will *live for ever*, others will *perish*. Were it not for certain extrinsic considerations, derived from foreign fields of thought, no one would ever have imagined a different sense. Unless a reader had been warned beforehand that every man's soul, being destined by its nature to last for ever, and not to die (being im-*mortal*)—he must therefore not put upon the terms of Christ's discourses any meaning which will contradict that doctrine of natural immortality,—he would not have dreamed of imposing a figurative sense upon them, or of making *life eternal* stand for happiness, or *perishing* stand for endless misery. It is altogether due to foreign and unusual considerations, if readers have learned to take such words in an unnatural sense. For to live for ever signifies to live for ever, and to perish signifies not to live for ever but to lose organised and conscious being. That is the first and the natural meaning of the words.

Moreover, it is the very meaning of them taken in constructing the favourite phrase, *an Immortal Soul*. An im-*mortal* soul is a soul that will not *die*; and to *die* there is taken for *ceasing to exist* (not for *being miserable*); so that every one who uses the phrase 'an immortal soul,' and maintains that man possesses one, shows *in what is the natural and proper sense of dying*, by saying in Latin that the soul will *not die*. It is obvious, then, that, unless there be some reason of overpowering strength, this is the sense in which the words must be taken in the gospel. This is not to deny that in God's distribution of life and death to moral beings there will be, and must be, glorious or dreadful secondary associations of thought connected with these words—in the one case of holiness and happiness, in the other of sin and misery; but it is to deny that in consequence of those secondary associations the terms lose their primary, radical, and proper signification, or become mere tropes and figures of speech for a life which is not literally life at all,—or for a death which is not the breaking up of humanity.

That the persistent resolution, through many ages, to strip these converse terms Life and Death, in their application to Christ's work and Man's destiny, of their proper signification, has

resulted in eclipsing fully one-half of the light of the Sun of Righteousness, of the glory of Christ, of the truth of Christianity, is a conviction deeply fixed in the mind of the present writer; and that this fatal result has followed from the stealthy advance in the early church of error on the soul's natural immortality has already been partly shown in previous pages. A false psychology throws a mist over the whole firmament of truth; but it is surely very difficult, after the writing of the last twenty years, to maintain that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul has any unquestionable foundation in biology, in metaphysics, or in Scripture.* Is not its chief source the self-estimate of men destitute of the knowledge of God, and grasping at a shadow when the substance has escaped them?

In order to determine this question, whether we owe the prospect of immortality to the natural constitution of our spiritual being,—or, to the grace of God in Redemption, to the Incarnation of the Life of God in the Christ,—to a divine regenerative process restricted to the sons of God, which contemplates the whole humanity, body as well as soul, in its transforming and immortalising action,—we fall back on the generally accepted principle of biblical interpretation. If the writings of the apostles and evangelists are insufficient to decide this controversy, when handled 'not deceitfully,' but according to the canon which governs the honest interpretation of all public documents, there is assuredly no reason for expecting satisfaction elsewhere. The 'oral law' of Christendom is as delusive a guide as that of ancient Judaism.

What, then, is the canon above all others obligatory in interpreting Scripture? It is delivered to us in the words of Hooker: 'I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of Sacred Scripture that when a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words as alchemy doth, or would do, the substance of metals, making of anything what it listeth, and bringing in the end all truth to nothing.'

* See especially the remarkable series of papers in the 'Nineteenth Century,' 1877, on the Future Life, called 'The Symposium.'

The literal sense of words is *primâ facie* their true sense. The literal sense is presumptively true, or has the first claim to be received. The literal sense is the common, fundamental, ordinary, usual sense in all languages, Hebrew and Greek included, and that which first strikes the mind of a hearer. *Life, death,—living for ever, perishing,*—the ideas conveyed by these and similar words are likely to be their true sense, unless overruled by the connection, or by the general tenor of the book in which they appear. 'They' (the heavens) 'shall *perish*, but Thou *remainest*' (Psalm cii.). 'Labour not for the meat which *perisheth*, but for the meat which *endureth* to everlasting life' (John vi.). 'The outward man *perisheth*, but the inward man is *renewed* day by day' (2 Cor. iv.). Who could fail to see that in such passages *perishing* is the opposite of *remaining* and *enduring?* Why is the word to be taken differently when the object to perish is a sinner? or the object to perish is not a man who has eaten of bread 'that endureth to everlasting life'?

The adage that the literal sense of words is presumptively the true one has been held by all interpreters. Thus Luther says: 'That which I have so often insisted on elsewhere I here once more repeat, that the Christian should direct his first efforts towards understanding the literal sense (as it is called) of Scripture, which alone is the substance of faith and of theology.' And Dean Alford says: 'A canon of interpretation which should be constantly borne in mind is that *a figurative sense of words is never admissible except when required by the context.*' (Comm. on Acts x. 42.)

No rule besides this is permitted by a sound interpretation in deducing the doctrine of the New Testament on other topics of the Christian revelation. The doctrines of the Trinity of the Godhead, of the Deity of Christ, of the Person and work of the Holy Ghost, of justification by grace, of the resurrection of the dead, of the kingdom of Christ, are learned among Protestants by a persistent application of this canon, against whatever mass of evil example and precedent to the contrary. For in fact the measure of light and darkness in the Church in every century has been determined by the degree in which its interpreters have stood fast on this common-sense rule of interpretation, or have given way to traditional perversion, or to the fantastic notion of inner senses and

universal mystery. There have been no deadlier enemies to Christianity than its mystical interpreters.

The application of this great rule to the words of the Incarnate Word describing the nature of His own work of Redemption seems especially imperative. Can we seriously suppose that when Christ pours forth that soul-moving current of expression in which He solemnly and so often declares on all various occasions, and in all-varying companies, during His ministry, that He came to earth to 'give Life,' 'everlasting Life to men,' to 'raise them up' to everlasting Life, to prevent them from 'dying,'—can we suppose, after deliberation, that this emphatic language was nothing more than a mighty volume of figurative speech, rolling before us, and tantalising our understandings; when it was of the last importance for us to know clearly what the doom was of which we were in danger, and what the blessing is which He came to confer?

If the main current of the Redeemer's language on the very object of His mission is to be taken as a stream of metaphors, how can we know what the realities are of which these figures are the emblems? If none of the language of the Bible is plain and easy to be understood, how can we hope ever to understand the metaphors? But, indeed, this has been the delusion alike of Jew and Gentile, that the Bible scarcely ever means what it says. Men do 'not like'—some for one so-called reason, some for another—to admit that their natures are as perishable as those of the races around them,—they do 'not like' to retain in their knowledge a Saviour who is the 'life of the world,'—they do 'not like' to admit the awful idea of a judicial extinction of life in hell, for defying the Almighty,—and therefore they leave no verbal artifice unemployed in perverting the plain meaning of the terms which clearly announce that doom to the condemned, and point to the Christ as the sole hope of humanity. Just so those who go to the Bible resolved not to allow of the ideas of the Incarnation and of the Atonement find critical means to persuade themselves that those doctrines are not really in the Scripture.

Nothing is more wonderful in the history of thought than the degree to which men have persuaded themselves that the Spirit of Revelation in dealing with mankind has systematically avoided that 'great plainness of speech' which is the natural outcome of

a direct and simple purpose when the object is to be understood. The notion is deeply rooted that when God speaks, as in the person of Christ, the Incarnate WORD, scarcely any of His words are to be taken in their obvious sense. Surely the rule of thought ought to be the opposite, and we ought to think that He who was the Truth as well as the Life employed human speech in its most direct signification.

It is said, however, in reply to this assertion of the first claim of the literal and obvious sense of words in the interpretation of Scripture doctrine, that we are overlooking the undeniable prevalence of metaphor in the Biblical writings, and especially in the teaching of Jesus Himself. '*Without a parable spake He not unto them.*' 'He *multiplied parables*,' after the fashion of the ancient prophets. There is not a doctrine of the gospel which He did not involve in an envelope of metaphorical speech, partly as a punitive measure towards dishonest souls, partly as an exercise of the pious ingenuity of His disciples. May not, then, the whole sense of Christ's language respecting *Life* and *Death*, as the destinies of men, be a portion of the metaphorical vocabulary in which He presented the truth? The writings of the Apostles of Christ contain several indications of the strong secondary associations which belong to these terms, as when S. Paul speaks of his own *happiness*, in the words, 'Now we *live* if ye stand fast in the Lord' (1 Thess. iii. 8): as much as to say, 'Your departure from the truth would be my death.'

We acknowledge that the associations of holy blessedness and sinful *misery* occasionally, as in the cited passage, come forward into vivid prominence in the use of the terms life and death; and not only that, but also that other secondary associations of these terms and their correlatives, such as the ideas of *force and liveliness*, of *weakness and torpor*, of a *spiritual and of a carnal condition*, occasionally are made prominent in the use of the words, as perhaps in such passages as these: '*Quicken* thou me in thy way'—Psalm cxix. (give me force and vigour in thy service)—and, 'Thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead,' 'Be zealous and *strengthen* the things that remain, that are ready to die' (Rev. iii.). But it would be a perversion of all the rules of speech, and the experience of literature, to allow that because

terms are sometimes employed in a sense in which their secondary associations are prominent, therefore we are to interpret them everywhere so as to *exclude their primary and proper signification*. In passing expressions of emotional thought, the secondary association may thus sometimes get even the upper hand; but in solemn and deliberate teaching the main terms are certain to be used in their strict signification. When and where on earth is there better reason to look for the use of words in their proper sense than when the Saviour of the world is teaching men what their danger is, and in what Salvation consists? If it be urged again that Christ hid much of His truth in a glory-mist of metaphors, the answer is, that 'privately He explained all things to His disciples;' yet in private as in public He adhered to His theme, that men were in danger of *death*, and *destruction*, and that He came to give them *everlasting life*.

The impression prevails among many readers of the Bible that inasmuch as it is an Oriental Book, and the genius of Oriental Speech is metaphorical and symbolical, it is a dangerous fallacy to handle its language according to the cold canons of European language. We must expect a metaphor everywhere, until it is proved that the Asiatic prophet or apostle has spoken in simple terms!

Except in some conspicuous examples of imaginative poetry, Indian and Persian, there is reason to deny with emphasis this popular notion of Asiatic discourse. The realities of life impose more sobriety upon Orientals than the Westerns usually allow, and this sobriety percolates through their common literature. With respect to the Bible, to impute a highflown metaphorical style to its writers as their ordinary habit is manifestly a delusion. The most decisive evidence of this is, that the Bible will bear translating, nearly word for word, into the tongues of Northern Europe; and has been listened to in public reading with the utmost edification for many generations. This would have been impossible in the colder atmosphere of the North, unless, in the main, the Bible were a sober book; sober in its history, in its teaching, even in its poetry; using language that can be 'understanded of the people' in all climates of the world. The idea, then, that Asiatics never speak except in metaphors, and that the

Biblical writers are but examples of the Asiatic genius, is to misconceive the facts of life and of history.

There is, however, a further argument, which alone might suffice to correct the imagination that the Bible has taught the mysteries of Redemption in a cloud of metaphors. I refer to the providential selection of the Greek language to be the instrument for the revelation of the gospel; the language of mankind which beyond all others assists and encourages the expression of thought in exact terms. Admitting, with strong reservation and protest against the exaggerated notion of Asiatic tendency to metaphor, that the Hebrew of the Old Testament partakes in some degree of the poetic indefiniteness of a primitive tongue, it cannot be pretended that this is a weakness of the Greek speech. There at least we have definition, edge, precision,—itself an effect of clear thought, and an incentive to it. Now the 'oriental' Jews had been for three centuries placed under the yoke of Greek-speaking rulers when Christ appeared. Their Scriptures were read in Greek throughout the world. There is reason to think, with Dr. Roberts, that Greek was widely spoken in Palestine by the hearers of our Lord; and it is this perfect language, —in which reason rules over fancy with undisputed sway,—that was chosen to be the organ by which Christianity and Christ's discourses should be divulged to the civilised world.

To assert, therefore, that in the Greek gospel of John, written in the clear sunshine of Ionian Greece itself, the language is probably metaphorical at every turn, that we shall most likely err in taking ζωὴ to mean *life*, and θάνατος to mean *death*, and shall more likely reach the truth by supposing that ἀποθνήσκειν signifies to be *banished from God*, or to *live for ever in misery*, is to offer a violent contradiction to one of the most obvious facts in philology,—namely, that the use of Greek in the New Testament is in itself a presumption that its ordinary terms are taken in their natural signification.

But this being so, we may learn with certainty, if any doubt exists, through the Greek of the New Testament, the meaning of the corresponding Hebrew words in the Old; and no extreme theories as to the range of the Hellenistic dialect must blind us

to the truth that the Greek of the apostles was a tongue which the Grecians understood.

These considerations necessitate what may be termed the literal, or, still better, the *natural and obvious* interpretation of S. John's gospel in its discourses on the life eternal. But some special and detailed arguments may be added which confirm the presumption raised on grounds such as we have discussed.

(1) The work of the Son of God in redemption is in Scripture interwoven with the history of the sin of Man in paradise. The doctrine of the First and of the Second Adam constitutes the 'mystery of the gospel' (1 Cor. xv.). In the teaching of our Lord Himself there are clear references to the history of the fall of Man as the basis of God's dealings with the human race. He speaks of Satan as a 'Murderer (ἀνθρωποκτόνος) *from the beginning;*' and of Himself as sent to destroy the works of the Devil. Now, a murderer is a destroyer of life. The meaning of Death, and of the gift of Eternal Life, in the discourses of Christ, is thus fixed by the history of the First Adam in Genesis. Christ appeared to 'abolish death (2 Tim. i.), and the death which He abolished was the death that 'came into the world' by the original Sin, and through the temptation of the original Murderer.

What was that death? We have already seen that it is to offer violence to known fact, as well as every probability, to suppose that the death incurred by Adam's sin was, as Athanasius declares in a passage (cited hereafter in chapter xxvi.), aught else than Extinction (φθορὰ), a death like that which animals have died on this globe since the beginning. No word is said either before the fall, or on the approach of the Judge, or afterwards, of Adam's possession of a deathless soul, when his mortal integer was broken up;—not a word is uttered in the divine comment on that curse, of an eternity of misery to be endured by the soul after the dissolution of the Man. Indeed that notion seems to deserve little else than the scorn which Locke bestows upon it. It is the gratuitous invention of theologians who have forfeited the claim to be listened to in that matter by their perverse departure from the record.

The signification, then, of the Life which Christ bestows is determined by the history of the Bible. It is the spiritual renewal of God's holy image, and with it the concurrent bestowment of that literal eternal life in body and soul which was annexed to the right to the *Tree of Life* in Paradise, and which was forfeited by sin. 'Now, lest he put forth his hand, and take of the Tree of Life, *and eat, and live for ever*,—so he drove out the man.' Christ is the Door into the eternal life. Through Him sinful, mortal humanity enters in again, and He gives us 'to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.' After His ascension to heaven Christ solemnly appropriated these words to Himself (Rev. ii. 7).

The result of being driven out from the Tree of *Life* to Adam was not merely *unhappiness* or *misery*, but *death, returning to dust;* hence it is necessary to understand the work of Christ to be to confer Immortality.

If mankind already possessed, through the Divine constitution, the attribute of everlasting life in the most essential part of their nature, an ever-during soul, it cannot be admitted that in the proper sense of the terms Christ 'gives eternal life' to the saved. His title as the Life of Men must be understood as applicable to Him only in a vague metaphorical sense, as the giver of grace and happiness. But this would not correspond to the breadth and depth of Scripture language respecting redemption. He Himself is our Life. And the body no less than the soul is said to be saved by Him,—'Waiting for the sonship, to wit, the redemption of the body' (Rom. viii.).

2. Every chapter in the gospel of John gives force to the preceding argument. In the opening verses, he says of the Logos, '*In Him was Life*,' and adds, 'All things were *made by Him*, and without Him was not one thing made that was made;' designing clearly to indicate that the Logos was not merely the fountain of *happiness* only, or of holiness, or of what is termed, in unscriptural language, 'spiritual life,'—but of all *existence*, material and immaterial, organic and inorganic,—a statement which fittingly introduces that Saviour from death, who says of Himself, 'The thief cometh not but for to steal and to kill and to destroy (*θύση καὶ ἀπολέση*). I am come that they might

have *life*, and that they might have it more abundantly' (John x. 10).*

Now when it is considered that Christ's words were for the most part uttered in the hearing of the two hostile sects of Pharisees and Sadducees, *whose controversy* on immortality *gave a special interest and a peculiar edge to every term employed to denote a future state*, the conclusion appears inevitable, that Christ could have intended by His language only the sense here imputed to it. Never once was He prevailed on to set forth the Pharisaic psychological doctrine of the 'oral law,' that 'every soul has an immortal vigour in it,' and will live for ever; for then He would have had the democratic Pharisees always on His side, as proving by miracles the truth of their doctrine against the materialistic Sadducees. On the contrary, the hatred of the Pharisees towards Christ corresponded to His ceaseless denunciation of them, and of their 'oral law.' The Sadducees, again, when they heard Him speak of 'eternal life,' and of eternal life by 'resurrection,' and of that resurrection to life eternal as the gift of God *through the Speaker*, at least would not lose His meaning, by imposing on the word *life* a figurative sense—of bliss, to be bestowed on a soul already immortal. They would necessarily understand Him to teach that man had no principle of immortality in himself, but that God would give immortality, in body and soul, *to those who believed in Him*. They would at once understand His meaning, and scorn His supposed wickedness and folly. The Pharisees would think that He was right in teaching a future eternal life for the righteous, but that He cut the ground of such a hope from beneath His own feet by refraining from teaching, as they did, the inherent immortality of man. Thus neither party 'received His words;' but between the two they assisted all future ages to comprehend His intention, which was to teach a doctrine that humbles man in the dust of death, and restricts the everlasting life to twice-born and believing souls, —a doctrine which represents the first Adam as χοϊκός, a 'man of earth,' and the Second Man alone as a 'life-giving spirit' (1 Cor. xv.).

* See further on this subject the section of chap. xxiv., headed '*Moral Ideas associated with the terms Life and Death.*'

It remains now to offer a reflection on the relation between the two great mysteries of the Fourth Gospel; and this must be done with a befitting sense of the awe under which it becomes sinful men to adventure into that Holiest Place, which has been 'opened' to us by the Eternal Love.

The one line of thought, transcending all natural ideas of man, which pervades John's Gospel, is—THE INCARNATION OF THE DEITY, of the LOGOS-THEOS, in the person of Jesus our Lord.—The other line of thought is the parallel affirmation from the lips of this Incarnate Deity, that MAN OWES THE PROSPECT OF EVERLASTING LIFE, not to his own nature, but to redemptive UNION WITH HIM, THE LIFE OF THE WORLD.

It is hard to say which of these lines of thought awakens more of the natural incredulity and hostility of mankind—that Jesus was an Incarnation of the Godhead,—or that Immortal Life for man is to be found alone in spiritual union with Him.

Yet these truths support each other—like the two sides of an arch of triumph, 'that gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter.'

Is not this the truth—that man, who by the laws of the universe is 'dead in sins,' under sentence of extermination (כָּרֵת) by the law, can be saved from the death incurred, can be reached in his misery, by no force or power of the created universe? If he is to be saved from the action of the laws of the universe, moral and physical, it must be, not through the remedial operation of some external force, but through the intimate union of his nature with a Power which is above the universe and its laws,—*through the union of the nature of man with the Nature of God?* Is it not that the salvation of a sinner from destruction is an impossibility, except through the 'taking of the manhood unto God'? Is it not that salvation in all its parts must be the direct act of God operating, not through natural laws, but in a sphere above them,—Himself suffering, Himself taking our nature, Himself raising the destroyed Temple of His Body, Himself pouring forth the tide of His own Eternal Life, a life divine and immortal, into the victims of the destroyer?

If this be so, we derive a new and irresistible argument for faith in the Divinity of Christ from the related doctrine of His life-giving energy; and from the doctrine of Life in Christ alone

we derive fresh evidence of His personal Deity. That doctrine, which beyond all others moves the unbelief and scorn of Asia and of Europe, the Incarnation of the Word, is seen to be at once the essential condition of man's immortality, and its only solid foundation. '*Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation, a Rock, a solid Rock; and he that believeth shall not be confounded.*' This Rock is the Incarnation of the Life-giving Word.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVII.

Note on the Sixth Chapter of S. John's Gospel: Christ's Discourse on Life in the Synagogue of Capernaum.

It will be convenient to bring together in one view the indications afforded by this chapter of what we term the literal sense of *Life* and *Death* in our Lord's discourses, in opposition to the prevailing notion that *life* stands only for everlasting happiness, and *death* for endless misery. In examining the sixth chapter of S. John closely the reader is requested to bear in mind what the prevailing theory is—namely, that man's soul is immortal by nature,—so that all that comes to it from the hand of God, by the additions of judgment or mercy, is the *misery* or the *happiness* of a nature that is already eternal. The words of Christ on the donation of life, or the infliction of death, on this theory must therefore strictly signify the gift of spiritual character and blessedness or the infliction of *misery*,—and nothing beyond.

We propose to show that our Lord's statements indicate that He meant much more than this; He intended by life and death also, and primarily, immortality and destruction.

The discussion recorded took place in the great synagogue of Capernaum, of which some interesting ruins yet remain at *Tel Hum;* for even the ruins are interesting of an edifice which was the scene of this notable revelation of Divine truth and grace.* The discourse was occasioned by the exclamation of Jesus, on seeing the people crowding around Him at Capernaum, after the miracle of Bethesda (ver. 26): 'Ye seek Me not because ye saw signs,' (*tokens* and *intimations* of a

* Canon Tristram mentions that on one of its remaining blocks of masonry, forming the keystone of the entrance arch inside, and therefore visible to the congregation, is sculptured the *pot of Manna*, the symbol of the God-given immortality.

higher presence, which led you to conceive great thoughts of Me), 'but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled. Work not for the food which perisheth (*τὴν ἀπολλυμένην*), but for that food which endureth (*μένουσαν*) unto Everlasting Life, *which the Son of man shall give unto you.*' The people, supposing that He offered to supply food which would confer perpetual life, ask, 'What shall we do that we may work at the works of God?' Jesus answered, 'This is the *work* which God requires, that you should *believe* on Him whom He hath sent'—a work of the mind which would set all outward works right. 'They said therefore, What sign showest Thou that we may see and believe Thee? What dost *Thou* work? Our fathers ate manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.' (Your gift of bread has been on the level of the earth, and only for a single meal; can you not do something more like the miracle of Moses, who gave the whole nation food *from heaven* daily for forty years? Unless you at least equal Moses, we cannot forsake him to believe in you.) 'Then Jesus said to them, Verily, verily, I say to you, It was not Moses who gave to you even *that* bread from heaven (it was God), but my Father now giveth you the *true* bread from heaven. For the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven and giveth *life to the world.* Then said they, Lord, always give to us this bread. And Jesus said, I am the bread of life. He that cometh to Me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst.'

Now in this succession of sentences our Lord places together the idea of bread, as the *support of life*, and of Himself as the *giver of eternal life.* Bread is the aliment of life in the literal sense of the term. *Bread is not the symbol of happiness*, but of preservation of life, aliment for continued being.

This idea of bread as *the support of life* He then pursues to the end of the chapter; and just as people who have no food *must die*, so He teaches that preservation from death, and enjoyment of endless life, depend on receiving this heaven-sent aliment of being.

Ver. 41. 'This is the will of Him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on Him may have *endless life:*' and in order to show that this life is not simply the *happiness of a soul* already immortal, but the literal complex life of a being who consists of body and soul, He adds—'And *I will raise him up* at the last day.' The Jews then murmured at His saying that He came down from heaven. He replied that their murmurings were vain, since none could come to Him unless attracted by the Father—and He then repeats it, '*I will raise him up at the last day*' (ver. 44).

At verse 47 He returns to His first statement, and emphasises it again and again. 'Verily, verily, I say to you, He that believeth in

Me hath endless life. I am the bread of life.' But now, in order to make still more clear His meaning as to the sense of *life*, He brings into view the converse, *death*: 'Your fathers did eat manna in the desert and *died*; this is the bread that descended from heaven that any one might eat of it, *and not die*.' Here, then, Christ sets aside, once for all, the sense of a 'merely moral' or 'spiritual' life and death, and shows by the contrast of the physical *death*, died by the manna-eating fathers, what was the radical signification of the life which comes with the bread of heaven. It consists in '*not dying*.' There is no nearer approach to a formal definition of terms in our Saviour's teaching. It is inconceivable that such language as this would be used to denote the idea of a life which was only *bliss* or *spiritual character* given to a nature already immortal.

In verse 51 our Lord solemnly reiterates His doctrine. 'I am the living bread (ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν) which came down from heaven. If any man eat of my bread he shall *live for ever*, and my flesh is the bread which I will give for the life of the world' (ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς). [So Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Tregelles.] Here is a steadfast adhesion to the idea of supporting the world's life by food which is heaven-descended.

Verse 52. A natural exclamation follows: 'How can this man give us His flesh to eat?—Then Jesus said, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and *drink His blood* ye have no life (not ἐν ὑμῖν, but ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) *in yourselves*. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him.' The demonstration of our Lord's meaning still unfolds. *Bread* was the symbol of life; but how much more was *blood*. 'The blood is the life thereof,' not simply the happiness of a living being, but its life; and here Christ declares that life eternal depends on drinking His *blood*, which was His life. Under this metaphor the main idea is clearly seen, and the metaphor is brought in to enforce that idea. Man's literal life in eternity depends on receiving Christ, and being united to Him. Apart from such union he will 'die.'

At verse 57 a still loftier illustration is given of the intention of the discourse. Our Lord defines the life spoken of by reference to the life of God. 'As the *Living Father* hath sent me'—(not surely the blessed Father or the holy Father, but the *ever-living*, *self-existing*, *eternal* Father), 'and I *live by the Father*' (I derive my life—my eternal *being*, in the way of dependence on the Original Majesty),—'so he that eateth me, he also shall *live by me*:'—shall derive not merely happiness, but *being* from me, as I derive mine, as the only-begotten Son of God, by generation from the Supreme God.

Our Lord then enforces His idea of *life* by recurring, after this lofty reference, to His former statement: 'This is the bread that descended from heaven; not as your fathers ate manna *and died:* he that eateth of this bread shall *live to eternity*' (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).

The reader will judge, after thus examining this wonderful chapter, whether it was possible for words to convey more distinctly to the mind the statements,—

1. That man has no principle of eternally enduring life in himself;
2. That God has given us eternal life in His Son;
3. That man's actual enjoyment of eternal life depends on the closest union with the Incarnate Life of God in Christ;
4. That the eternal life bestowed on us includes and requires the immortality of the whole humanity, and therefore carries with it the resurrection of the dead.

The result of this discourse upon our Lord's hearers was to bring to a crisis the inward revolt of many. '*From that time many of His disciples went away backward, and walked no more with Him.*' The doctrine of immortality through the Incarnation, and of death eternal coming upon all men out of Christ, is the chief stumbling-block of the gospel. It was the last truth for the Church to learn, and the first for her to lose—as it will be the last that she will consent to receive again by unlearning the notion which represents man's immortality as independent of redemption.

The metaphorical part of this discourse, specially the difficulty occasioned by His assertions of a descent from heaven, of the necessity of eating His flesh in order to eternal life, Christ at the close, according to custom, explained to His faithful disciples. 'Are you scandalised,' said He, 'at my saying I came down from heaven? What, then, if ye should see the Son of man ascending where He was before?'—a spectacle granted to them at Bethany. And as to 'eating His flesh,' that, He added, was a metaphor for receiving the doctrine founded on the sacrifice of His flesh for the world's life. 'The flesh itself profiteth nothing;' I do not intend the literal eating of my body. It is the truth respecting me which will give you life. 'The *words* that I speak to you, they are Spirit, and they are Life.' Whence we learn that by *life* our Lord intends precisely what He says, 'For it is the Spirit that giveth life' (2 Cor. iii.).

NOTE *on the question, Whether the words of Christ on future life are to be interpreted according to the sense of the Pharisees: with a view of subsequent Rabbinical opinion.* (3rd edition.)

It is asserted with the utmost confidence in several popular criticisms on the former editions of this work, that since the learned Jews of Christ's time, as well as the common people, held the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and of the eternal suffering of the wicked; and since Christ did not correct these convictions; it necessarily follows that He designed his words to be taken in *their* sense, and that He gives by His silence a divine sanction to the doctrine by us impugned. On these assertions I beg to offer the following remarks.

1. Although it is probable that the sect of the Pharisees held a philosophical belief in the immortality of souls, it is almost equally probable that this belief was deeply infected with Persian dualism, and was accompanied by a concurrent belief in the *pre-existence* of souls. 'Who did sin, *this man*, or his parents, that he was born blind?' (John ix. 2). De Wette distinctly attributes this opinion to them, and traces it back to an Oriental origin. Did Christ sanction this belief also? In a letter with which Professor Marks has favoured me, he says, 'If all the Pharisees of the age of Jesus had believed in the eternity of misery, it would be little to the purpose as far as showing such opinion to have been entertained by the early Hebrews; since these opinions would have been influenced by the doctrine brought back to Palestine by the Babylonian captives.'

The direct evidence for the doctrine of an eternal hell and of the soul's immortality among the Pharisees, depends on the single witness of Josephus. It is to take dangerous ground to rest a non-natural interpretation of the whole teaching of Jesus Christ respecting human destiny, on the infallible correctness of the testimony of Josephus to the philosophy of the Pharisees in all its particulars.

2. Still more dangerous is it to assume as an absolute rule to govern interpretation, that whatever psychological opinion Christ did not explicitly condemn He sanctioned by His silence. As Professor Hudson soundly observes, 'It was not Christ's general custom to oppose particular errors by explicit mention and condemnation. He taught by affirmation rather than denial' (p. 224). As well might Christ be supposed to sanction Josephus's account of the Resurrection as a

'passage of righteous souls into other bodies,' by a sort of transmigration (a notion which he imputes to the Pharisees). The Gospel of John shows that it was the inmost secret of Christ, that He was the Life of the world; and this could not easily be taught to the Pharisees.

3. The points in which alone the doctrine of the Pharisees was defended both by Christ and Paul against the Sadducees, were those of the existence of spirits, and the 'resurrection of the just and unjust.' The psychological basis of the Pharisees on the immortality of the soul received no sanction from Christ in the great argument against the Sadducees (Luke xx.), when, if ever, it ought to have appeared if assented to by our Lord.

4. Christ *did*, however, in sufficiently plain language, in the synagogue of Capernaum, in the passage above reviewed, overthrow this psychological basis of Pharisaic anthropology, by declaring that men had 'no life (*ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*) *in themselves*,' but could attain the privilege of 'living for ever'—that is, of '*not dying*'—only by spiritual union with Himself. But neither that, nor any other truth which Christ taught, was received by men who were 'blind guides of the blind.'

5. It is easy to depreciate too much the weight and influence of Sadducean opinion in fixing the meaning of words in popular use. It must not be forgotten that the Sadducees also had their learned men, who delivered a steady testimony against the Pharisaic psychology and eschatology as a foreign importation, and an anti-scriptural error; and although they went doubtless much too far in their antagonism, their vehement opposition must have greatly weakened the hold of the Pharisaic doctrine on those people who thought at all on futurity.

The fact of Sadducean opposition also entirely overthrows the position that Christ's words *must* be taken only in the sense of the more numerous sect. Of the two possible hypotheses, there is far more reason for affirming that He used the terms 'life' and 'death' in the sense in which they were understood by the Sadducees. It is the vainest of imaginations that His hearers had heard only of one definition of these terms, namely that of 'heavenly *bliss*' and 'endless *misery*.' They daily heard from the party of the Sadducees that there was *no foundation whatever* for such a metaphorical treatment of the promises and the threatenings of the Old Testament Scriptures. This antagonism left it open for our Lord's words to produce their natural effect upon many of his hearers.

6. The doctrine of the Rabbins during the Christian era shows

that there is no dominant Jewish tradition from the early Christian ages in support of the Pharisaic opinion on endless misery. The popular belief of modern Jews is generally favourable to the eternal survival of all souls and the eternal blessedness of those souls. But this doctrine has not been held in the most absolute sense by the greatest ancient lights and ornaments of the rabbinical succession. 'In the Mishna,' says Professor Hudson, who has made Jewish opinion a special study, 'we find no mention whatever of the immortality of *the soul* (he means of *all souls*), or of eternal pain, though exclusion from eternal life is often mentioned.' In the *Gemara*, which represents very ancient Jewish thoughts, the destiny of the wicked is described most fully. 'Those who sin and rebel greatly in Israel, as well as Gentile sinners, shall descend into Gehenna, and there be judged, during twelve months ; at the end of which the body is consumed, the soul is burned up, and the spirit is scattered beneath the feet of the just, as it is said in Mal. iv. 3. But heretics, informers, and infidels, who deny the law of God, and the resurrection of the dead, and those who cause others to sin, as Jeroboam the son of Nebat, shall descend into Gehenna and there be judged *ages of ages*.' The eternity of hell is expressly denied as follows :—'Rabbi Simon ben Lakish has said, There will be in the future no Gehenna—for the wicked shall be as stubble, and the coming day shall burn them up, leaving them neither root nor branch.' Professor Hudson adds, 'There are in the *Talmud* traces of Restorationism—chiefly in behalf of Israelites. *But we find no indication that the eternity of hell torments was ever an accepted Jewish doctrine*, though by individual Rabbins asserted with infinite puerilities.' The greatest of all the Rabbins, *Maimonides*, born A.D. 1131, at Cordova, distinctly teaches the immortality of the righteous *alone*, and the absolute extermination of the wicked. His words are : 'The punishment which awaits the wicked man is that he will have no part in eternal life, but will die, and be utterly destroyed. He will not live for ever, but for his sins will be *cut off*, and *perish* like a brute. It is a death from which there is no return.' 'The reward of the righteous will consist in this, that they will be at bliss and exist in everlasting beatitude ; while the retribution of the wicked will be to be *deprived of that future life* and to be *cut off*' (*Hilchot Teshuba*, or *De Pœnitentiâ*, iii. 12 ; viii. 2). I have verified these citations from the greatest of the modern Jewish writers. Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel says that Maimonides, learned in all the lore of antiquity, undoubtedly 'understood the *cutting off* of the soul mentioned in Scripture to be no other than its annihilation' (Allen's *Modern Judaism*, ch. ix.). The words of Maimonides are these—I quote the Latin version of Dr. Clavering, (Oxford Edition of *De Pœnitentiâ*, 1705) :—'Hoc autem supplicium impios manet, quod istâ vita non potientur, sed morientur, et penitus

destruentur (אלא יכרתו וימותו). Qui istâ vitâ est indignus mortuus est (הוא המת, an illustration of the true meaning of *νεκρός*, a *dead* man, when applied to an ungodly person in the New Testament), quoniam non in eternum vivet, sed iniquitatum gratiâ exscindetur, et *tanquam bestia peribit* (אלא נכרת ברשעו ואבד כבהמה). Et hæc est excisio de quâ in lege scribitur, *Exscindendo exscindetur anima illa'* (ch. viii.).

Nachmanides, the friend of Maimonides, speaks in the same way of the future punishment of the worst sinners as the 'third excision, still more severe, by which the body is cut off in this life, and the soul in the life to come.' With him agree R. Bechai, and David Kimchi, who, in his Comment on the Psalms, explicitly teaches (as Canon Perowne shows in his Commentary) the complete extermination of the wicked. See Hudson's *Debt and Grace*, pp. 340-1; Pocock's *Porta Mosis*, c. 6; Allen's *Modern Judaism*, ch. ix. Mr. Deutsch (p. 53) sums up the result of his Talmudical studies in these words, 'There is no everlasting damnation according to the Talmud. There is only a limited punishment, even for the worst sinners. *Generation upon generation* shall last the damnation of idolaters, apostates, and traitors.' This fixes the limited sense in which *αἰωνες τῶν αἰωνων* is used in the Apocalypse, when speaking of the torment of the Devil and the Beast. For, as Lightfoot says, 'The New Testament was written *by Jews, among Jews, for Jews*' (a Judæis, atque inter Judæos, et ad Judæos); and if it is evident that the phrases *ages of ages*, or *generations to generations*, were used by them in a strictly limited sense in relation to the subject of future punishment, it will be needless to pervert the plain meaning of the *ordinary* Greek words, used in the New Testament to denote the *destruction* of the wicked, or words used to denote limited duration, from deference to supposed Jewish idioms requiring them to be taken in the sense of endless misery; specially when it is proved that no such idiom exists in the *Talmud* (which enshrines the traditions of the nation from a period far more ancient than the age of the Pharisees), where we find the very phrases even of the Apocalypse used to describe a punishment explicitly declared to be terminable.

Since writing the preceding paragraphs, I have read the Rev. Samuel Cox's *Salvator Mundi*, to which I am indebted for the following extract from Dr. Alfred Dewes' *Plea for a New Translation of the Scriptures*.

'After animadverting on the "rather pitiable way" in which one commentator after another has defined and repeated Lightfoot's somewhat ambiguous words, taking him to assert, or making him assert, "that Gehenna was the abode of the damned, a place of eternal fire,

and that there are endless examples to prove it," Dr. Dewes adds (p. 21): "With a view to test the truth of an assertion so continually made, the present writer has searched all the Jewish writings that can with any probability be assigned to any date within three centuries from our Saviour's birth. *And whenever he asserts that an idea is not to be found in any work, he wishes it to be understood that the whole work has been read through, not that its index only has been searched.* It did not seem worth while to read any of the later Jewish works; it was quite out of the question to think of wading through the Talmuds; but the earlier of them is assigned to the middle of the fourth century and the later to the end of the fifth. Every passage, however, has been carefully examined even from them, which is quoted in the works of Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Buxtorf, Castell, Schindler, Glass, Bartoloccius, Ugalino, and Nork: *and the result of the whole examination is this: there are but two passages which even a superficial reader could consider to be corroborative of the assertion that the Jews understood Gehenna to be a place of everlasting punishment.*"[1]

Mr. Cox, himself no mean Rabbinical scholar, adds: 'The Jewish Fathers of our Lord's time, differed on the ultimate issue of the state of punishment in Gehenna. Some held that it would issue in the ultimate salvation of all who were exposed to it; while others held that it would issue in their destruction, the very souls of sinners being burned up and scattered by the wind' (p. 75).

The Rev. Bodfield Hooper, in any future edition of his book on *Endless Sufferings the Doctrine of Scripture*, will, therefore, do well to consider whether his own view of Christ's use of the biblical language on *destruction* is not rendered more than doubtful by the sense in which that language is taken by the illustrious Maimonides and his predecessors. Rabbi Marks says: 'The upshot is that the Jewish doctors laboured rather to adorn the future of the good than to blacken the destiny of the wicked. Stronger than their fear of justice is their belief in the Divine Mercy. "*He will not contend for ever, neither will he retain his anger to eternity*" (Psalm ciii. 9),—which is a powerful argument against the modern Christian dogma of everlasting woe.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

JUSTIFICATION OF LIFE.

SECTION I.

What is Justification?

THEOLOGY, as every other science, has its technical terms. Justification is one of these. It will be the aim of this chapter to fix its meaning, and to attempt to explain its relation to the Atonement of Christ.

Under the general doctrine of this work Salvation signifies being literally saved alive, saved from destruction of body and soul in hell, saved from being 'burned up like chaff in unquenchable fire.' And this infinite boon comes only on those who are forgiven, saved from their sins, and created afresh in the divine image. 'Being justified by Christ's blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him' (Rom. v. 9). This expression—'justified in His blood,' carries us down into the depths of Christianity. The truth which S. Paul teaches us in these words he represents as the foundation of our hope of eternal life. There is, then, nothing in the world which it is more important to understand.

In order to comprehend it, however, we must devote closer attention than is common to the apostolic writings,—for the air is full of battle-cries having for their object to cast reproach on the true Pauline doctrine as our mistake, whereby 'the unlearned and unstable' are encouraged in their rejection of that 'way of salvation' which he taught. Among these the most common is the outcry against what are termed 'forensic notions' on Justification. Multitudes to-day imagine they have made an end of controversy when they have exclaimed against 'forensic' justification. As one of the most eloquent leaders in this warfare

shapes it: 'In the name of all that is vital and holy, let us get rid of the notion that Justification, be it what it may, is a kind of *legal fiction*, an arrangement of God with Himself to regard and treat a human being as something other than what he is really and substantially in His sight.' Does this mean, Beware of the old Reformation doctrine of forensic justification?—What, then, is intended by this disliked adjective? That which pertains to the forum. The forum was the seat of the Roman law-courts. Acquittal before a court of Law was justification, being pronounced innocent, being reckoned righteous, by the judge. This, then, is forensic justification in religion,—when it is held that a *sinful* man through the grace of God shall be 'regarded and treated' as something other than what he really is in His sight. In this the notion of which we are to 'get rid;' that God 'justifieth the ungodly,' that righteousness is reckoned to an ungodly man, in a legal sense, on his believing in Christ? And why? Is it because justification is not the reckoning a man righteous by grace, but *making him into a really good man?* This is also exactly the doctrine of Rome. The Council of Trent says (Canon xi.): 'If any one shall say that men are justified *either by the sole imputation of the righteousness of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins*, that grace and charity being excluded (*exclusâ gratiâ et charitate*) which are shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, and which adhere in them (*quæ in cordibus eorum diffundatur atque illis inhæreat*), *let him be anathema*.'

Now we maintain, on the contrary, that 'forensic justification,' the acquittal of a sinner before the judgment-seat of God by reckoning to him righteousness, is the chief doctrine of Christianity as taught by the Apostles, and notably by S. Paul. It is the backbone of the Christian Revelation.

Let us reproduce the often-cited examples of the verb to *justify* as it is used in the Bible, when not employed to denote the justification of a sinner in redemption. What does it signify in such cases? Does it mean to make a man good,—or, to declare him innocent, reckon him righteous, impute righteousness to him, treat him as righteous?

There is no room whatever for doubt as to the answer to this question, whether it be asked of the verb to justify in Hebrew, Greek, or English.

(1) Prov. xvii. 15. 'He that *justifieth* the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, they both are an abomination to the Lord.' To *infuse righteousness* into an ungodly man cannot be an abomination to the Lord. The abomination is for a judge to declare innocent a wicked man persisting in his crimes.

(2) Luke x. 29. Of the lawyer who wished to work for salvation it is said, 'He, willing *to justify himself*.' Did he wish to *infuse righteousness* into himself? He thought himself righteous already. He desired to have himself *accounted as righteous*, reputed innocent.

(3) In Genesis xliv. 16, Judah exclaims on behalf of his brethren, 'How shall we clear ourselves?' (Heb., *justify* ourselves). Not, how shall we *make ourselves into good men?* but, how shall we obtain acquittal from guilt, and be regarded as righteous?

(4) In Luke vii. 35, it is said, 'Wisdom is justified of her children.' Is righteousness *infused into Wisdom?* Is wisdom made righteous by her children? No. But wicked men bring charges against wisdom. Of these charges her children *acquit* her. They all declare wisdom to be righteous.

(5) In 1 Tim. iii. 16, Christ is said to have been 'justified by the Spirit.' Was Christ *made into a good man* by the Spirit? No. But He was crucified as a wicked impostor, false prophet, and sinner; and by His Resurrection He was *declared* righteous.

(6) In Luke vii. 29, the Saviour speaking of God says, 'All the people and the publicans justified God.' Surely publicans and harlots *did not infuse righteousness* into Him. By receiving John, they declared themselves to be sinners, and God to be righteous.

In these passages—all the undisputed ones—in which the verb to *justify* is mentioned, we see clearly that to justify does not mean to infuse righteousness, or in any way to make just, but that it means to pronounce innocent, to declare righteous, to account or reckon righteous, to treat as righteous. In short, that, in the Bible, the *forensic sense is the true sense.**

When S. Paul speaks of sinners being justified by grace—by

* See an excellent piece on Justification by Rev. W. Elliott, of Epsom, to which I owe several expressions on p. 227. (Nisbet, 1861.)

the blood of Christ, and by faith, he clearly means, then, that they are thereby accounted or reckoned righteous—not made into good men—for that is quite another idea, and is expressed by a different selection of phrases—such as regeneration and sanctification. But justification means being reckoned innocent, and declared righteous, treated as righteous, irrespective of deserts, for God 'justifieth the ungodly.' 'While we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more, then—being justified by His blood—we shall be saved from wrath through Him.'

We are said to be (1) 'justified by *grace*'—that is the source, —the pardoning mercy of God. (2) We are 'justified by the *blood* of Christ,'—that is the revealed method of our being reckoned righteous, through the expiatory sacrifice of Christ. (3) We are 'justified by *faith*,'—that is the personal application of redemption, the condition of individual salvation. And we are (4) 'justified by *works*,'—that is the external evidence of personal redemption.

The reader is now requested to consider again the second of these expressions, 'justified *in His blood*' (Rom. v. 9). What does it signify? Looking below, we find the explanation,—'reconciled to God *by the death* of His Son.' There is, then, the closest connection between the justification of a sinner, his being pardoned, declared innocent, treated as just,—*and the death of Christ.* It is not that he is rendered a good man by the example of Christ in dying, but reckoned righteous or innocent through the sacrifice of Christ's blood. Why His blood? Because in that lay His life. '*For the life, or soul, of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your lives, or souls*' (Lev. xvii. 11); His 'soul' was in it: 'He poured out His soul unto death.' That was the price or ransom demanded by God's righteousness of Himself, that sinners might live. And Divine Mercy provided a ransom.

There are some who think that God as a Father is equally tender to all His creatures. He can pardon, and will pardon, without satisfaction to the law, or to the Divine Nature, or to the moral government. This supposed substitution of Christ for sinners is not necessary. Without any intervention of an atoning Mediator He will find a way by which to fold again every erring

creature in the universe, even Satan himself, beneath His paternal wing.

If this be so, what means that thrice-repeated prayer, presented by Christ in His agony—not upon His knees, but lying flat upon His face, on that last fearful night, when He was delivered into the hands of men? Surely the Father never loved His Son more than He did then, and surely the Father heard and answered that prayer—'for Him the Father heareth always.' What, then, was the answer to that prayer, 'My Father, *if it be possible* let this cup pass from me'?

The answer was this: 'Escape for men from death is *impossible* except Thou drink it.' God cannot be 'just, and the justifier of the ungodly,' if Thou drink it not. So He drank the cup which His Father gave Him.

Therefore we drink the cup in the Holy Communion—which represents the blood of Christ—to show that we are saved from death by the shedding of His blood, the pouring out of His life; that we are justified thereby—acquitted, pardoned, reckoned innocent, declared righteous, treated as righteous,—being in ourselves sinners deserving death. 'There is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus' (Rom. viii. 1).

But this is not the sum of the teaching of Christ's Apostles. They declare not only that it is through the death of Christ that we are 'saved from wrath,' but, further, that we are reckoned righteous on believing, because *Christ's righteousness is reckoned, or imputed to us*. That is, we are regarded by God as being '*one*' with His Son in righteousness, and therefore as standing before Him clad in the dazzling garments of the First-born. 'This is a great mystery'—and an idea exceedingly revolting to modern philosophy 'falsely so called.' But it pervades the whole of the New Testament. And it is a necessary conclusion from the doctrine of the two Adams which we find in the epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Paul distinctly teaches that we were 'constituted sinners' by the sinful act, the disobedience of Adam 'the man of dust.' Here is the *first imputation*, that of Adam's sin to the whole race who sinned in him and died in him. And then follows the parallel in Christ. The sin of the world was reckoned to Him; 'He bore our sins, in His own body, to the

tree;'—'He hath made Him who knew no sin to be sin for us.' That is the *second act of imputation*. Then comes the *third imputation*, that of Christ's merits or righteousness to us—that 'we might be made the righteousness of God—IN HIM' (1 Peter ii. 24; 2 Cor. v. 21).

This idea of the reckoning of Christ's righteousness, as the ground of our justification, before God, is repulsive to many on this ground. They say, 'How can He, who sees all things as they are, pretend to see the righteousness of His spotless Son in sinners? There can be no fictions in the infinite Mind—no forensic unrealities: God may pardon a sinner, but to see the righteousness of Christ in a sinner is absolutely impossible.' The answer to this difficulty is derived from our general argument.

1. The expressions in Scripture are distinct and emphatic. 'That we might be made the righteousness of God *in Him*.' 'Found *in Him*, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God by faith.' 'They made their robes white in the blood of the Lamb' (Rev. vii. 14). 'Christ, who of God is made unto us righteousness' (1 Cor. i. 30).

2. The reckoning of Christ's righteousness to sinful men is no more a fictitious act than reckoning their sins to Him. Both must stand and fall together. The Unitarians—who deny that Christ 'suffered for our sins,' or that they were imputed to Him, so that He was treated as if He had been a sinner—are consistent. Those who believe that Christ 'bore our sins' may also consistently believe that we shall bear His righteousness.

3. The difficulty arises from the loss of the truth respecting the death which we inherit from the first Adam, and the justification of life we obtain from the second. The Church never loses one truth alone. The mischief ever extends. The introduction of the anti-Christian figment of man's Immortality has given a wrench to the whole of Christianity,—and rendered it difficult for logical minds to hold some of the plainest gospel doctrines. The recovery of the truth respecting Christ, as the only source of immortal life to mankind, will bring out into fresh beauty the whole façade of the Evangelical theology.

For this truth places in a new light all that the New Testament teaches on the Church's *Union with Christ*. As descendants of Adam, we possess no inherent principle of eternal life. We must

be 'born again,' *i.e.*, united by regeneration to Christ, the Incarnate life of God, the second head of the human race. And this union by the Holy Spirit personally dwelling in us is no *legal fiction*, no dream, or mere imagination, or figure of speech. It is the deepest reality in human existence. We are 'one Spirit with the Lord'—'members of His body'—'branches of the Vine'—'the Bride of the Lamb'—the 'Wife' who is 'one flesh' with the Immortal King. 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect in one.'

What follows? Surely that this union with Christ is so real, so vital, that no earthly union is half so operative. Christ takes His 'bride,' with her dowry of sin and death, and bears it. She takes His place, as 'one body and spirit' with Him. Hence we are one with Him before God in righteousness. This is a mystery not written in nature, or in science, or in the literature of the world, 'which knows not God;' but it *is* written in the Word which 'endureth for ever.'

Section II.

The three chief errors on Justification.

We shall now signalise the three principal errors on Justification noted in the New Testament, and afterwards show how the restoration of the truth on the source of Immortality is fitted to explode them, while offering some security against their recurrence.

The Christian religion is founded on facts; it approaches us in the form of a history. It does not consist of a series of abstract ideas or propositions which came to the earth from the Eternal Mind; but it has been embodied in a course of providential actions, extending onward from the beginning of the world to the fulness of times. The facts of this history are set forth as the foundation of the doctrines;—and we may estimate their comparative importance by the magnitude and prominence of the facts on which they depend. Viewed in this light, there can be no hesitation in fixing upon the death of the Son of God as the most prominent event in the divine order, and therefore upon the doctrine of *justification*, which is founded upon it, as the cornerstone of the Christian system.*

* See Erskine's *Internal Evidence of Christianity.*

Justification in Christ is not only the most important doctrine of Christianity; it is Christianity, properly so called. For it is the distinction between this and all other religions, that while these represent salvation as man's work towards God, that represents it as God's work towards man. The ignorant habitually consider religion solely under the character of a law of morality with rewards and punishments—thus rendering the Cross a mere nullity. But the rules of morality do not form the chief part of Christianity;—for since these depend upon the right knowledge of our relation to God, the Scripture lays that foundation in the doctrine of 'grace;' and this doctrine of grace forms the rules of morality for Christian life, and therefore is superior to them. Hence we infer the necessity for a true understanding of that central fact of revelation, the death of Christ, and of the doctrine which shines as a glory around it, justification through the reckoning of righteousness to sinners.

In the apostolic age three principal forms of error on this subject infected the Church: the New Testament contains an epistle directed against each of them. We may in few words discriminate these errors.

i. *The Pharisaic error;*—in refutation of which chiefly the Epistle to the Romans was written by the Apostle Paul. This error consisted in the notion that the law was given as the means of salvation; because a man may deserve and win everlasting happiness as the *wages* of merit.* Its language was, 'God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are.' *It went about to establish its own righteousness;* and, in its grosser forms, admitted the extravagant absurdity of works of supererogation; so that in rabbinical phraseology a man might be better than '*righteous;*' he might be '*good*;'—a distinction several times referred to in the New Testament, and sternly denounced by the Saviour when addressed by the latter appellation. It was a mode of thinking flattering to the vanity of human nature; but it directly tended to produce alienation from God, through the ever lowering standard of righteousness which it tolerated, and through the

* See Dr. Wotton, Tracts on the Mishna; and John Smith's noble *Select Discourses* on the *Jewish Notion of a Legal Righteousness:* Cambridge, 1640.

stimulus which the terror and desperation of dreaded punishment occasioned in the 'revival of sin.'

ii. *The Galatian error;*—which consisted in laying the foundation of a religious life in trust in the merits of Christ for justification, and in a subsequent attempt to complete the superstructure through a ceremonial, sacramental, and moral obedience of their own. It was a mingling of the law and the gospel; which, like all unnatural unions, produced a monstrous birth. They sought to begin in the spirit, and to be made perfect in the flesh; to confide in Christ up to the time of repentance, and afterwards 'to trust in themselves.' It was the character of the Pharisee grafted upon that of the publican, saying first, *God be merciful to me a sinner*, and then, *Stand by, I am holier than thou.* S. Paul regards this departure from the faith as a departure from Christianity, and hurls upon the heads of its teachers the greater *Anathema: If any man preach any other gospel than that which I have preached unto you, let him be anathema* (Gal. i. 8, 9).

iii. *The Antinomian error;*—against which James directed his epistle. This error was seemingly based upon a recognition of the mercy of God as the ground of salvation; but made the fatal mistake of imagining that that mercy was available for other than regenerate men. It held the truth on the gratuitous reckoning of righteousness; but supposed that an intellectual *belief* in this truth had a saving efficacy. The Apostle refuted this error by the admonition,—*the devils also believe, and tremble;* reminding its victims that the true *faith* was an active principle which works by love. S. James does not represent sanctification as the ground of justification, but as its necessary concomitant.

In opposition to these three errors, the Apostles taught, first, the true notion of justification by the law. They set forth the law as the image of the all-perfect and unchangeable Nature,—as eternal in its duration, inflexible in its demands, universal in its reign. They showed that its primary concern is with the secret motives of action;—that it embraces the history of every human being in one summary judgment;—that since it, therefore, pronounces against the slightest infraction, as infringing the claims of Divine authority, it thunders forth final condemnation against every man in whom the *love of God*, the root of obedience,

is absent or unknown. The law requires a spotless righteousness; and in the absence of that righteousness *the curse of death descends*.

Thus had mankind become '*dead*' in the sight of God. But the Most High had brought salvation. He could now be '*just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus*.' Christ, as the second representative of Mankind, was 'made under the law;' was tempted in the wilderness as Adam in Paradise; fulfilled all righteousness, as Adam did not; and delivered up Himself without sin, as *the Lamb of God without blemish and without spot*. He was confessed even by demons to be *the Holy One;* by His followers, to be *harmless and undefiled;* by His judge, to have *no fault in Him;* by Judas, to be *innocent blood;* by His fellow-sufferer, the thief, to have *done nothing amiss*. He was a living impersonation of the law. His life magnified it, and made it honourable. His perfection was such that He might justly have been transfigured upon the cross, and shone forth in the excellent glory when darkness veiled the sky.

It is this righteousness of Christ, in which, through the new law of union by the Spirit of life, redeemed man partakes. We are not placed by His death in a position to deserve salvation by our own works, nor is our faith legally justifying; but there is a reckoning of Christ's righteousness to every one, the meanest of the members of His body. And this *gift of righteousness* is the first, the middle, and the last cause of our justification and salvation. This is *the wedding garment*, which the best man needs equally with the worst, without which the best will be condemned, but which the worst may obtain, and wear through eternity. It is the reckoning of this righteousness (in analogy with the imputation af Adam's guilt) which removes *the condemnation* under which we lay for the sin of our first parents, and for our own,—the curse of death. 'Christ is of God made unto us righteousness' (1 Cor. i.). Therefore does this transcendent blessing receive the name of JUSTIFICATION OF LIFE (Rom. v. 18).

The '*blood*' of Jesus was His '*life;*' and that life He *poured out* for the world; so that being '*justified by His blood*,' we become 'heirs according to the hope of that eternal life' in which as Divine Mediator He arose. Through faith in His name we

become 'members of His body;' we are baptised into His death. We are identified with Him by the personal indwelling of His Spirit. In Him the *old man* endures the curse of the law: he dies. Therefore the life which we now possess is 'not our own,' but is a divine donation. Christ rises as the Life-giver: and hence the Apostle declares, *I 'through the law* (through its curse taking effect on my representative, the Saviour), *am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.* And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me' (Gal. ii. 19, 20). 'There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus: *for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.*'—'Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; *even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.* For as by one man's disobedience many were constituted sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be constituted righteous. Moreover, the law entered, that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound: *that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord*' (Rom. v. 18). Thus our life-union with the Son of God explains and enforces the mysterious but hated doctrine of the reckoning of His righteousness for justification.

Section III.

On the harmony existing between the Apostolic doctrine on Justification and the doctrine of Immortality here maintained to be true.

The Lutheran Reformation, which restored the apostolic doctrine on justification by grace, through faith, in the blood of Christ, found its chief difficulty in the vast antiquity and catholicity of the authorised dogma which it opposed. On rare occasions the apostolic truth lifted its head above the tide of general error during fifteen centuries; but the Ante-Nicene Fathers here, as on many other leading topics of Revelation, 'allowed rather than invited' a very orthodox interpretation.

Their main theme was certainly not the main theme of the Apostles,—the gratuitous justification of sinners through the 'offering up of Christ once for all. They write nobly on the evidence of the Gospel, on the folly of heathenism, on the perverseness of the Jews, on the splendour of a holy life, on the certainty of the resurrection, on the authority of Scripture ;—but the churches which they represented had nearly forgotten the one striking speciality of the teaching of the Incarnate Word, on the source and condition of immortal life for man ; and the eclipse of that light darkened half the theological firmament.

The Jewish and the Heathen influences to which the primitive churches were exposed agreed in one thing only—a common detestation, both on philosophic and religious grounds, of Christ's Revelation—that man can possess eternal life solely in Him. Every disciple of the Pharisees who became a convert to Christianity brought with him into the Church the Pharisaic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Every Greek or Roman disciple of the better schools of Athenian thought brought with him the Oriental or Platonic doctrine of man's natural pre-existence and eternity. It was not long, therefore, before the naturalistic basis of hope supplanted the properly Christian. We find clear traces of the truth in the epistles of Ignatius, in the *Trypho* of Justin Martyr, in the books of Irenæus concerning Heresies, in the treatise of Arnobius against Heathenism, as will be seen in a later page ; but the set of the current of thought all over Christendom was very early towards the psychology which in after-times became universal.

The admission of this erroneous psychology ensured the corruption of the doctrine of justification. He who believed in the immortality of the soul believed in its legal exposure to everlasting misery ; and the action of overwhelming terror is steadily in the direction of self-righteousness and superstition. The moral value of human action was infinitely exaggerated through the influence of the prevailing opinion respecting the human agent. So *great* a Being as an Immortal can surely do something to avert the dread sentence of endless torment, and something to deserve an everlasting crown. The mere fact of being born between such tremendous alternatives as a necessary immortality of torment or of joy stimulated the de-

fensive sentiments which blew up the bubble of a legal righteousness. Thus every influence was in readiness to accomplish the corruption of the gospel in its doctrine on justification.

But had the fundamental truth been sedulously guarded by the teachers of the earliest centuries, had they 'taught the things of the Holy Spirit' in the 'words of the Spirit,' had they preserved silence when the Apostles preserved silence, and, while refraining from uttering a word as to the immortality of the soul, had insisted on Christ's own teaching, that to give eternal life is the very object of Redemption, a corruption of the article on justification would have been almost impossible. For under this view of man's condition, justification, or pardon and acceptance with God, is what takes place before the bar of God when a sinner 'passes from death unto life,' and that change is exclusively the gracious act of God, not the work of mortal man.

Since the gift of righteousness is equivalent to the gift of life eternal, and that gift, both in its moral causes and personal application, is an act of supernatural grace, there is no room left for the notion that a man can in any way 'justify himself.' A man can work himself up into an immortal condition of 'equality with the angels,' or make himself a 'partaker of the Divine nature,' no more than an ox or an ass can work himself up into humanity. Salvation, in the sense of being 'saved alive' from death eternal, must be purely 'the gift of God.' Man can have no share in the moral or physical causes which procure it; not in the inception, not in the completion. To live for ever is a free gift—bestowed freely on the vilest; needed equally as a free gift by the worthiest of men. This is *Justification of life.* And if the main doctrine had been preserved, it would have upheld, like the central column of a temple, the entire fabric of evangelical theology. Every other gospel doctrine is derived from it, or rests upon it, or is connected with it in indissoluble unity. If the Reformation had reformed the psychology as well as the theology of Christendom, it would have gone much deeper into the seat of the Church's disorder, and applied a far more powerful remedy. For when men see that Christ is our Life, and that our eternal life is a transfusion of His life into our veins, they can more readily understand that He, and He alone, is of God 'made unto us *Righteousness*, and Sanctification, and Redemption' (1 Cor. i. 30).

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NEW COVENANT OF LIFE IN THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, OR THE NATURE OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST, AND ITS PLACE IN THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT AS AN ATONEMENT FOR SIN.

'Behold, then, the wonderful conjunction of both natures in the one Immanuel, who was by His very constitution an actual Temple, "God with us," the habitation of the Deity—returned and resettling itself with men; and fitted to be what it must also be, a most acceptable sacrifice. For here was met together man that could die, and God that could overcome death; sufficient to atone the offended Majesty, and procure that life might be diffused and spread itself to all that should unite with Him, whereby they might become "living stones," a spiritual temple, again capable of that Divine Presence which they had forfeited, and whereof they were forsaken.'—HOWE'S *Living Temple*, Part II.

IN the last chapter but one we have considered the doctrine of the Incarnation of the *Logos-Theos*,—the divine life-giving Word. We now are brought face to face with the characteristic doctrine of the Bible, that this divine Life-giver—God and Man in one Person—died—and by dying abolished death; His death being a 'sin-offering' through which the Heavenly Father 'reconciled the world unto Himself.'

This will lead us to consider,—

1. The nature of the death that Christ died.

2. The apostolic statements respecting the efficacy of Christ's death as an atonement for sin.

3. The reason of this efficacy, so far as it has been revealed.

SECTION I.

The Nature of the Death of Christ.

It has seldom been questioned in modern times that Christ died upon the cross. Some Gnostic sects of the first century,

believing in the deity more than in the humanity of Christ, supposed that it was a phantasm only which appeared to suffer. There is nothing in modern thought precisely answering to this particular phase of unbelief. The idea of the Incarnation of Deity leaves the popular faith untouched as to the humanity and death of Jesus.

There is indeed no event which stands out in history with so much of reality as the soul-moving death of our Blessed Saviour. Its immediate causes are presented to us with ever-touching tenderness and truth in the gospels. He died not of bodily pain only, nor only loss of blood, but also of spiritual sorrow—of a 'broken heart.' He was 'in an agony' in Gethsemane. His 'soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death,' before He suffered on the cross. There was 'an hour and power of darkness' during which the Father's face was hidden from Him. He also suffered the dreadful torment of crucifixion; and then, when the woe was at its utmost, He cried with an exceeding bitter cry and 'yielded up His spirit.' *

There is no indication of doubt in our age as to the reality of the crucifixion of Christ, or as to the physical similarity of His death to that which 'it is appointed unto men once to die.' Many questions, however, of equal moment have been discussed in relation to our Lord's death by divines of later ages. Did Christ die only in the sense in which other men die? Was His death the curse of the Law? Or was it some modification of that curse? Did Christ suffer a pain and misery of the same sort and of equal weight, with that threatened to Adam in the day of his creation, or did He bear some commuted penalty, which, in consideration of His Divine Nature, was accounted a sufficient expiation?

S. Paul says, 'Christ hath *redeemed us from the curse of the law*, being made *a curse for us*; as it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree' (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, Gal. iii. 13). The construction of this sentence, and the quotation of one of the curses of that law (the law of Moses, viewed as a repetition of

* A valuable chapter on the death of Christ will be found in Mr. Denniston's book on *The Sacrifice for Sin* (Longmans, 1872), pp. 195-211. And the reader may consult with advantage, Dr. Pétavel, *Struggle for Eternal Life*, p. 119, on the question, *Did Christ endure the Second Death?*

God's eternal law), render it indubitable, that Christ bore the curse of the law in the sense of dissolution. For if the curse of the law in virtue of which we are, by nature, 'children of wrath,' were everlasting misery, there would be an incongruity between the two parts of the Apostle's statement. 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law (everlasting misery), being made a curse for us;'—not, however, that distinctive curse of the law, but a very different one,—that of death by 'hanging on a tree.' Thus it would seem, that here there are two distinct curses of the law, —everlasting suffering due to the immortal soul, and death by hanging on a tree, or otherwise; and that, although the curse under which we lay was, according to this theory, the former, the curse which Christ bore, was the latter, which, notwithstanding, availed to deliver us from the former.

But this is a case in which facts decide the doctrine. Christ *died* for our sins, according to the Scriptures. He laid down His life (ψυχὴν) for His sheep (John x. 15). He did not endure everlasting misery either of body or soul; but He was, as a man, *destroyed:* 'The rulers sought to *destroy* Jesus' (Matt. xxvii. 20). 'They *killed* the Prince of life' (Acts iii. 15). He suffered a dissolution of His compound nature. He defines His own death by comparing it to the *death* of a grain of wheat (John xii. 24), conveying the idea of the disintegration of the parts of His nature. 'He poured out His soul, or life, unto death.'

It is not necessary to suppose, with the elder divines, that the Saviour endured an amount of suffering equal to that collectively deserved by the elect, or by the whole race of mankind; for He was a propitiation for that race, regarded as one individual—the first Adam, whose sin comprised the germ of all subsequent transgressions;—yet, inasmuch as the blood of Jesus Christ is effectual to the pardon of 'all sin,' it must be understood that all sin was reckoned as being contained in that one offence which brought death upon Adam, and which was the occasion of the necessity for God's sacrifice.

'The free gift,' says S. Paul, 'is of many offences unto justification.' Hence it is that Jesus is said to have 'delivered us from *the wrath to come;*' inasmuch as the sins of the descendants of Adam, spared for a second probation, have incurred for them a second and more terrible punishment at the resurrection of judg-

ment; and Christ delivers us both from the death which the sin of Adam brought in, and from that future wrath which we have ourselves deserved. He could not, as the *sinless* representative of the race, undergo any other than the original sentence.

The curse of the law which Christ bore, then, was, as to its essence, and apart from the accidents of suffering which led to it, literal death; a dissolution of His being as a man, a curse which took no account of the subsequent destiny of the component elements of His nature. It was the shedding of His blood which the law required, since 'without shedding of blood there is no remission.' But the blood of the sacrifice, according to the Mosaic law, was the 'Life thereof,' and it was His '*blood*' which Jesus 'gave for the life of the world.'

That it was the union of an 'Eternal Spirit' with the humanity which imparted its sacrificial efficacy to the 'blood of the Lamb, the New Testament plainly declares: 'For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the (an) Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?' (Heb. ix. 13). The Divine Word stood forth upon the earth as High Priest of the creation, pre senting 'His flesh' as a sin-offering.

It does not, however, appear to be anywhere stated that the indwelling of the Divinity changed the character of the curse of the law, in the case of our Lord, from everlasting misery, into literal death. It will, therefore, be sufficient to receive the simpler representation, that the 'Man Christ Jesus' endured that curse. For aught that the Scripture reveals, Jesus, as a man, might as justly have been required to endure everlasting suffering —supposing this to have been the legal curse—as that shameful painful death which He actually underwent. If it be asserted that it was the presence of the Godhead within which dispensed with the infliction of endless pains, through the substitution of an Infinite Majesty for the infinitely extended misery of a finite being, we reply, that this is an 'afterthought of theology' which finds no place in the authoritative record.

We thus derive support for our former argument that the *death*

threatened to Adam was literal dissolution, without reference to a state of eternal misery for the soul. The fact that Christ bore *this* death, laid down His life as a man, shed His *blood* for our redemption without suffering in hell beyond, is proof that *death* in the Bible signifies the dissolution of humanity, and that *life* signifies literal life; since it was not merely His 'happiness,' much less His 'holiness,' which the Saviour 'laid down for His sheep,' but His *life as a man*. There is no evidence whatever that He endured a commutation of the penalty denounced; there is no evidence for aught else than that His Deity gave a 'purging efficacy to the endurance of 'the curse of the law;' and therefore we are compelled to conclude that the death which Jesus underwent when He 'frustrated him that had the power of death, and gave to them who all their lifetime were in bondage through fear of death' the hope of a resurrection, was death in the general sense of dissolution.

This view of the death of our Lord throws a clearer light on the doctrine of salvation by His *blood*. The 'sprinkling of His blood' is the pardon of sin; the bestowment of freedom from 'condemnation' by that law whose sentence is death. 'The blood is the life thereof;' therefore the 'drinking of His blood' is drinking in the element of eternal life. We are by nature under sentence of destruction; but in Him, through the 'blood of the cross,' we have reconciliation and resurrection. Since 'sin and death' are inseparably united, forgiveness is as inseparably united with immortality. The *death* of the Lord Jesus being placed in opposition to the impending *death* of man, it cannot be supposed that the same term has diverse significations in the two cases: and since the loss of 'a right to the tree of life' in Adam was followed by 'a return to the dust whence he was taken,' it seems inevitable to conclude that He at whose death the veil of the Holiest (the type of Paradise) was rent asunder, has procured for us a literal, and not a metaphorical, participation of immortality. Thus (if the parallel be not too fanciful), as the first Adam by *a tree* brought death into the world and loss of Eden, so did the Divine Redeemer by '*bearing our sins in His own body to the tree*' obtain the right to promise dying men, 'This day shalt thou be with me in *Paradise*.' And as the sin of the first man brought

forth the *thorns* of the curse, so did the Lord from Heaven die crowned with those *thorns*, and the curse removed.*

A difficulty, however, here suggests itself, in bar of the conclusion that Jesus Christ bore the curse of the law. It is objected that the curse denounced to our first parents was, according to us, *death for ever*—dissolution without hope of a resurrection; and that, therefore, the threatening did not take effect upon the Redeemer. The answer to this objection will serve at once to establish the preceding representations on a firmer basis, and to confirm the article of our Saviour's Godhead.

It is therefore admitted, that the objection would be valid if the Saviour had been simply human. If Jesus had been the Son of David only, He could not legally have risen from the dead. Death must have had dominion over Him for ever. He must have suffered everlasting destruction. His human spirit must have passed away for ever. The humanity which had been 'made under the law' must abide under that law; the representative of a guilty race could have trodden the path of life no more.

But the Saviour was Divine. As man, identified with human nature, He died, and His death became a sin-offering; as God He could not die. As man He was 'made under the law;' as God He was above the law laid on creatures. And therefore, when the curse had taken effect upon the manhood, it was still open to the Divine Inhabitant, absorbing the Spirit into His own essence, to restore the 'destroyed Temple' from its ruins; and, taking possession of it, in virtue of His Divinity (not, legally, as a man), 'to raise it up on the third day.' He arose, therefore, as the Divine Conqueror of death, 'God over all, blessed for evermore,' and was thus 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by *His resurrection* from the dead' (Rom. i. 4). He rose, not 'in the likeness of sinful flesh;' not 'under the law,' but in the character of the 'Lord from

* The application of these statements to the interpretation of the Holy Communion will be obvious to the reader. The view here maintained will lead us to regard the cup in that Holy Sacrament as a standing testimony against the doctrine of natural immortality, and in support of the doctrine which attributes the eternal *life* of the saved to the 'blood' of the Lamb that was slain. And when we take bread as Christ's Body, we receive His pledge of our everlasting existence in glory. 'The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.'

Heaven,' 'our Lord and our God:'—not in the image of the 'son of Adam,' but as the 'Son of the Highest;' having delivered us from wrath by the death of His humanity, to endow us with immortality through the life of His divinity. He was no longer 'the man of sorrows,' but The First and The Last, and the Living One; no longer crowned with thorns, and clothed in a peasant's robe, but wearing the diadem of the Lord of the Universe, and shining with the supereminent splendours of the Godhead.

The following quotation from an estimable writer, who asserts the same truth on a different occasion, will make this somewhat clearer:—

'The Son of God,' says Mr. Chase,* 'has, as we have seen, yielded up the ghost. He is *cut off* out of the land of the living. His soul is made an offering for sin! But He has risen again. Has the Divine Justice then relented? Having received the price of pardon, has it so quickly returned it back to the great Ransomer? No; the mighty Redeemer rises not again to the possession of the same life He gave a ransom for many. The life He yielded up on the cross was frail, feeble, and mortal. The life to which He was quickened by His own almighty energy, is spiritual and divine. It was the life of man,—a life common to Him with those He died to redeem, that expired on the tree: but the life He now enjoys is the life of God. Of justice He takes back no part of the penalty He had paid. *It is to the power of His eternal Godhead alone that He owes His resurrection from the dead.* For He is "the Prince of Life." "In Him is the fountain of life." By dying, the Godhead, ineffably united to the manhood, did not expire. And it was by the energy of that Godhead that He arose, and that He now lives. Nor is it possible to imagine a greater contrast than that which the humanity of Christ presents, when comparing its former state of humiliation with its present state of exaltation and glory. The body of Jesus, once wearied with toil, oppressed with hunger and thirst, subject to every sinless infirmity common to our frail nature, requiring sustenance, and shelter, and repose, and, above all, liable to the stroke of death, now hungers no more, neither thirsts any more; and, being transformed and glorified, is removed beyond the reach of evil, or of death. "*He was crucified through weakness: He liveth by the power of God.*" He can therefore die no more. "*Death* hath no more dominion over Him; for in that He died, He died unto sin once; but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Instead of perishing for ever, *as any created being must have done*, had He paid with his own life the penalty of disobedience, the great Redeemer is Himself "the first fruits from the dead." For when He paid the life of man as the penalty demanded by inexorable justice He ceased not to retain, as the essential word of God, the fountain of life in Himself. *To lose this was no*

* *Antinomianism Unmasked*, ch. v., a work prefaced by a warm commendation from the pen of the Rev. Robert Hall.

part of the penalty incurred. Having therefore laid down His life, He had performed the full satisfaction which the law required, and had a right to exert His divine energy in quickening to life His lifeless humanity, and making it the visible abode of His invisible Godhead.'

Section II.

The Apostolic statements respecting the efficacy of Christ's death as an Atonement for sin.

'*In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent His only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him.*

'*Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.*'—1 John iv. 9, 10.

Such are the statements of S. John on the Atonement of Christ, with which agree S. Peter and S. Paul in all their epistles.

Nearly every reader understands that this English word, *Atonement*, signifies *at-one-ment*, or reconciliation; and is used to denote the reconciliation of the world to Himself by God, through the death of His Son.

As commonly employed it signifies reconciliation effected by the sacrifice of Christ, whose death is regarded not so much as an ordinary martyrdom brought about by human wickedness, but as an act of God determined beforehand, who through wicked hands 'gave his Son' to die, to save us from death eternal.

To *expiate* signifies to make satisfaction or reparation for guilt by some suffering or loss. In this case it means to put away sin and its punishment, by the piety or self-sacrifice of Christ. The idea is, that under the government of God it was impossible to forgive men by an arbitrary act of remission founded simply on their repentance, or on God's compassion. It was necessary that some demonstration, or 'declaration' (ἔνδειξις) should be made (Romans iii. 26) of a nature to uphold the government of God in pardoning sin, while at the same time maintaining the gracious character of that pardon;—and that necessity, we are taught, led the Eternal God to deliver up His Son to die, 'the just for the unjust' (1 Peter iii. 18). His death is therefore termed a 'propitiation,' a 'sin-offering,' a 'sacrifice,' through which God can be 'just and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.' This is the

ancient and the prevailing notion of the Atonement.* *Is this revealed as a fact in the Scriptures?*

Many a reader will reply,—Undoubtedly it is! There is nothing plainer in all written language than that the Apostles teach that the death of Christ was an expiatory sacrifice,—was not simply the representation to God of an obedient human life, —nor had to do only with making men holy in the future, but had relation to the 'forgiveness of sins which are *past*.' Many would say,—We can never hope to understand the meaning of any writing if we err in thinking that the Bible—and the whole Bible—some part by type and symbol, some part by prophecy, some part by explicit doctrinal statement,—teaches that there is the closest connection of means and end between our Saviour's death and the forgiveness of sins. This teaching lies upon the surface, and penetrates the depths of Scripture. It is indeed the leading doctrine of revelation that Christ hath 'washed us from our sins in His own blood, and made us kings and priests unto God.' If we are mistaken in this reading of the Bible, many would say, we cannot hope to understand rightly any part of divine revelation.

We agree with those who would from popular instinct thus determine; and fully believe that those who speak otherwise are not dealing with Scripture language by the same rule which they would apply to any other book. Yet it is known to all that it is earnestly denied by not a few able writers that such things are taught in the Bible. There are influential schools of thought, professedly Christian, and even Protestant, which zealously denounce the notion of an expiation of past sin by Christ's sacrifice; affirming that there is no direct connection between His death and the forgiveness of sinners. They teach that Christ's death was simply a measure in God's providence employed to bring out the sinfulness of man; and so, by affording

* An attempt has been made to prove that this view of the Atonement is modern; but in ecclesiastical literature it is as old as the epistle to Diognetus, to say nothing of its obvious presence in the apostolic epistles. Why should it be so easy to understand what the Fathers teach, and so difficult to understand the Evangelists and Apostles? Generally the 'difficulty' in the latter case is subjective in the reader. Mr. Dale has given in his *Congl. Lectures on the Atonement* a careful account of the history of the doctrine. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

the noblest example of divine self-sacrifice, to influence men by example to abandon an evil life. As for pardon,—God being a Father, it is said, forgives sin freely, and without further consideration, as soon as the sinner, who is His son, repents. He requires no price, ransom, or satisfaction, whereby impunity may be purchased. Christ is our Saviour in this sense alone, that He leads us to repentance and a new life, and therefore delivers us *by such change of character* from the punishment due for past offences. The blood-sacrifice of Christ was His life-sacrifice; and He gave Himself for our sins both by life and death, in this sense, that He might 'deliver us from this present evil world,' by teaching us to do the will of God our Father. The man who repents becomes thereby righteous, and God gives him eternal life accordingly; reckoning righteousness to the man who becomes righteous in the root-principle of his being.

With this one-sided teaching accommodation is, I believe, impossible, so long as the apostolic writings are held as authority.

The answer to be given to these statements rests altogether on interpretation. There is for us no hope of comprehending Christ's religion except as explained by the New Testament writers. If Christ and His apostles did not understand, or could not clearly express, the divine message, no one else can hope to understand it. We hold, then, that such an idea of atonement as has been just described, not only fails to fill up the meaning of the apostles' language, but offers to it the utmost violence. The apostles teach, as plainly as words can teach anything, that the death of Christ was an Atonement by expiation, or sin-offering, for 'SINS THAT ARE PAST' (*προγεγονότων*, Romans iii. 25), not simply a provision for preventing *future* transgression. They teach that God's 'Fatherhood' was not of the nature of the demoralised fatherhood of the modern world; where the leading notion, on the part of bad children, seems to be that it is the part of a good parent to bear patiently any excess of rebellion or extravagance, to forgive it universally, and even to find means for these excesses, such a line of action being considered specially 'paternal.' But the Scriptures teach that the Fatherhood of God rather resembles the primitive idea of fatherhood set forth in the law of Moses, and throughout antiquity, which included the judicial character;—so that the father of a family, however loving

to good children, was empowered and expected to act as a magistrate; and even to bring forth a 'rebellious son' to the gates of the city, and there, if he were 'a glutton and a drunkard; (Deut. xxi. 18), deliver him up to the executioner of vengeance or even to decree the death by fire of a daughter-in-law who had committed fornication, as occurred in the history of Judah the son of Israel (Gen. xxxviii. 24).

The Scriptures, in accord with Nature and Providence, alike teach in every page the eternal authority of righteousness, of righteous 'severity' as well as righteous 'goodness' (Romans ix.). Revelation knows nothing of a God forgiving sin without sacrifice or suffering,—nothing of arbitrary pardon, or of the abrogation of law, because the execution of penalty will be painful to the offender, or to the governor. In the physical world we see on all sides inexorable execution of law without regard to the feelings of the violator. In Revelation we find, notwithstanding the presence of mercy for all who comply with certain conditions, the same steadfast assertion of universal order and Divine Righteousness. 'Thine eye shall not spare,' is the key-note of the law.

It is necessary, therefore, to explode resolutely the sentimental and wholly romantic notion of the Divine Character, derived from bad human models, on which those proceed who now offer violence to the scripture teaching on the Atonement of Christ. Nature knows nothing of a God who makes little of broken law, directly the breaker of it discovers that he is in trouble, or even professes to be sorry for his offence. It is, as all may see, an awful thing to oppose the physical forces of nature; yet the results of transgression abide, and often operate for generations. Similarly the scripture knows nothing of this false God of modern times—all-benignant, all-forgiving—who takes no account of past sin, immediately that the transgressor desires to escape the penalty. 'Our God is a consuming fire.' The most prominent lesson both in Nature and in Scripture is the immense difficulty of doing away with the consequences of law-breaking; for even when sin is forgiven, and does not end in death, its secondary consequences remain.*

* I beg to refer to my Sermon on the 'Secondary and Permanent Consequences of Sin' as affecting the future destiny of the Saved, which, I will

Thus it is that the law of Moses, the *præparatio evangelii*, teaches that pardon can be obtained only through sacrifice, and this not eucharistic, but expiatory. The High Priest, in the complex sacrifice of the Atonement day, 'lays his hand' upon one of the victims, 'confesses over him all the *iniquities* of Israel,' 'putting them upon the head' of the scape-goat,—and then the blood of the other victim is carried into the holy of holies to be sprinkled before the Divine Judge, 'to make an atonement thereby.' This idea is impressed on the Israelites by every complication of the ritual,—the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin,—and pardon through a sin-offering. This, however, it is said, is but symbol. Yes, but a divinely appointed symbol points to a reality, and its signification is made certain by the words of our Lord Himself when about to die.

What explanation does the Son of God give to His disciples of the object of His own death? It must be admitted that no words of His ought to receive more reverent attention than those spoken when He was about to 'offer up Himself.' If His death were nought else than a representative burnt-offering of obedience to God on man's behalf, an example of self-sacrifice, for the purpose of stimulating us to live and die self-sacrificingly, He will surely tell us now. If His death were a sin-offering, an expiation of 'sins that are past,' He will surely tell us that also. Hear, then, His dying words. He 'took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all of it; for this is *my blood of the New Covenant, which is shed on behalf of many, for the remission of sins*' (Matt. xxvi. 28).

We will not multiply comments over this utterance of the Son of God; much less offer perverse criticism with a view of explaining away its force. The 'remission' (ἄφεσις) of sins, is the word used, in its verbal form, by the same Divine Speaker in the prayer which He taught His disciples. '*Forgive* us our trespasses, as we *forgive those who trespass against us;*' and there as here, it manifestly signifies not reformation of character, but the blotting out or remission or forgiveness of offences that are *past*. Here,

venture to add, received the approbation of the late Mr. Binney, as a much needed statement of complementary truth among Protestants. See *Mystery of Growth;* Dickenson, 1877.

then, at the Last Supper, our Lord declares that He died *in order that sin might be forgiven unto men.* His death was an atonement, an expiation, a propitiation, a sin-offering. 'When he shall make his life (or soul) an offering for sin (*asham*), he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days' (Isaiah liii. 10).

Thus also taught the apostles after Christ's resurrection. S. Paul, in offering an exposition of salvation to the church of Rome—the church of the chief city on earth,—after describing the guilt of both Jews and Gentiles, and setting forth the impossibility of obtaining justification by law,—declares that righteousness is the free gift of God to sinners through Christ, whom God hath set forth, ἱλαστήριον, a propitiatory sacrifice, through faith in His blood. The sense of this word may be learned in the Greek version of Numbers v. 8: 'Let the trespass be recompensed (an indemnity be paid) to the Lord, even to the priest, beside the ram of the *atonement* or propitiation, whereby an atonement or expiation shall be made for him' (ἱλασμοῦ, ἱλάσκεται).

S. Paul further declares that this 'propitiation,' or sacrificial expiation, so set forth, is for the purpose of '*manifesting His righteousness on account of the remission of sins that are past*, through the forbearance of God:—to declare, I say, at this time His righteousness (*i.e.*, His righteousness in remitting past sins), that He might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.'

We need not add to these two declarations—one of the Lord Himself, the other of His chief apostle—*writing his chief explanatory sentence, in his chief epistle, addressed to the chief church of Christendom.* Neither of these statements admits of being justly set aside on critical grounds. And they are supported by the whole body of apostolic teaching; as in the statements of the epistle to the Hebrews, that 'He hath put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself;'—that 'by His own blood He hath obtained eternal redemption for us;'—that 'the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, shall purge our *conscience* from dead works to serve the Living God;'—that 'Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many;'—that 'this man has offered one sacrifice for sins for ever,' having 'by one offering perfected for ever them that are sanctified,'—having (Col. ii. 14) 'by Himself purged our sins,'—

'blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us,' and now 'living to make intercession for us.'

The *fact* of atonement for sins made by the death of the Son of God is then plainly and repeatedly asserted in the New Testament Scriptures.

Section III.

We now approach the third part of this inquiry, into the revealed *Reason of the Fact*. What do these Scriptures teach respecting the cause of the death of Christ? Why was such an atonement necessary in pardoning sin? And how does it operate in reconciling sinners to God?

Here let us say at the outset, that as we could not know the fact that Christ's death was an expiatory sacrifice except by revelation of God, so neither can we know anything respecting its reasons or mode of operation except by a similar revelation. And when men have departed from the Scripture teaching on this subject, and framed theories of the Atonement on extra-scriptural grounds, they have usually succeeded only in leading multitudes to doubt the fact of an atonement altogether.

(1) For example, it has been often said, as by Dr. Watts,—that Christ died *to appease the wrath of God*, and by Bp. Heber, '*to meet His Father's anger;*' that the Second Person of the Godhead intervened, in compassion for sinners, to prevent the First Person, our Father, from executing His vengeance upon them. As Cowper expressed it, in a passage quoted by M. Sainte-Beuve, 'God is always formidable to me, except when I see Him *disarmed of His sting*, by having sheathed it in the body of Jesus Christ.* Now this representation of mediation is not only directly contrary to Scripture but is essentially heathenish, and destructive of confiding love to God. For this was precisely the idea of the sacrifices to the gods of heathenism,—they were offered to propitiate or *render placable* wrathful divinities. But

* Even Canon Mozley, in his weighty volume of *University Sermons*, permits himself to employ on one occasion language of the same type. 'The effect of Christ's love for mankind, and suffering on their behalf, is described in Scripture as being *the reconciliation of the Father to man*, and the adoption of new regards to him.' 'The act of a suffering Mediator reconciles God to the guilty.'—*Atonement*, p. 173.

whatever the reason of the death of Christ may have been, assuredly it was not an act of the Son of God separate from an act of the Father: nor was it designed to produce states of feeling in God not existent before. It was GOD who '*so loved the world* as to give His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believed in Him should not perish.' It was God who 'reconciled the world to Himself, or atoned it by Jesus Christ, not imputing our trespasses unto us.' It is to offer violence of the most unwarrantable description to the character of the God of Love, to represent Him as excited with wrath against sinners, while the Son of God was lenient and merciful,—or to represent God as seeking to strike some one on earth, *and striking an innocent person rather than strike none at all.*

All such statements, however commonly made aforetime, or unfairly imputed in our time by Unitarian writers, are perversions of Scripture, and have led to much reactionary feeling against any doctrine of Christ's atonement for the sins of the world. It has been thought justly that such views represent the Eternal Being as naturally adverse to His creatures, or as an Omnipotent Foe bought over to forbearance by the price of innocent blood. Words strong enough to express the loathing with which such teaching ought to be regarded are difficult to find. It is our God who has given Christ. It is God, whom we have offended, who has nevertheless 'provided the Lamb for the burnt-offering.' Whatever there is of mercy to sinners in Christ springs from the overflowing love of God. 'We love Him *because He first loved us*.'

(2) Again, there are those who, casting about for some explanation of the Atonement, have looked upon Christ in His sufferings chiefly in His character *as a Man*, a sinless representative man, but as a person outside the Godhead;—and then His death has been made to appear as the execution of the judgment due to sinners, by substitution of an innocent sufferer, *a man* who had 'done nothing amiss.' Under this view at once arises the question, 'How can God's Righteousness in pardoning sin be aided or set forth by doing what seems the most unrighteous thing that can be done in the universe, punishing a guiltless person for the transgressions of sinners?' 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? That the righteous should be as the wicked, that

be far from thee!' If there is one moral principle which is plain and authoritative beyond all others, it surely is that the innocent ought not to suffer instead of the guilty. How, then, it is asked, can the death of Christ, thus conceived of chiefly as a Man, illustrate the righteousness of God, or establish His moral government, while He pardons sinners?

The more closely we think of this question, the greater the difficulty will appear. The willingness of the victim to endure suffering by no means removes this difficulty. If it be wished to confirm the reign of righteous law in the world at the same time that you pardon sinners and remit the penalties due to their sins, the very last thing to do, assuredly, is to break through all conceivable rules of right, by inflicting suffering on an innocent *creature*. Such a procedure as this will shake anything that deserves the name of moral government to its foundations.

Accordingly, you find that wherever such views of Christ's person have prevailed,—where He has been conceived of either as simply human,—or where His superiority of nature has been regarded as less than Divine,—or has been permitted to pass out of view through a one-sided dwelling on His humanity, or through a Sabellian denial of the real distinction in the persons of the Godhead,—no faith in His death as an atonement for sin has long survived. The Scriptures which speak of it have been explained away. It has been felt to be almost a moral duty to explain them away, and not to permit the people to hear of a propitiatory sacrifice which consisted in the suffering and death of *a man, a creature who was perfectly holy*. It has been felt that such a doctrine must end in breaking down the very idea of a just God, and present His mercy to sinners in the guise of a compassion purchased by the undeserved agonies of an immaculate victim.

(3) The Scripture doctrine on the reason of the Atonement is far removed from either of these representations.

So long as Christ Himself is thought of only as a creature, however dignified, no explanation of the Atonement can be given, as an expiation, which does not shock the moral sense, and necessitate sooner or later the abandonment of the expiatory idea. So long as any explanation of the atonement is sought for

outside the Godhead, it will be sought in vain. So long as it is sought for under the hypothesis of Christ's simple humanity, it must elude discovery, or compel disbelief. We trace the presence of such disbelief on all sides around us. The Unitarians, who reject Christ's personal Deity, reject as a matter of course the atonement in the sense of expiation. They are entirely right in refusing to entertain the conception of a propitiation for sin founded on the infliction of suffering on an innocent *creature*.

Apostolic Christianity is credible only when it is taken in its integrity, and taken alone. And the doctrine of the Apostles is, that the Divine Nature is revealed as bi-polar, or of double aspect. They teach that there is in that Eternal Nature a love of righteousness, and righteous law, necessary and ever-during; leading to an eternal resolve to uphold with the Infinite Might the authority of Right as right, and of God as God, both in His own mind and in His outward government. They teach that there is also in God, through the riches of a gracious Nature, an overflowing love and compassion,—*not for all sinners of all worlds, and of all ranks*,—but for creatures whose sinfulness is the result of an original malign interference; which has prompted the desire to 'save' man although a law-breaker. Hence a moral schism in the Divine Nature. The Rock of Ages was rent asunder to its depths. However startling the statement, the finite will, erring and rebelling, is represented as setting in eternal opposition to each other the attributes of God—the righteousness which prompts to swift judgment as an eternal necessity of the Divine Nature,—and the grace which remembers mercy and pities the victims of Satanic envy.

Can God 'forgive sin' without some outward demonstration, of a nature to show that forgiveness of law-breaking is not a 'law' of the Divine government, or an ordinary act of the Divine government,—that the law is and will be, that remediless suffering shall follow sin? Can God extend His mercy without any manifestation of His righteousness? Can the Divine Wisdom devise any compensation which Divine Righteousness may sanction under a moral government, so as to reconcile the sinful world to God, and make salvation possible? There is but one way open, say these God-taught men, that sinners, death-doomed, may obtain life eternal. No innocent creature must suffer, how-

ever willing. *God Himself must suffer*, in one exceptional sacrifice, if sinners are to be saved,—and the stability of the Divine government within itself, and over other minds, is to be preserved.

Here alone, we find the revealed reason of the Atonement by the death of Christ, considered as an expiation, or ground for pardoning sinners. *It is not a blow falling on an innocent creature, outside the Godhead. It is a blow falling from the sinful creature on the Godhead itself*, on that sensitive Divine Nature, which is extended through infinity, and is the source of all feeling, physical and moral, in all worlds. Man's greatest crime, a direct assault upon the Godhead, becomes the ground on which God can remit all other sins. It is a sacrifice made *by the Holy and Merciful One*, in order 'that He might show forth all long-suffering,' by identifying Himself with us.

All the language of Scripture respecting this Sacrifice is based upon this idea, of *God's* sacrificing and suffering for us as Man. 'He that spared not His own Son;' 'God so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son.' Every word here speaks of severest suffering and sacrifice of a self-exacting righteous benevolence, which will indulge its grace only at a mighty cost to Itself, of all that is most dear.

Excursus on the Sensibility of God.

But here it is necessary to turn aside for a moment to question and protest against that system of metaphysics which in its reactionary zeal against extreme anthropomorphism teaches modern men to think of God as a Being impassive and insensible to real delight or pain—the Buddhism of the West.

For is not the prevailing opinion among all ranks of the people, especially when they desire to appear signally enlightened, that the scriptural language respecting God as a Living Person near at hand, full of thoughtful interest regarding ourselves, is but an accommodation to the weakness of the lower order of minds; so that when prophets and apostles speak of Deity as resenting ingratitude or insult; as indignant at atrocious wrong; as loving, grieving, sympathising, seeking to associate with us in close communion; as delighting in good, provoked with bad men;—these are only so many fictions, 'anthropomorphic parables,'—the abso-

lute truth being that the Divine Nature is infinitely removed above all possibility of concrete thought or moral emotion, of pleasure or pain—that in fact the Godhead dwells in an unbroken calm of perfect rest; so that there is no objective reality in expressions which practically describe Him with a moral nature analogous to the human.*

If this be true, it is obvious to remark—a child might make the observation—how uninteresting a process the worship of such a God must be; of One to whom *you* bring thought, anxiety, emotion, passion, praise, affection, gratitude, prayer, heart-sacrifice, —and Who in return looks upon you in the eternal gaze of impassive omniscience, with not even the faintest approach to responsive fatherly love.

And is not this persuasion the reason why so few of mankind inwardly worship the God in whom they profess to believe, with half the enthusiasm which the adorers of the Blessed Mary devote to her service? Their inmost beliefs respecting their Maker are such as to quench soul communion at its source. They conceive of the all-pervading Presence as if there were no real sympathetic feeling in it—not more than there is in the force of attraction, or in the diffused electricity of the globe. No human heart can sincerely yearn after such a God as this. There are multitudes who repeat the customary phrases respecting the Lord of Heaven, that He is righteous, good, merciful; that He 'loves' them, 'pities' them, 'delights in His people;' but they have no belief whatever in a God who compasseth their path and their lying down with a Life more vital than that of all other spirits combined into one.

Unhappily, too, there is nothing in which men change so little, and improve so slowly, as in their original false notions of God and His ways; for indeed the popular ideas on this subject have a moral source, in a disposition which leads men to expel the Deity from the realms of thought. Men's philosophies grow up from their spiritual states. The popular metaphysics both of Asia and Europe spring from the depths of a moral nature which does 'not like to retain God in its knowledge,' and which therefore

* For the chief assistance to recent Buddhism in England the world has perhaps to thank the late Dean Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought.*

readily shrouds itself in a philosophy of agnosticism, or banishes Him to the skies, or out of the universe.

Now that Divine Revelation which reaches its fullest brightness in Christ is directed to the establishment of a better knowledge of the Heavenly Father, 'who is not far from any one of us,' and who is 'acquainted with all our ways,'—of Him whose Spirit can be 'grieved,' and 'vexed' with our sinful behaviour, but who also deeply is 'delighted' with noble character.

Consider how strange it would be if God were not such a Being as this;—if the Creator of all sensitive souls were the one Spirit devoid of sense and feeling! We are surrounded by a vast world of living things, there are nearly a million species of them on earth, under each species a multitude that no man can number, each of these individual organisms possessing a sentient life, even the lowest some darkling sensation of pleasure or pain, the higher ranks so exquisitely organised for enjoyment and suffering that no words can sufficiently express the reality. What a world of quivering flesh, of nerves thickly interwoven and sensible to light, to sound, to heat and cold, to tastes and smells, to blows and gashes, to stripes, disease, and pain! Then you ascend to Man, who is all life from head to foot,—body and mind all exquisite sense,—the surface one delicate network of nerves, the depths full of all possibilities of fearful agony or healthy delight.

The spirits of men, again, are keenly sensible in every fibre. You cannot speak or act without 'hurting' some one, unless you consider them. What wounds of vanity, what torments of injured self-love, what aches and woes of agonised affection, what inward sorrows of conscience! In the sense of praise or blame, how deep a well-spring of intensest joy or grief, and a well that never dries up!

Now is this world,—so full of vital sensibility,—the work of a Being who possesses none—of an all-pervading impassive Intelligence, insensate, incapable of moral anger, sympathy, or love; in whom there is no possibility of feeling a wrong done either to Himself or others; who is incapable of righteous indignation, of tenderness, self-sacrifice, companionship, or gladness? Is this world, so full of passion, the work of a Power who is a kind of Infinite Snow-King, having no real delight in His children, in

their work, in their play, in their troubles, in their agonies,—or in their joys? Is God's goodness only a word for theologians to set forth in articles of faith, in mockery of a quality which is real in man? Surely this great world of sense and feeling was born out of a Nature all sentient and vital,—and rose like some Form of beauty from a wondrous Ocean of Deity, full of the life whence she sprang.

Consider, too, what an effort seems to be made in the physical world to convey to our minds on all sides the impression that there is real feeling in the Most High. Nature's teaching does not end with science. It is full of 'tender strokes of Art.' Does not every lovely form in plant or flower breathe forth to us the feeling of some Unseen Artist? Does not each living type give the impression of being a beautiful work of art, with its own distinct design, colour, and atmosphere? It is as if the Eternal Motherly Tenderness were for ever coming forth from within the veil of the spiritual world, and, revealing itself in a golden radiance to the eye that beholds it,—saying to us in 'still small voice' as it draws near in the night of time,—It is I, My Children, be not afraid!

But the senses afford no sufficing revelation to the soul. She cries out still for the Living God. We require a richer and fuller communion; and we find it in the historic revelation. In Jesus Christ the Infinite not only is revealed as a Person, but as One 'full of compassion.' And there has been a connected series of events, from the beginning, in which God has similarly made Himself known, 'as He does not unto the world.' Susceptible souls have been admitted within the veil of material nature, and have ascended as Moses on Horeb to see the Love which is Invisible. How precious the records of this progressive revelation! See how God once made Himself known to Abraham. How friendly, how conversible a Being was there! How unlike the Brahminical Deity who hides himself beyond the stars, caring nought for poor mortals. This 'household God' visits Abraham at every stage of his history. He imparts the first impulse of emigration from Chaldea, as He starts the swallows on their tourney to the southern skies. He welcomes him into Palestine with new and grander visions between the hills of Shechem. He communes with him by night on the uplands of Hebron, and

expounds to him the prophetic meaning of the spangled firmament,—'So shall thy seed be.' He even comes to him in the guise of a Traveller under the terebinth of Mamre, and reveals to him His secrets as to a 'friend,' before He hurls the flaming bolt on Sodom and Gomorrha. And He, this Heavenly Friend, never leaves him, in all his journeyings, till he lies down in Machpelah, —where he is buried in peace, embalmed in the sweet spices of a promised resurrection. How different a God is this from the Hindoo Brahma, from the Siamese Gaudama, from the English One Incomprehensible,—in whom, if men believe not, they must 'perish everlastingly'!

Conclusion.

The bearing of such views as these on the Sacrifice of the God-Man is obvious and important. No statement of the case, except that of Hooker, approaches the truth;—that 'Man hath sinned, and *God hath suffered.*' The Eternal Word is represented to us as taking flesh into vital union, that the Godhead might present a vulnerable side to the powers of evil, for suffering in life, and 'for the suffering of death.' Here we truly begin to apprehend the 'reason of the atonement,' which escaped us so long as we conceived of Christ as a suffering creature, and excluded the Divine Nature from all share in the sacrifice. The Christ, who is God and Man, dies, suffers for sin, and from sin. But how? By undergoing the curse of the law. No injustice is now done to an innocent *creature,* for it is the Creator, the Law-giver, who suffers;—and by suffering shows that He who 'delighteth in mercy' yet so much also delighteth in righteous law, that He will compel the Divine Nature Itself, made Man, as substitute to pay a 'price' for our ransom from death, while He thus opens a channel to the tide of His Fatherly compassion.

Under this view of the atonement every common objection is quelled. No innocent creature is punished instead of the guilty. No 'Second Person of the Godhead' interposes to arrest the anger of the 'First.' But the whole Godhead, which is Righteousness and Love, *sacrifices Itself* in the agonies of a human death, that man, though a sinner, may live for ever. Well is it said, 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, shall draw all men unto me.'

The death of Christ, thus regarded, is the visible reconciliation of the sinful world to God, because it is the visible reconciliation of the interior Divine Attributes in the abnormal act of saving sinners. The reason for it is found not in nature, nor in law, nor in aught on the level of humanity, or of the creation. The personal Deity of the Christ, in the Incarnation of the Word which is One with the Father, is the solution of the mystery, and its essential condition. The reason is not found in a calculation of consequences in the external world, nor in any supposed counterweight of pain or terror in a finite being, that must be placed vicariously in the lightened scale of forgiveness; but in the heights and depths of the Godhead alone; in the holiness which abhors evil; in the rectitude which intensely loves the law; in the wisdom which must demonstrate that the Salvation of Sinners is no easy process; and in the boundless grace which resolves to endure all that sin and sinners can inflict, as a demonstration of the impossibility there is, even for Omnipotence, to save by an arbitrary act, without a 'ransom' and a sacrifice.

This God of mercy fixes in His wisdom the 'price' that shall be paid. He chooses to suffer in the person of His Son by the 'wicked hands' of the men who 'crucified their King.' And thus too all the secondary ends of punishment are answered,—to show forth the effects of wrong-doing by suffering, to prevent further transgression, and to reform the offender. For by this mystery of love and sorrow God draws us irresistibly to Himself; 'we look on Him whom we have pierced;' and the greatest of all miracles is wrought,—that dying sinners are at once 'purged from the conscience of sins,' and gather 'boldness to enter' as immortals into the Holiest of All.

CHAPTER XX.

ON REGENERATION UNTO LIFE, THROUGH UNION WITH THE INCARNATE WORD, BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, THE LORD AND GIVER OF LIFE.

In that 'fourth Gospel,' in which, as in an ark of the Covenant, are enshrined 'behind the veil' so many of the mysteries of redemption, the doctrine of a Second Birth, as necessary to salvation in the kingdom of heaven, holds a foremost place. The discourse of our Lord with Nicodemus must be regarded as the formal declaration of this law, from the lips of Him 'who has the keys of hell and of death.

'*Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born again,* he cannot see the kingdom of God.*' In reply to the Rabbi's objection on the impossibility of a second physical birth, Jesus repeats His statement. '*Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born of* (or begotten from) *Water and Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born* (or begotten) *of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born* (or begotten) *of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth whither it willeth, and its sound thou hearest, but thou knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth away! so* (οὕτως, thus mysterious) *is every one* (the nature of every one) *who is born* (or begotten) *of the Spirit*' (John iii. 3-8).

The same doctrine is taught by S. John in the phrases of the proem, chap. i. 12, 13. '*But as many as received Him to them gave He power to become the sons of God; who were begotten* (ἐγεννήθησαν) *not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God.*'

* Ἄνωθεν may be taken, as Nicodemus takes it (ver. 4), for δεύτερον, but the etymology is nearer to its full sense, of οὐρανόθεν, from God, which involves the δεύτερον.

The same language and ideas occur in S. John's Epistles. '*Ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born* (or begotten) *of Him*' (1 John ii. 29). 'Beloved, now are we *the sons of God*' (1 John iii. 2). '*Whosoever is begotten of God* doth not work sin, for His seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, *because he is begotten of God*' (1 John iii. 9). '*Every one that loveth is begotten of God* and knoweth God' (ch. iv. 7). 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ *is begotten of God*, and every one that loveth Him that begat *loveth him also that is begotten of Him*' (ch. v. 1). '*Whatsoever is begotten of God* conquers the world. Who is he that conquereth the world but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God' (verse 5). 'We know that *whosoever is begotten of God sinneth not;*' but he that is begotten of God guardeth himself, and the wicked one toucheth him not' (ver. 18).

S. Paul teaches the same truth in varying expressions. The idea of a new birth from out of *water*, in baptism, we find in Rom. vi. 4. 'Know ye not that so many as were baptised unto Jesus Christ were baptised unto His death? *Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism unto death*, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, *we also should walk in newness of life*' (ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς). The remainder of this chapter is a description of the character of the twice-born Christian.

In Rom. viii. 1-14, S. Paul describes the position and qualities of the regenerate man, whom he designates as one who is not *in the flesh*, but *in the spirit*. '*If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. If Christ be in you* the body is dead because of sin, but *the spirit is life because of righteousness*.'

The same S. Paul twice declares that the Christian is a *new creature*' (or creation), καινὴ κτίσις (2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15). And in 1 Cor. ii. he speaks of the true Christian as a '*spiritual man*,' in contrast with the '*natural*' (or *soulical*) man (πνευματικός, ψυχικός). And throughout his epistles he builds everywhere on the foundation-thought that a Christian is a man who has undergone some supernatural change which enables him to '*walk in the spirit*.' 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us by the laver λουτρόυ (see Eph. v. 26, 'having purified it by the washing λουτρῷ

of water by the word') of regeneration, and of the renewal of the Holy Spirit' (Titus iii. 5).

Lastly, S. Peter, in full accord with the other apostles, sets forth the divine origin of the new nature of a Christian. 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which according to His abundant pity *hath begotten us again to a living hope* through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled.' This change is evidenced in the life. 'As obedient sons, not fashioning yourselves according to your former sinful passions in your ignorance.' 'See that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently, *being begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth* (*for ever* is omitted in all the oldest MSS.). For that all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man is as the flower of grass. The grass withered, and the flower thereof fell away. But the word of the Lord abideth for ever. And this is the word (ῥῆμα) which by the gospel is preached unto you. Wherefore—*as newborn babes* (ἀρτιγέννητα) desire the guileless milk of the word that ye may grow thereby' (1 Peter i. 3, 14, 23; ii. 1, 2).

These are the leading passages in the apostolic scriptures describing that supernatural action of the Spirit of God by which men become 'new creatures,' in order that they may 'see the kingdom of God.' Apart from such a change, Christ Himself again and again declares *that no man can see it* (οὐ δύναται, John iii. 3). 'Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.' A life which, notwithstanding the possession of a spiritual faculty, persists in being animal, or *psychical* only, is by divine decree transitory and perishable. True spiritual life alone is eternal life.

'He that soweth to his flesh' (leads an animal godless life), 'shall of the flesh reap' φθοράν, *death, extinction;* (see the sense of this word in 2 Peter ii. 12, 'Brute beasts born for capture and *extinction*,' φθοράν), 'but he that soweth to the Spirit' (lives for the spiritual and eternal world), 'shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting' (Gal. vi. 8).

It is necessary, therefore, to consider more attentively (1) the Immediate Author of this new nature; (2) the method and instru-

ments of His action; (3) the inward and outward change in man which results from it.

Section I.

The Immediate Author of the new nature in Regeneration is said to be the Holy Spirit, 'the Lord and Giver of Life,' 'who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified' —as in the Nicene Creed is declared.

The distinction of Persons in the Godhead, like the distinction of energies in the Sunbeam which is its purest symbol, was a discovery reserved for the later ages of the world. Under the ancient economies The Supreme God, in His character of Father and Governor, was offered in the Unity of His glory as the object of faith to the Church's infancy. As the centuries rolled on, obscure intimations were given to the prophets, in language more comprehensible to us than to themselves, of the existence of a 'Lord,' distinct from the Father, who nevertheless 'sits at His Right Hand' on the Throne of the Universe (the *Adon* of Psalm cx. 1; Isaiah vi. 1; Malachi iii. 1). But not until the Word was made flesh, was the eternal glory of 'the only-begotten Son' clearly revealed. In the same manner the 'Spirit of Jehovah,' 'His Holy Spirit,' was spoken of by the prophets: but the personality of the Holy Spirit was not projected separately and distinctly before the general blaze of Deity.

When Christ appeared, the Incarnation of the Logos required the more distinct revelation of the Three Persons of the Godhead, —and it is from the lips of the 'Logos made flesh' that we learn the personality and subordination of the Holy Ghost. Our Lord is represented by S. John as applying the masculine personal pronoun ἐκεῖνος to the Holy Spirit (although the word Spirit, πνεῦμα, is neuter) in a manner which can be satisfactorily explained only in the sense of the Catholic Church of all ages, that a Personal distinction is designed (see also Acts x. 20; ἐγώ).

To this Holy Spirit is attributed the direct Divine agency in the worlds of both matter and mind throughout the universe.*

* In Ezekiel's vision (chs. i.-x.) the vast sea-green *Wheels* of the Chariot of Jehovah, representing the forces of inorganic nature, and the fiery *Cherubim*, representing the organic and intelligent creation, are alike described as 'full of

And to Him in the sphere of spiritual action is attributed the work of begetting the new 'divine nature' (1 Peter i.) in redeemed men—even as when it was said to Mary by the Angel Gabriel (Luke i. 35), of the conception of Christ, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.' 'So is he that is born of the Spirit.'

The sum of the New Testament doctrine is that forth from God have come to the earth Two Almighty Powers, for the salvation of sinful mortals: the Divine Word or Logos, who took flesh of the Virgin Mary; and the Holy Spirit the Comforter, the Lord and Giver of Life, 'proceeding from the Father and the Son,' who in viewless action, like the wind, descends wheresoever He wills, to dwell in and renew the nature of man, making the Church 'the temple of God;' 'one Spirit with' the Lord of Glory (1 Cor. vi. 17); 'members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones;'—the redeemed humanity being thenceforth as true an Incarnation of this Holy Spirit as the Saviour is a true Incarnation of the Logos, and creating, through the double bond, an eternal union of Man with the Nature which is Divine and Eternal.

In the execution of His purpose of saving us it has seemed good to the Almighty Lord to adhere to the original lines of the life-system which He designs to immortalise in His own image. Christ has been constituted a second Head of humanity; and Regeneration unto Life unites us to Him by vital ties of Justification, Sanctification, and Redemption of body and soul to eternal life, as close as those which connected us with the first Adam, from whom we derived Condemnation, Degeneracy, and Death. This is the 'great mystery of godliness,' and when this chief truth of living union to the Redeemer by the indwelling Spirit is obscured, the New Testament revelation is shorn of its beams, and casts over the creation but the baleful twilight of a solar eclipse.

eyes,' *i.e.*, pervaded by the Divine Spirit. Nature is not blindly feeling her way into fortunate selections, but her course through the ages is governed by a Mind that sees the end from the beginning; represented by that fiery Form Who sat enthroned on the sapphire floor of the Cherubic Car—at whose voice of command each wheel moves in its predestined pathway, towards the four quarters of the horizon, according to the all-wise Will.

The unity existing between Christ and His Church, (1) is sometimes compared to the union between the Father and the Son: '*That they may be one as We are one:*' '*that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us.*' '*That they may be one even as We are one: I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one*' (John xvii. 11-23). (2) It is sometimes compared to the union of a Vine and its Branches. Thus: '*I am the* VINE, *ye are the* BRANCHES. *He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing*' (John xv. 4). (3) It is compared to the union of our meat and drink with our bodies. Thus: '*He that eateth me, even he shall live by me. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him*' (John iv. 56). (4) It is compared to the union of the body with the head. Thus: '*But speaking the truth in love, grow up in all things unto Him who is the Head, even Christ*' (Eph. iv. 15). (5) It is compared to the union of Husband and Wife. Thus: '*For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church. For we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones*' (Eph. v. 23). (6) It is likewise compared to the union of a building, whereof Christ is considered as the foundation or chief corner-stone. Thus: '*To whom coming as unto a living stone, ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house*' (1 Peter ii. 4-6). (7) It is sometimes described in Scripture as an identity of spirit. Thus: '*He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit*' (1 Cor. vi. 17). (8) It is sometimes represented as an identity of body. Thus: '*For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular*' (1 Cor. xii. 27). Such is the apostolic language upon the close unity of CHRIST and His members.

SECTION II.

On the method and instruments of the Holy Spirit's action in Regeneration.

The words of Christ to Nicodemus are strong enough to support the idea of an immediate action of the Spirit of God on the souls of men in imparting to them the new life. But the analogy of all

other divine working known to us favours the concept of the action of Deity in combination with mediate influences. Two opinions have long prevailed in the Church as to the instrumentality by which divine grace reaches the soul. One is that the Holy Spirit connects the exercise of His regenerating power with the sacrament of Baptism; the other that He connects it with the Truth respecting the Saviour of the world.

The former doctrine is expressed with the utmost clearness and confidence in the baptismal formulary of the Church of Rome, and with scarcely less strength in the liturgies and catechisms of the Anglican, Lutheran, Helvetian, and Scottish Churches. It is founded upon the close association, in our Lord's words, between *Water and the Spirit*, held to signify that when and wherever baptism is rightly administered, there the Holy Spirit accompanies the rite, confers the grace of 'spiritual life,' and washes away the guilt of original sin. The guilt, according to the Roman theology, carrying with it the penalty of eternal misery for the immortal soul, is in baptism cleansed away, and a new creature implanted; so that infants thus baptised are 'undoubtedly saved,' while a cloud hangs over the eternal prospects of the unbaptised. Under this view baptism is not regarded simply as a dramatic expression of man's faith or of God's mercy, but as the veritable channel in which runs the stream of eternal life. A similar tendency to materialistic and magical views has been manifested in the doctrine of Christendom on the Lord's Supper. The language used by Christ respecting 'His body' allows of the Roman tenet, if men are so perverse as to adopt it.

The doctrine of spiritual regeneration in baptism—not merely of an outward ceremonial cleansing, but of a real *inner* salvation therein bestowed—may be traced back to the third century of Christianity, perhaps to the second. It has been adopted as the popular faith of Christendom; and the application of the grace has been extended to baptised infants,—for whose 'spiritual regeneration' the English prayer-book requires the minister to 'give thanks.' The English Nonconformists, who use infant baptism, not as a seal of the 'remission of sins' (Acts ii. 38),—not even as a sign of introduction into the Church,—not as a means of grace to the child baptised,—but simply as a didactic symbol of the grace of God, which has 'come unto all men,' that

is, simply as the mark of the catechumen, can find little justification of their opinion in its practical results; for in no part of Christendom are 'baptised' children such ecclesiastical outcasts as theirs, being generally regarded as unfit for church fellowship till 'decided' or 'converted' afterwards. Nor can they find any justification for it in antiquity—a fact on which the great churchmen of England, from Dr. Waterland to Bishop Bethel, have securely depended in assailing their Nonconformist opponents.*

All known infant baptism in the Ante-Nicene age was given for the purpose of spiritually regenerating the subjects. Cyprian urges baptism as soon after birth as possible, on the ground that spiritual circumcision should not be delayed, but that every human being should be admitted as speedily as possible to the grace of Christ, the remission of original sin, and the gift of the Holy Ghost (Epist. 58). In the same age heretical baptism was accounted a nullity in a Council at Carthage, 'because it could not be accompanied by the heavenly gift.' Heretics therefore were to be rebaptised.†

The other opinion connects the regenerating action of the

* We must not here be supposed to yield unqualified assent to the doctrine of the 'Baptists' on this subject. The Baptists have built up a sect, with a special name, on the basis of a sacrament; which is, I humbly think (notwithstanding their signal merits) an uncatholic procedure; and as indefensible as would be the institution of a second Sect, based on a reform of the Mass, to be called the *Lord's Supperist Denomination*, with missions, newspapers, unions, and relief-funds, all for *Lord's Supperists*. They are, however, we conceive, with Dr. A. Neander, right in discouraging infant baptism, as not apostolic; and in maintaining the highly significant rite, Jewish, Christian, and Catholic, of immersion, representing the death and burial 'of the old man,' and also resurrection to life eternal. But would it not be better to dwell more than they do on baptism as the sign of the 'remission of sins' (Acts ii. 38), —to allow, in many cases, of baptism by plenteous affusion, like the 'shed forth' baptism of the Holy Spirit,—and also of the baptism of young children who are old enough to understand discipleship to Christ? Infants are already in the good hands of God, and will neither gain by the 'baptism of repentance,' nor lose by its absence. Their alleged 'spiritual regeneration' therein seems to be the quintessence of a system of theological error, upheld through the combined superstition of priests, women, and families.

† Improving on this idea, Henry Dodwell, who believed that the Immortality of the Soul was a grace conferred in baptism, held that 'none have the power of bestowing the immortalising spirit except the bishops.'

Holy Spirit, not with the Sacrament of Baptism, but *with the Truth*, offered and believed. The sacramental theory of regeneration, although pleading strong patristic authority, and subsequent general acceptance both in the east and in the west, is weak in even the appearance of apostolic support, and is opposed to the letter and spirit of scriptural Christianity. In judging of Ante-Nicene doctrines it is necessary to remember the warning of all the apostles that even in their own life-time the 'mystery of iniquity' already wrought; that the age was signally ignorant of the sacred writings, and rife with the spirit of priestcraft, magic, and apostasy. Men are deceived by the glory of the martyrs as to the character of the second century in its theological aspect; and never will apostolic Scripture regain its due supremacy until we have learned that Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, Clement, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix were unworthy successors of John, Paul, Peter, Luke, and Matthew.

For, in the first place, although it is said, that 'Except a man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' it is not said that he who is baptised is at the same time born of the Spirit. Simon Magus was 'baptised' (Act viii. 13), but immediately afterwards S. Peter said to him, 'I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness.' 'Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter.' 'Thy money perish with thee.' No stronger language could be used to denote that not even the germ of grace had been communicated by baptism. He had not been regenerated or renewed by the Holy Ghost. That which our Lord affirms is that baptism by water is necessary and that baptism by the Spirit is necessary; but He does not connect the two together, so as to imply that regeneration by the Spirit takes place at or in the baptism by water. On the contrary, the New Testament represents spiritual baptism, or regeneration, as preceding the water baptism. It was after Cornelius and his company 'believed,' and even after they had received the wonder-working Spirit, that Peter said, 'Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' On Roman or Anglican principles the reply would have been obvious and pertinent. Let all men forbid it!—for why should they be made a second time 'regenerate in baptism' who have already received regenerating grace,

as is evident by their faith and piety, and by the testimony borne of God by the gifts of the Holy Ghost. S. Paul distinctly repudiates the idea of sacramental efficacy in baptism, when he says in his first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. i., 'I thank God I baptised none of you, save Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I baptised in my own name.' For Christ sent me not to baptise but to preach the gospel.' Can one even imagine a modern clergyman who believed that in Baptism the gift of Spiritual Regeneration was bestowed, 'thanking God,' for any reason, that he had not bestowed it. Such language as this, '*Christ sent me not to baptise but to preach the gospel*,' would be at once condemned as 'evangelical and puritan.' If the grace of the regenerating spirit were to be conveyed *in* baptism, surely S. Paul should rather have lamented that he had conferred the heavenly gift upon so few of the Corinthians. Little right had he to say, 'I have begotten you through the gospel.' His language here is incompatible with the idea of saving grace conferred in the sacrament. Neither is there any ground for the statement that our Lord in His conversation with Nicodemus (John iii.) intimated the necessity of baptism for infant salvation, when He says, 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot see the kingdom of God;' for it might as reasonably be argued, that because elsewhere repentance and baptism are conjoined as essential to salvation, S. Peter intimates thereby that infants cannot be saved unless they repent; which is impossible. There is as much mention of, or reference to, infants in the one case as in the other; that is, there is no mention or reference at all.

If, however, we are to believe that the Spirit of God effects spiritual regeneration in infant-baptism, it seems to be reasonable to ask, Are there any clear signs that so blessed a change has been wrought upon the natures of the baptised? If the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, purity, assuredly the bulk of the populations asserted to have been regenerated in infancy give no evidence in their conduct of having been the subjects of the transforming agency. Is this change transient in its results, so that the grace of the Spirit evaporates in early childhood, like the baptismal water from the forehead of the babe? Or, if it be a permanent change of nature abiding through following

years, how is it that there are not uniformly some external signs in the character of that new birth and new creation? Infant baptism is not followed by the evidences of divine grace; and few Christians, blessed in after years with a spirit of piety, think of attributing its possession to regenerating mercy received at the font. Unbaptised children are every whit as near to God as the baptised.

The practical tendency nevertheless of the Roman and Anglican doctrine is to accustom all the baptised to consider themselves 'Christians,' requiring, indeed, additions of grace, yet not requiring that 'new creation' which is described in Scripture as the 'second birth.' If, then, spiritual regeneration was not effected when supposed, the influence of the doctrine must needs be disastrous. It closes the ears of its votaries to all those warnings which represent a 'new creation' as indispensable to salvation; it fosters in impure men the error that they are, in some effectual sense, 'the children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;' and encourages the opinion that there may be some other valid foundation for hope than manifest faith and love. It confounds together all the inhabitants of a parish, good and bad, as equally regenerate persons, leading to a general acknowledgment of worldly virtues as Christian graces, and lowering the supernatural system of spiritual religion to a level which suits the average ungodliness.

Dismissing, then, the church-doctrine of spiritual regeneration in baptism, founded on the inveterate leaning of mankind towards magical and material views of the action of grace, and on misconception of the fact that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were in the apostolic age often conferred *immediately after* baptism, we return to the apostolic teaching that the Holy Spirit employs *the truth* as the ordinary instrument of regeneration. 'Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the *word of God* living and abiding' (1 Peter i. 19). 'Christ loved the church and gave Himself for it,'—that 'He might sanctify and cleanse it by the laver of the water *in the word*' (Eph. v. 26). The grace of 'sonship' is attributed to the '*reception*' of Christ (John i. 12); this is an act of the mind receiving truth. He that '*believeth* on the Son hath eternal life' (John iii. 36). Baptism is placed after repentance and faith by

S. Peter, in preaching the gospel: '*Repent*, and be baptised every one of you' (Acts ii. 38). S. Luke says that Christ's last words were, 'that repentance and remission of sins should be preached among all nations' (Luke xxiv. 47). The remission of sins (sealed in baptism) follows on repentance and faith (Acts iii. 19). 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, *that your sins may be blotted out*.' 'Arise, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord,' were the words of Ananias to S. Paul after he believed.

No such notion as the communication of regenerating grace—(apart from which, already received, man cannot repent and believe, since 'he that believeth is born of God,' 1 John ii.)—by the act of baptism, is found in the New Testament. The regenerating grace comes first, then faith, then the outward seal. The regenerating gift of the Holy Spirit *in* baptism is a conception as foreign to the Scripture as was that of the gift of the Holy Spirit in Circumcision, or in the Passover. It is, we hold, an invention of the apostatising church, founded partly on sensuous and magical ideas, and partly on mistaking the baptismal miraculous 'gifts' of the Holy Spirit for His renewing action, and for His 'fruits.'

These statements, however, do not exhaust the New Testament doctrine on the methods of the Holy Spirit's saving operation. The question at once arises, Is the production of this new nature in men, under the action of the Holy Spirit, absolutely dependent upon the intermediate operation of *truth* upon the mind and heart, or may we believe that the action of the Regenerating Spirit is sometimes independent of the action of the νοῦς, or mind; taking effect directly on the πνεῦμα, or spirit, and renewing it to life-eternal? Is not the true answer as follows?

(1) That where truth is revealed, and fully known, the Holy Spirit employs that truth in the awakening of new life in the souls of men. 'This (regenerating word) is the word which by the gospel is preached to you' (1 Peter i. 24). But

(2) Where that truth is unrevealed, or from various causes unknown, lesser measures of truth may prove effectual to regeneration. Such was the condition of those devout souls who lived before the Advent of Christ. Assuredly they were 'born of God,' both those of Hebrew and of Gentile blood; yet the

truth by which they were renewed was of a fragmentary character, and did not include the knowledge of a suffering Messiah.

Under this view of men's condition, it is reasonable to entertain hopeful views of the final salvation of millions whom we denominate 'heathens,' but whom God loves, and has visited in His grace in every land. It has been the custom to suppose that all lands marked black as pagan in 'missionary maps' have been inhabited by men utterly deprived of saving grace. Amidst much error, we doubt not that in every land and age God has 'reserved to Himself' a people who have 'feared Him,' and 'wrought righteousness' under a secret divine inspiration; but it requires a better acquaintance with so-called 'heathen' men and women, and a somewhat broader standard of judgment, to recognise such souls under non-Christian forms of thought and speech. '*I perceive,*' said S. Peter, '*that in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him.*'

Always through the mediation of the unknown Saviour, always through the regenerating action of the unknown Spirit, have such results occurred; but to deny their existence would require us equally to deny the reality of pre-Messianic grace among the Jews. If they were saved under imperfect conditions of knowledge, there is hope for others though under still less favourable conditions?

If it be alleged that such hopeful views would discourage missions, it may be confidently replied that the missions which such thoughts will discourage can be but of little value abroad. If it be essential to the propagation of the gospel for men to believe that all who have not known 'the whole truth' or who have not called the Infinite Creator by the right Names, have been doomed to damnation, it would be better to discontinue endeavours founded on so foul a perversion of the Bible. But surely if Christianity was worth promulgating, even although pious Israelites could be saved before the Advent, much more must it be 'worth while' to promulgate Christianity among those whose knowledge of God has been restricted to the broken lights of a world darkened by the philosophy and priestcraft of Eastern paganism, or by African barbarism.*

* 'We do not deny the possibility of the salvation of the heathen, or of some of them, by the mercies of God and under the teaching of His good

(3) There is still one more step to be taken in the same direction; and this is to affirm, on the authority of the same Scriptures, and, may we not add, of experience, that sometimes the action of the Holy Spirit in His regenerating grace descends upon infants even from their 'mother's womb.' Thus was John the Baptist 'filled with the Holy Ghost from his birth' (Luke i. 15). In such cases the spiritual action must at first be directly on the πνεῦμα, and not at all on the νοῦς, in the way of understanding truth; and if this be true in even one instance, why not more frequently? We conclude, then, that although the normal action of Divine grace be now through the 'truth of the Gospel,' that action is not restricted to any special measure of truth, and can take effect, if God so will, even in the total absence of truth apprehended by the intellect. We are far from doubting the frequent action of grace upon infants; what is denied is that that grace depends upon baptism.

Brief Excursus on the question of the creation, or renewal, of the πνεῦμα (spirit) in regeneration.

Before we advance to the last section of the present chapter it is necessary to consider in this place the psychological difficulty

Spirit. We are quite sure indeed of this, that whatever salvation there is anywhere in human hearts, or working in human lives, is to be traced up to the same fountain-head of Divine love, and comes to them or to us, known or unknown to them or to us, along the same channel of mediation and grace; and we are very sure that any of the heathen who are saved will be as ready as the rest to cast their crowns at the Saviour's feet, ascribing salvation to Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb. But how much knowledge, in its intellectual forms, may be necessary there or here for salvation, it is quite beyond our power, and it is no part of our duty, to say. It would seem that there is no invariable standard either there or here. Moral disposition is always more than intellectual culture. The moral bent of a human life is that which, far more than the intellectual knowledge that may be held in it, will settle its character; and if it can be shown from the lives of the heathen, and from the actions they perform, and the spirit they manifest, and the aims they have in view, that there is justifiably any hopefulness about them, why we are the most hopeful of all people in the world, and we are ready, therefore, to hope. Ay, if there is any probability that Job, and Elihu, and the Syro-Phœnician woman, and the Roman centurion, and the Ethiopian eunuch, have successors in heathen lands, we of all people, whose very object is to promote human salvation, will and ought to rejoice.'—Speech by Dr. Raleigh for London Missions, Exeter Hall, 1874.

presented by the Pauline doctrine of the tripartite nature, (*The very God of peace sanctify you* (ὁλοτελεῖς) *wholly; and may your whole constitution* (ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν), *the spirit* (τὸ πνεῦμα), *the soul* (ἡ ψυχή), *and the body* (τὸ σῶμα), *be preserved blameless in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1 Thess. v. 23),—taken in connection with our Lord's declaration to Nicodemus, '*That which is begotten of the flesh is flesh; and that which is begotten of the Spirit is spirit*' (John iii. 3)

Is the *Pneuma*, or spirit, here spoken of as begotten or born of the Holy Spirit, a new substantive addition in regeneration to the nature of the man born of the flesh? or is it the renewal in power of an element belonging to man as born into the world? Has every man πνεῦμα as well as ψυχή, spirit as well as soul? or is *spirit* the production of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, and therefore peculiar to the saved? This question is one of exceeding difficulty, partly in consequence of the varying terminology adopted by so large a number of Scripture writers, which renders it perhaps impossible to extract from them a homogeneous psychology.*

If it be contended, as by Dr. Delitzsch, that the Bible uniformly ascribes נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh*, soul, to the animals, but never, נְשָׁמָה, *neshamah*, a reference to Genesis vii. 21, 22 (Heb.) will dispel the illusion. If it be said that רוּחַ, *ruach*, belongs to man, not to the animals, in Scripture usage, a reference to Ecclesiastes iii. 21, will show that the Hebrews spoke of the '*spirit* of a beast.' If it be said that רוּחַ, *ruach*, is peculiar to good men, we learn from Job xxxii. 8 that the ancients thought there is a *ruach* in אֱנוֹשׁ, *mortal man*, and that the 'inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.'

The passages of Scripture in which a technical or special meaning seems to be designed by the distinction between soul and spirit are few; yet it is on this very narrow basis that any psycho-

* The chief writers on the side of man's natural possession of the πνεῦμα are Dr. Delitzsch, in his *System of Biblical Psychology*, and Mr. Heard in his *Tripartite Nature of Man*. The doctrine of the addition of the *Pneuma* in Regeneration is ably maintained by Dr. Morris in *What is Man?* (Stock), Mr. Constable in his papers in the *Rainbow* (Elliot Stock), General Goodwyn in his *Holokleria* (Kellaway), and Dr. Thom of Liverpool in *Soul and Spirit* (Lewis), to which last I especially refer the reader.

logical system must be content to stand. There is one feature of the Biblical phraseology in which our version fails us. In the Hebrew, *nephesh* stands for *life*, and *soul*, and also for the dead *body*. The animals, moreover, are always spoken of as having *nephesh*, or *soul*. This is concealed in the English translation under the term '*creature*,' or '*living creature*.' King James's translators had a psychology of their own, which they have somewhat favoured in their version.

The main strength of the argument for the creation of the πνεῦμα in regeneration lies in the important statements of Christ to Nicodemus. When our Lord says, 'That which is born, or begotten, of the flesh is flesh,' it is held to indicate that what is born of sinful man is of an *animal* nature (σῶμα and ψυχή), *body and soul;* but not πνεῦμα, or *spirit*. Christ speaks of the spirit as begotten by the Holy Spirit. 'That which is *begotten of the Spirit* is spirit.' It is added that S. Paul speaks of Adam as *created* only a living soul; of Christ as the Life-giving Spirit; and of the unregenerate man as ψυχικός—the '*soulical*' man, or man of mere ψυχή: while He designates the regenerate man as πνευματικός, or *spiritual*. S. Jude also has this strong expression to denote the condition of ungodly men, ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες, animal men, *not having* πνεῦμα, or '*spirit*' (verse 19).

It must be admitted that this language is of very formidable strength; and that it finds an almost continuous echo in the remains of the Ante-Nicene age.* The doctrine of the non-possession of the πνεῦμα also accords well with the general idea of the natural mortality of man. But it is attended with great difficulties, if by the πνεῦμα is intended anything more than the spiritual character produced by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. That in Christ's discourse the πνεῦμα, or spirit, which is begotten, must be distinct from the Power which produces it, is evident. We cannot therefore say, with Mr. Constable, that the spirit, which is part of a Christian man's ὁλοκληρία, or constitution, is the Holy Spirit, since Christ describes the spirit as the *product* of the new birth. But that spirit may be the eternal *life* which the

* The proof of this statement may be seen in the carefully drawn *catena* of Mr. Dodwell's anonymous defender, *A Presbyter of the Church of England*, 1728. The Ante-Nicene Fathers almost without exception held that the πνεῦμα was an addition bestowed by the Holy Spirit, on which eternal life depends.

Holy Spirit confers along with the germ of the Divine Image; and under this definition there would be less difficulty in holding that the regenerate man alone possesses πνεῦμα, or spirit, in the technical sense of the term.

There are many, however, who think that the true solution of the difficulty is to be found in insisting on the tropical character of the language which our Lord employed on the occasion of His discourse with Nicodemus. In popular language in every country the *slight possession* of any power or faculty is described as non-possession. Thus we say of a very unfeeling man that he is 'heart-*less*,' or that he has 'no soul,' of a fool that he has 'no understanding,' of a violent man that he is a 'brute,' of one who has weak life that he is 'as good as dead,' not intending to deny that such persons possess the natural endowments of life, reason, and affection, but only to assert the very low degree of their development, just as Abraham said that he was 'but dust and ashes.' May we not trace, it is said, the operation of the same law of speech in the language of Christ and His apostles? Our Lord says, 'That which is born of the flesh *is flesh*.' He certainly did not intend to deny that men have 'souls' as well as bodies, yet on the surface He might be held to declare that there was no ψυχή or soul in an unregenerate man. Is it, then, necessary to hold that He teaches that man by nature has also no πνεῦμα or spirit? May it not be that the whole nature, ὁλοκληρία, of every man includes body, soul, and spirit, the *spirit* standing for all that part of man's nature which is superior to the animals—his moral and religious being, as made in 'the image of God'?

Regarding the expressions of Christ from this point of view, His statement, that 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh,' may be taken for a declaration that the πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) in unregenerate men is so undeveloped, that the man may be called *flesh*. A new spiritual life must be produced in him in order to life eternal; and this he terms *pneuma*, begotten by the Holy Spirit.

In the same manner we may, on this method, deal with the words of S. Jude, that ungodly men are ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες, '*soulical, not having spirit*.' The small development is described by total destitution. The prominently active part gives designation to the man. He in whom the animal soul or *Psuche* is supreme is *psuchicos*, or animal; he in whom the *Pneuma*

reigns is *pneumaticos*, or spiritual. The work of the Holy Spirit is to arouse and develop the *spirit*, or moral Godward part of man's nature.

An example of this mode of speech is found even in S. Paul's writings. The Corinthians he regarded as 'sanctified in Christ Jesus' (1 Cor. i. 1), and as destined to be 'confirmed unto the end' (i. 8). Yet these very persons he speaks of thus in chap. ii. 1-3: 'I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto *spiritual*, but as unto *carnal*' (σαρκικοῖς); which he explains thus, 'even as unto *babes* in Christ.' Men who are characteristically of low development take their names from the lower faculty, not from the higher.

If these criticisms are defensible, we escape the difficulties involved in the doctrine that unregenerated men possess no *pneuma*, or spiritual faculty. For the spirit of God strives with them. They 'resist the Holy Ghost.' The *conscience* can hardly be regarded as an endowment of the animal ψυχή, or soul. In every man there is a witness for a 'law' against which he offends by sin. If Adam was originally endowed with a spirit as well as a soul, we do not understand how by transgression he succeeded in excising one part of his nature. If, on the other hand, neither Adam nor his descendants possess the *pneuma*, as Dr. Thom maintains, they are not accountable for conduct which is not spiritual. Since men cannot receive the gospel until they become 'spiritual,' how can they be accountable for its non-reception if destitute of the spiritual faculty? Is it not easier to understand that the enervated 'spirit' is supernaturally energised by the Holy Spirit —so that a spiritual life is produced, which is called πνεῦμα— than it is to conceive of the fall as involving the loss of one part of man's nature, or of redemption as bestowing a wholly new element of being?

Without dogmatising on a subject, which certainly has two sides, perhaps the most considerable alleviation of the difficulty will be found in the suggestion above made, that by *spirit*, as produced in the twice-born man by the Spirit of God, our Lord intended the spiritual and eternal *life* secured by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, not the addition of a wholly new faculty to the humanity. What is agreed on both sides is that *the personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit* changes the old nature by imparting

a new germ of grace, and thereby creates a 'new man,' new in the springs of thought and purpose, new in heavenly relationship, and new in the prospect of life everlasting. The measure of development may vary exceedingly, but on this new evolution depends the life immortal.

Section III.

On the Change effected by Regeneration.

This leads us naturally to the last question under this topic, *What is the spiritual change effected in this life by Regeneration?* Relying on the teaching of the Apostles, we answer, (1) transformation into the moral likeness of Christ, (2) passing from death into life, entering into that life of Christ, the second Man, which is eternal—obtaining 'a hope full of Immortality,' through union with the Eternal Spirit.

I. The doctrine of the Bible accords with observation, that the moral degeneracy in mankind is the cause of our mortality. There is some poison in the blood, running through all generations, and 'alienating man from the life of God.' Depravity is manifested in different degrees, according to training, and according to personal wickedness—but degeneracy is common to all.*

* The fact that every human being is born of two parents accounts for many of the opposite manifestations in character which are usually set down to blameworthy inconsistency. The common remarks on the degrees of likeness to father and mother respectively embody a philosophy which requires to be carried still further. Persons who are descended from parents whose tempers and personalities widely differ, will usually display the one or the other on finding themselves in circumstances fitted to bring out either speciality. Subjection to the influence of but one of the two parents during early life, under circumstances favourable to the development of that type, will perhaps seem almost to extinguish the influence of the other hidden nature; yet it mingles with the inmost life of the body and soul, and might be easily educated under a favourable regimen. In addition to the influence of parents, it must be remembered that they themselves embodied the result of many marriages and successions. Hence each man is a complex being whose analysis is possible only to the Omniscient. God alone knows the secret forces of life, and He alone can judge the respective measures of hereditary tendency and personal desert. Into this complex life we must desire, above all other influences, that there should be introduced that redeeming element of God's Spirit which is destined at last to vanquish all others by stamping upon us the image of the Eternal.

This moral ruin consists in the paralysis of the πνεῦμα, or spiritual faculty, which no longer either *sees* or *wills* as is necessary for a life in union with God. This is the cause of the sinful life, and 'the wages of sin is death.'

The act of the Holy Spirit therefore reaches to the centre of our being, and awakens the '*spirit*' to a new energy. Forming a union with the spirit of man, He dwells in the body as in a 'temple,' and recreates the character in the image of the God of Love. 'He that loveth is born of God.' 'Love is the fulfilling of the spiritual law. He who is purified by faith, becomes a partaker of a divine nature' (2 Peter i. 4). True godliness, practical reformation in body and soul, is the condition of Immortality. 'Many walk as enemies of the cross of Christ; whose God is their body, who mind earthly things; whose end is destruction' (Phil. iii. 19). 'See then that ye love one another with pure heart affectionately, being born again' (1 Peter i. 19). Where there is no love, there is no eternal life. Hatred is the germ of murder; and 'no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' Not less does true intelligence depend upon love, for there may be religion (θρησκεία) without godliness (εὐσέβεια). The soul is then inspired by hatred and terror, and throws forth an Image of itself for its Deity. 'Thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself.' The soul must be 'rooted and grounded in love,' in order that it may 'be able to comprehend the love' of God in Christ (Eph. iii. 20). Love is the eye upon the summit of the soul, that sees God. Apart from such renewal in the Divine likeness, life, however intelligent, is perishable, for the sous has no union with Eternal Love. It is, then, a moral change in the character of the soul and the discipline of the body, and not an ontological or physical change in substance, which is the condition of salvation, and the present result of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit. 'The spirit is life *because of righteousness*' (Rom. viii. 10).

II. It seems to be taught with equal clearness in the Scripture, though less remarked in modern times, that the result of true regeneration is to bestow the gift of everlasting life on the whole nature. The final cause of regeneration is to vanquish the mortality produced by sin. This is a complex process, including both soul and body of the integral manhood. The

spirit enters into Christ's 'eternal life' now; the body at the resurrection.

The mortal condition of the unregenerate, or 'soulical' man, under the sentence of death for sin, leads to the descriptive name assigned to wicked men both by Christ and the apostles—*the dead.* 'Let *the dead* bury their dead' (νεκροὺς, νεκρούς; Matt. viii. 22). 'To you hath He given life (ἐζωοποίησε), who were *dead* in (by) trespasses and sins' (νεκροὺς παραπτώμασι; Eph. ii. 1, 5). 'But God, who is rich in mercy even when we were *dead by sins*, hath given us life together with Christ, *and hath raised us up together*' (Eph. ii. 5). 'She that liveth in pleasure *is dead* though alive' (ζῶσα τέθνηκε; 1 Tim. v. 6). 'Thou hast a name that thou art alive, but *art dead*' (νεκρὸς εἶ; Rev. iii. 1). 'He that loveth not his brother *abideth in death*' (1 John iii. 14).

An almost universal custom has affixed to these expressions what is termed a spiritual sense; namely, that of alienation from God, who is the highest 'life' of the soul, 'the strength of our life, and our portion for ever.' Hence have arisen the phrases, 'spiritual death,' and the 'spiritually dead,' both of them without example in apostolic usage.

For there seems little doubt that the mode in which the Scripture terms here referred to are handled in the 'apostolic fathers,' more fully represents their real meaning than the modern application. That there is a figure in the Scripture use of the term the *dead*, cannot be disputed. But the question is, Are we to trace the figure in the *tense*, or in the *radical signification* of the terms? We submit that the figure is in the tense. The unregenerate men are described as *the dead*, and *dead in sins*, because they are *certain to die*, because they are under sentence of destruction, as men of mere *soul* (ψυχικοὶ). Thus the figure of *prolepsis* is employed in Gen. xx. 3: 'God said to Abimelech, *Thou art a dead man*, for Sarah Abraham's wife.' 'The Egyptians said, We be all *dead men*' (Exod. xii. 33). 'All my father's house *were dead men* before the king' (2 Sam. xix. 28). The figure in each of these instances is that of using the present instead of the future tense. The unregenerate are 'as good as dead.' In the language of Ignatius (*Trallians*, ch. x.), '*they themselves only seeming to be*' (εἶναι). From the first Adam they

have received by traduction of being a nature which is animal and perishable. From Christ alone comes the spirit-life which is eternal (1 Cor. xv.).

The converse figure is used when a name is given from regard to a past condition; as when it is said, 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.' Here the *dead* are persons who *were* dead, but have been raised for judgment.*

That in the phrases in question there is a strong moral association of ideas, suggesting a sinful condition, is not only acknowledged but strongly affirmed; but as little can it be doubted that the ultimate reference is to that death by sin which extinguishes the hope of immortality; a reference which enables us more fully to understand the bearing of the language of S. Paul, S. Peter, and S. John.

S. Paul, in the eighth chapter (ver. 1-14) of the Epistle to the Romans, sets forth the condition and prospects of the twice-born man, in language which requires little more than exact translation and paraphrase to show its conformity with the doctrine that eternal life is the gift of God in Christ.

1. '*There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus* (united to Him as the second Man).

2. *For the law* (dispensation) *of the Spirit of the life in Christ Jesus hath set me free from the law of sin and death.*

3. *For that which was not in the power of the law* (to regenerate in God's likeness and immortalise) *in that it was weak through the flesh* (unsaving through man's corruption), *God sending His own Son in the likeness of flesh of sin, and on account of sin, condemned sin in the flesh* (broke its practical power), *in order that the requirement of the law* (practical righteousness) *might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.*

5. *For those who are after the flesh mind the things of the flesh* (lead an animal and godless life), *but those who are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit.*

6. *For the mind of the flesh is* (ends in) *death, but the mind of the Spirit is* (ends in) *life and peace* (unites to God now and for ever).

7. *Because the mind of the flesh is hostility to God; for to the law of God it is not subjected, neither indeed can be.*

8. *So then they that are in the flesh* (in their unregenerate state), *cannot please God.*

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* A careful discussion of the correct translation and true meaning of the phrase of S. Paul, 'dead by sin' (Eph. ii. 1); will be found in the important Appendix to the Rev. T. Davis's work on *Endless Sufferings*. Longmans, 1866. See also note on p. 223, for the Rabbinical usage.

9. *But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man possess not the Spirit of Christ, this man is not His.* (There is no salvation apart from the personal and real inhabitation of the Holy Spirit.)

10. *And if Christ be in you* (by His Spirit) *the body is dead* (νεκρὸν) *because of sin* the body remains *mortal*, and as good as dead, because of the evil law in its members), *but the spirit* (the human spirit) *is life* (ζωὴ)—(is sealed to eternal life), *because of righteousness* (because of the new principle of holiness which it has received. See verse 4).

11. *But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead* (ἐκ νεκρῶν) *dwell in you, He that raised up the Christ from the dead, shall also give life to* (ζωοποιήσει) *your mortal bodies on account of His Spirit dwelling in you.* (He who already dwells in your souls, as the principle of Christ-like eternal life, will complete the process by immortalising your mortal bodies also at the resurrection, on the pattern of Christ's body, because they have been His dwelling-place on earth.)

12. *Therefore, brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh to live after the flesh.*

13. *For if ye live after the flesh* (if ye lead an animal and godless life contrary to the Spirit of God), *ye are on the point of death* (ye shall soon and certainly die—*μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν*; see John iv. 47—*ἤμελλε ἀποθνήσκειν*, he was *at the point of death*), *but if ye through the Spirit put to death* (put an end to) *the deeds of the body, ye shall live* (shall possess eternal life). See Gal. vi. 8. 'He that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap *φθοράν*, extinction' (2 Peter ii. 12).

14. *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God* (destined immortals, and 'children of the resurrection'). 'Neither can they die any more' (Luke xx. 36).

The teaching of S. PETER corresponds with that of S. Paul. He regards Regeneration as a process not only sanctifying, but immortalising (1 Peter i. 22-25).

22. *Having purified your souls in the obedience of the truth by means of the Spirit unto unfeigned brotherly love, out of a pure heart love one another affectionately.*

23. *Being begotten again* (ἀναγεγεννημένοι) *not of perishable seed, but of imperishable* (οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου), *by the Word of God, living* (life-giving, see John vi. 51) *and remaining.*

24. *For that* (διότι, the reason of the need of imperishable seed) *all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man is as the flower of the grass. The grass withered, and the flower fell away* (the reason of the necessity of regeneration is not only the sinfulness but the perishable nature of man).

25. *But the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.* (The seed of God is the life-giving word. John vi., 'The words which I speak unto you, they are (*πνεῦμα*) spirit and life.')

2 Peter i. 3, 4. '*Seeing that His divine power hath given unto us all things*

that pertain unto life and godliness (πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν) *through the knowledge of Him that hath called us by His own glory and goodness; whereby He hath given unto us the exceeding great and precious promises, that through these ye might become* PARTAKERS OF THE DIVINE NATURE (θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως), *having escaped the* DEATH, *which is in the world through lust* (ἀποφυγόντες τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς).

S. JOHN sets his seal upon the same doctrine, in the whole of the language of his gospel, in which he represents union with Christ as essential to save men from 'dying' (John vi.).

And finally in his first epistle, where among his last words to the world, he says (chap. ii.):

16. *All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.*

17. *And the world* (ὁ κόσμος, the sinful world of mankind) *passeth away* (παράγεται) *and its passion; but He that doeth the will of God remaineth eternally* (μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα);—where the definition of terms by contrast is distinct and decisive. In this remarkable verse perpetuity of being is in the foreground. The sinful world departs and vanishes, but he that doeth the will of God, *abideth for ever.* The Eternal Will dwells in him, energising in his life, the moral likeness of Deity is stamped upon him, and he shares in the ETERNITY OF GOD.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. XX. (3rd edition); ON THE DENIAL OF SPIRITUAL DIFFERENCES IN MEN SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY ETERNAL DIFFERENCES IN DESTINY.

It is said, that in affirming this doctrine of Regeneration unto Life we are asserting nothing less than an infinite and generic distinction between two classes of mankind, the mortal and the immortal, for which no sufficient justification is discoverable in their nature or spiritual character while on earth.

It may be asked of us, Do you indeed believe that regenerate man passes into endless being; or that true faith carries with it a destiny so different from that of common men, as you would assign to it? For who that reflects on the community of the human race in all its conditions of temporal existence, on its common origin, on its physical, intellectual, and moral unity, on the historical, ancestral, and social causes which determine so much that we call character, on the many excellences of the bad, and on the manifold imperfections of the good—can fail to stumble

at a doctrine which places the seal of indestructibility on the foreheads of some, and relegates the unsaved remnant of mankind, with all their virtues, struggles, and woes, to the realms of the perishable, and the doom of irremediable destruction?

I know of no authority but One sufficiently commanding to compel me to this conclusion, and even that one leaves me still staggering under the weight which it lays upon me; leaves me still applying myself to maintain its revelations against contradiction with a mind 'astonied,' like Daniel's, when he looked upon the glories and terrors of the realms beyond. Who, indeed, is sufficient for these things? 'For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life.' These, however, I say to myself, were the words of one who 'wept' and 'trembled' as he taught, and staggered sometimes as we do; yet believed in the teaching of the Spirit, and persisted in his faith that nothing less than *death* and *life everlasting* depended on the issues of man's probation here. But they were also the words of one who had not thrown off the burden of faith by a desperate rush into theories, which, if they help a man to imagine himself 'sufficient' to grapple with the facts of life and of destiny, relieve only for a moment, by an artificial light not kindled at 'the fountain itself of heavenly radiance,' and that soon dies out, leaving the darkness deeper than before.

(1) After a renewed and patient study of this objection proposed in all its strength by Mr. Baldwin Brown, I am compelled to conclude that the authoritative record does distinctly affirm, in every form, the infinitely differing characters and destinies of good and evil men, and that the lecturer is shrinking from a burden of thought which is laid upon him by Almighty God Himself. For, in the first place, the spiritual classification of mankind found in the Bible, without one exception, is simply and invariably dualistic. The prophets and apostles speak of the RIGHTEOUS and the WICKED, as of creatures differing in the root-principle of their being. We find not even a trace of the modern mode of regarding humanity, in which men discern only moral shades, and deny the existence of distinct colours in character. This

lenient estimate of the evil, and lowering estimate of the good, which makes them all of one blood, united by a moral consanguinity, and in itself so demoralising, is resolutely rejected in the teaching of Christ, appointed to 'judge the world in righteousness.' In the Old Testament we find everywhere the 'righteous and the wicked' only, as a classification exhausting the population of the world. In the New Testament this distinction is re-affirmed and accounted for. Christ Himself asserts a supernatural cause for the distinction, which He treats as generic, and as unaffected by the better qualities of 'sinners' or the worse qualities of the good. He declares to Nicodemus that some are 'begotten of the flesh' only, others are 'begotten of the Spirit.' He declares that the latter alone are the 'sons of God,' and the sole inheritors of the heavenly kingdom. 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.' 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh.' 'Verily I say unto you, ye must be born again' (John iii.). His apostles persist in this classification. With S. Peter, some 'are born again,' others not; some are 'the people of God,' others not; some are the 'righteous,' others the 'ungodly and sinners' (1 Peter i. 23; ii. 10; iv. 18). With S. John there is the man who is 'born of God,' and the man who is not; the man who 'abides in death,' and the man who has 'passed from death unto life'; the man who 'walks in the light,' and the man who 'walks in darkness'; the man in whom 'eternal life abides,' and the man in whom it does not. There is the 'world that knows not God,' and there are the 'sons of God who know Him' (1 John ii. 5). With S. Paul there is the 'soulical,' or animal man (*psuchicos*) and the 'spiritual man' (1 Cor. ii.); the 'old' man and the 'new'; the old creature and the 'new'; the 'earthy man' and the 'heavenly' (1 Cor. xv.); the man who 'sows to the flesh,' and the man who 'sows to the Spirit' (Gal. vi.); the man who 'has the spirit of Christ,' and the man who 'has not,' and therefore is 'none of His' (Rom. viii.). The favourite Pharisaic threefold partition of mankind into the good, the moderately righteous, and sinners is unsanctioned by the apostles of Christ, much more the quite modern classification, which regards humanity as a unit, with principles of good and evil acting in every man. The Bible maintains throughout the ancient and awful generic distinction between the good and the evil; and the

Old Testament ends by declaring that whatever difficulty there may be at present in distinguishing the two, in the end the essential difference will appear. 'Then shall ye come back, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him who serves the Eternal, and him who serves Him not. And the wicked shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I do this, saith the Lord' (Mal. iii. 18; iv. 3).

The objection thus set forth with so much confidence against the idea of an eternal distinction in destiny, depending on present differences in temper and character, is, as has now been shown in detail, really an objection against the plainest declarations of revelation. The believers in eternal life in Christ are under no special obligation to meet this objection. It may be made equally against the catholic theology of Europe. The objection depends on denying the immutable distinctions of good and evil, in the concrete form of character, and savours not a little of the demoralised *morale* of the atheistic thinking of our time. Righteousness and wickedness are distinctions of infinite import in the choice of wills. He who unites himself to God belongs to a wholly different *genus* of beings from him who refuses God. He becomes 'a partaker of the Divine nature,' and will 'escape the mortality which is in the world through lust' (2 Peter i. 4).

There is, further, a noteworthy peculiarity in the doctrine of Christ and His apostles respecting the 'sonship' of ungodly men. An argument insisted on by Universalists is, that the fatherhood of God renders it positively incredible that He will either destroy or eternally banish any of the human race who are His sons. An earthly father, it is said, who is wise and good, cannot even be imagined as putting to death one of his own children. Much more, therefore, ought such an act to be disbelieved in relation to the 'Father of Spirits.' I desire to point it out as an appalling peculiarity of Christ's teaching, that He represents, in the strongest manner, the refusal of God to acknowledge the 'sonship' of 'sinners,' or to allow of the claim that He is their 'Father' until they repent. The relation of Father, in the bare sense of Creator, cannot, as a matter of fact, be abolished—'we are all His offspring'—but in every other and higher sense, involving moral relationship and eternal love, it is declared to be non-existent in

reference to impenitent men. 'If God were your Father, ye would love Me. Ye are of your father, the devil,' said Christ to the Pharisees. Through sin men have been disinherited; they are 'slaves' of sin and death, not 'sons of God.' The 'adoption of sons' comes only with the 'new birth' unto righteousness. God does not acknowledge spiritual fatherhood to those who work evil. 'He that made them will have no mercy on them.' 'They shall have judgment without mercy.' We are 'no more worthy to be called His sons.' The Divine Word denominates us 'sons of God' only when we have 'passed from death unto life.' The popular argument, therefore, against the destruction of unregenerate men, derived from the fatherhood of God, is drawn from a relationship which, in the case of the rebellious, Christ distinctly disowns. 'The chaff He will burn up with unquenchable fire.' Surely there is no 'hardness' in bringing these alarming truths to public remembrance. The real hardness and cruelty lie with those who 'strengthen the hands of evil doers' to their own ruin, by promising them 'life and peace,' and *that* in the awful name of a Being who has 'sworn' that if they do not repent 'TO-DAY' they shall 'not enter into His rest.' 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.' 'Now is the day of salvation.'

ON THE NATURE OF GERMS.

2. It remains to discuss the second part of this objection, and to ask whether our incapacity to distinguish or 'discern' in all cases 'between the righteous and the wicked' is valid reason for denying the sufficiency of the distinction as a basis for eternal differences in destiny. Here we are thrown back upon some considerations on the phenomena of germ-life in general, whence it will appear that the admitted impossibility of pronouncing upon the generic distinctions in spiritual states, in many of their earlier forms, forms no argument against the reality of such distinctions or their infinite consequences. Mr. Baldwin Brown has himself supplied the warning against precipitate judgment on germs, which is applicable in the case before us. When arguing against a supposed error of ours, in which by mistake he attributed to us the belief that mankind is not simply allied on one side to the animal races, but is distinguishable from them only by shades of

development, he very justly points out that this undistinguishableness of the germs cannot be pleaded in support of the identification of the two, since the obscure germ soon demonstrates its hidden forces, and asserts in humanity its generic superiority to that of the brute. 'The germs, we are assured, of Newton and of his dog Diamond, are, in their incipient stages, absolutely identical. Yes, to Science. But there is something there which it needs a yet diviner art, in which the philosopher is the priest, to discern, which makes the one germ inevitably into Newton and the other into a dog.'

It needs only to transfer this admirably-stated principle to the realms of spiritual life to meet the objection on which Mr. Brown relies in combating the idea of spiritual distinctions wide enough to warrant eternal differences in their doom. The beginnings of all life are mysterious and invisible; the earlier stages of the development are imperfect and obscure. This is true of the body. It is equally true of the 'new creature in Christ.' There is nothing which can be said against the undistinguishableness of generic difference in character which might not be said in relation to the early stages of physical development. The Newton and the Diamond are soon revealed; but it might puzzle any power less than Omniscience to discriminate the two until development has occurred. The great lesson of biology is the enlargement of our faith as to the hidden life of elementary organisms. Hear how Dr. Maudsley speaks in his latest work on the 'Physiology of Mind.' 'Those who may be disposed to think it impossible that such important constitutional differences should exist in so small a compass might reflect with advantage on the various undetectable conditions which may confessedly exist in the minutest organic matter—as, for example, in the delicate microscopic spermatozoon, or in the intangible virus of a fever. And yet it is from the conjunction of one minute spermatozoon with another that are produced the muscles, vessels, nerves, and brain —of a Socrates or a Cæsar. . . . The single cell united with the single germ, each integrating the qualities of ancestors, gives birth to a new organic product, which, minute as it is, contains in latent forms all the potentialities, and displays actually in evolution many of the qualities of generations of ancestors, male and female, and furthermore evinces new qualities as a result of the

organic combination. There is nothing extravagant in the supposition that a single nerve cell has many potentialities. The exquisite minuteness and consummate delicacy of the operations going on around us in the most intimate recesses of nature are even more striking and wonderful than the vastness and grandeur with which the astronomer is concerned' (p. 120).

When, therefore, it is alleged that differences in spiritual character sufficient to account for opposite everlasting destinies are not discernible, we submit, first, that sometimes such failure to discern the radical difference in character between good and evil men arises not from the obscurity of the phenomena, but from the wide extent of a superficial and deceptive profession of religion, or from the spiritual blindness of the observer; and, secondly, that the physical analogy of germs supports the declaration that in two characters, seemingly alike, there may, nevertheless, be such an essential difference that, as in the cases of Christ's two associates, Judas Iscariot and Peter, both much alike to a careless eye, 'one of them is a devil,' for whom it would be 'better if he had never been born'; one of them is a 'natural man,' an 'earthy man,' 'abiding in death,' who has developed only evil qualities, or qualities good simply on the human level; while the other, though as yet much undeveloped, contains a germ of Divine Life, which before long will develop into a form of character 'equal to the angels,' and 'worthy of an endless life.' 'We know not what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.'

CHAPTER XXI.

HADES, OR THE STATE OF MAN BETWEEN DEATH AND THE RESURRECTION, UNDER THE ECONOMY OF REDEMPTION.

THOSE theologians who are agreed in the main on the line of argument pursued hitherto, are divided in opinion on the question of the survival and condition of souls in an intermediate state preceding the resurrection; in this respect not differing from such as maintain the traditional belief on the future state. They, too, who believe in the resurrection of all mankind to everlasting joy or pain, are divided in opinion on the condition of the spirit after death. Many, who hold the prevailing doctrine on judgment to come, believe, with Mr. Robert Hall at one portion of his life, that thought is a secretion of the brain, and perishes utterly until the resurrection. Others believe in the survival, and blessedness or misery of the soul. Others believe in its survival and sleep. The diversity of belief, therefore, on this subject, among the adherents of the doctrine here defined, is not peculiar to them, and is occasioned by apparent decrepancies of statement in the Biblical writings, especially in the English version, which perplex the students of both systems.

It must nevertheless be admitted, that the controversy on survival in death of a portion of the dissolved nature of Man has a peculiar interest for us who attribute eternal life to redemption alone. If it can be established as a fact in nature, and as a clear instruction of the Divine Revelation, that when man dies, not only is the complex humanity destroyed (as when *water* is *destroyed* on the separation of its component elements), but also that the soul breaks up, and the thinking willing power is entirely dissipated, then it is thought that the most solid basis is laid for the doctrine that man's hope of a future life is in resurrection alone,

or the reconstitution of the dissolved humanity. Men would be 'shut up into the faith' of eternal life in Christ only. The argument for Immortality in Christ is thought to be greatly 'simplified,' and thus to be commended to simple minds. The threatening of Death also under this view receives a clear and easy definition. Death in all cases is then *death*, total and thorough extinction of life, not only of the compound man, but of all parts of his being, so that not a spark of life is left in the ashes.

Nor is this the only advantage of such a position. If you maintain the total dissipation of the 'soul' as well as the body, you escape the 'absurdity of supposing that death has converted one person into two, so that whereas in life there was one David, in death there are two Davids' (Constable's *Hades*, p. 7). Moreover, if you prove that, in the death which men die here, the whole man is abolished, so that no soul or spirit survives, you strike the foundation from underneath the whole fabric of false doctrine in the popular European theology. You not only dispel illusion as to the source of immortality, but as to (1) the 'glory' to which souls are supposed by Protestants to go on departure (so dispensing with, or undervaluing, the hope of resurrection at Christ's return from heaven); and (2) as to the condition of souls in Purgatory, where Romanists believe them to be chastised for the venial sins of a lifetime. He who proves the first death to be a 'sleep,' in which not even a dreamer remains, disproves Purgatory, and thereby strikes a fatal blow at the superstition on which rests the power of the Greek and Roman priesthoods. This, it is justly thought, would be in some respects a considerable gain; and writers who, like Mr. Constable of Cork, have lived long in a Roman Catholic country, are certain to be deeply impressed by such a theoretical advantage.

Lastly, it is held that a clear demonstration of the non-existence of any part of conscious humanity after death would abolish that 'spiritualism,' or desire for necromantic intrusion into the unseen world, which has of late spread like a pernicious fever over Europe and America. If it can be shown that there are no souls with which to communicate, it is manifest that no one, *who is convinced of that position*, will desire to communicate with

them. Or, if perforce persuaded of the reality of spiritual communications, they will be compelled to conclude that these are the work of 'Satanic demons personating the dead.'*

I am not insensible to the force of these considerations, and they have been pressed upon the public with equal ingenuity and perseverance by Mr. Constable, one of the very best writers on the general question of Immortality. But in the study of truth it will be conceded that there is no danger more imminent than that which comes with temptation to advantage in controversy. Men are easily disposed to listen to arguments which seem likely to gain popular support for their opinions, and easily disposed to withstand or neglect evidence which might tell against doctrines to which they are honestly attached. Mr. Froude observes that even in relation to historical facts the attraction of theological opinion is such as to hinder men of the utmost capacity from seeing or admitting what is obvious to all less partial examiners.† Perhaps we never ought to be more suspicious of our arguments than when they are derived from the presumed advantages of the projected conclusion. There can be no doubt that the desire for a neat and simple argument in support of a truth may dispose even able men to offer some little violence to evidence which points in the direction of complexity. What we consider neatness and simplicity is not always a characteristic of Divine working, or Divine teaching. A passion for simplicity of statement has often blinded men to facts which indicated more complexity than might at first have been supposed. The study of physiology, for example, offers continual warnings against the assumption of short simple formulas. Organisms in nature are often more complex than is agreeable to the lovers of neat and effective popular demonstrations. Assuredly the last object which seems to have been designed in the Bible was to assist controversialists to 'simple' modes of stifling opposition. These ancient records offer as complex a subject of study as the geology of the globe, and only the most patient submissive study

* Such is the doctrine of Mr. Miles Grant. *Spiritualism Unveiled.* Kellaway, London.

† He makes this fruitful remark in commenting on the denial by Irish Romanists of the undoubted facts of the Irish Massacre of 1641.

of the facts is likely to be rewarded by discovery of the true principles of either.

The prospective advantages of any opinion, moreover, must be postponed to the general interests of truth. Doubtless a widely spread conviction of the total abolition of man's nature in the first death would destroy the Protestant faith in 'glory' as following decease; it would destroy the Romish faith in purgatory; and it would destroy spiritualism—so far as it is based on necromancy. And in the same manner a general disbelief in Christianity would abolish all the dreadful evils which attend its corruptions. A disbelief in all future punishment would abolish the doctrine of eternal torment. A disbelief in anything divine would put an end to all superstition around the world. And even a disbelief in the doctrine of justification by faith would effectually put a stop to Protestant Antinomianism. But all careful thinkers will allow that such aims in thought are unscientific. Our business is exclusively with the evidence; and theory, whether in nature, or in theology, must adapt itself to the facts, whether they admit of a simple definition or explanation, or require one of greater complexity.

It may be that the process of human Redemption, and the institution of a new probation and judgment springing out of it, has introduced more intricacy into God's dealings, and therefore into the history and teaching of Scripture as to the death of mankind, than might have been looked for under a legal administration. We have thought it right to draw attention to these considerations in order to insist upon a fairer examination of the Scripture evidence on the subject of this chapter than is possible under the prepossessions which have been now referred to.

It cannot be maintained that the importance of this sub-controversy, however interesting, is equal to that on the general question of man's immortality in Christ. Those who hold the intermediate unconsciousness of the soul, even those who hold the dissipation of the soul in the first death, maintain truth which more than compensates for all their (possible) errors on this subject. They maintain the fundamental doctrine of Scripture that Man is an Integer, having his 'form' in the fabric of 'dust,' and that God deals both in judgment and mercy with

this visible humanity. They rightly reject the idea that the supposed 'spirit' is formally the man. They insist on the indwelling of Christ's Spirit as the sole hope of human immortality. They are also in accord with the Bible in refusing to regard the condition of the soul in a separate state as 'the hope of the Church;' rightly declaring that that hope is in Resurrection at the second coming of the Christ. They maintain also with reasonable zeal that if man is wholly destroyed in the first death, there can be no painful sense of delay between death and the advent of Christ, since those who have fallen asleep may be expected to awake in the coming glory without any sense of intervening time.

Believing, nevertheless, that a certain degree of importance attaches to this subject, I shall now describe the arguments of the various existing schools of opinion on Hades, and venture with due deference to declare my own judgment on the difference.

I.

The first school is led by Mr. Constable. In his work on *Hades* he maintains the position that the tripartite nature of man has been misunderstood by Dr. Delitzsch and Mr. Heard. According to him the '*body*' stands for the material fabric; the '*soul*' (or *nephesh—Heb.*) for that life in all his faculties and members, which man possesses in common with, or in addition to, that of the lower animals; and the '*spirit*' (*ruach* or *neschamah*) for that portion of the *Divine* Spirit within him which is the cause of the life of that *nephesh*, or soul, animating the body. In death God withdraws His Spirit, and the man, with his body and soul, or *nephesh*, then altogether breaks up and dissolves away. The Man is non-existent. The essential substance of the body remains, scattered into atoms. The life, or soul, which was in the blood, was a production of the Spirit of God, and ceases to be when that Spirit withdraws. Thus man in death wholly dies. He has no *soul*, in the popular sense of the word, no spiritual individuality, or 'inner man,' which can survive. He wholly 'dies and returns to his dust,' as do the animals.* Thought

* I do not think it fair to press undesigned consequences on Mr. Constable; nevertheless is it not true that materialism finds its logical result in atheism?

was a product of the Divine Power acting through the brain. When the Spirit of God withdraws, the life ceases, and thought with it. All these are restored in the resurrection; and in a better form. To live for ever as a man is the privilege of the regenerate. All others will die a second time in the pains of the second death.

It is obvious that the phraseology of Scripture, that vast and various quarry, supplies much material, if not regarded with too critical an eye, which can readily be built up into this hypothesis. And the advocates of the theory quote from the books of the Old Testament many passages, which, if they are to be taken for divine revelations on psychology, undoubtedly serve the theory well, as popular defences. Thus Mr. Constable, on other occasions a careful critic, frequently cites the noted words of the book *Ecclesiastes* on the nature and destiny of man and of animals, and on the absence of all thought in Sheol or Hades ('*The dead know not anything*'). Some of his coadjutors even cite the speeches of the excellent but mistaken persons introduced in the drama of Job's sufferings, as if they were authoritative declarations on the dissipation of the soul, requiring our assent; whereas it must first be proved, against Hengstenberg and Ewald, that these books are something beyond the devout speculations of poets and philosophers perhaps of the time of the Captivity, incorporated with the sacred writings as valuable records of tentative holy thought in the ages of preparation for the gospel; and next, that in these passages the writers are speaking in a more than popular tone. In the same manner the words of the late Psalm cxlvi. 5 are often cited: '*In that very day his thoughts perish*,' as *proving that the mind of man goes to nothing at death*. It is difficult to reason on Scripture doctrine with those who maintain so rigid an opinion on the universal force of inspiration in the books of the Old

If man has no reason to believe that he possesses a 'spirit' in himself, he has no reason for concluding that the mind revealed in Nature inheres in an Eternal 'Spirit.' We know God's attributes only through our own constitution; and if thought with us is a function of matter, it is right to conclude either, pantheistically, that there is some governing thought which is a function of the matter of the universe, or, atheistically, that there is no mind in nature, notwithstanding appearances. Mr. Constable will resist the conclusion. But Professor Clifford, a more consistent materialist, stoutly affirms it (*Fortnightly Review*, No. 139, 1875).

Testament, as to think that a strong assertion, occurring anywhere, of the sudden end in death of all man's active *purposes* and judgments in life,* is to be taken for a divine psychological deliverance on the abolition of the thinking spirit in death.† Such modes of quoting the poetic and philosophic books of the Old Testament are nearly on a par with those by which it is unaccountably sought by some to withstand the Newtonian astronomy, and to establish the notion that God has revealed to men in the Old Testament the truth of the Ptolemaic system.

Perhaps the strongest popular support of this doctrine is derived from 1 Cor. xv. 18: '*If Christ be not raised, ye are yet in your sins. Then they also who are fallen asleep in Christ,* ἀπώλοντο, *are gone to nothing;*' in which it is said to be asserted by S. Paul, that all future life depends on resurrection,—there being no soul to survive in death. But S. Paul makes no such statement. He teaches *what would have happened* if Christ had *not* been raised; if there had been no redemption, and no justification by His death. In that case doubtless death would be the end of man, since the 'soul' of any being, made as Adam was, a 'living animal,' does not naturally survive in death. But S. Paul does not teach this of the destiny of human souls in death, now that redemption has occurred, and Christ has risen: especially not of the dead in Christ. He states elsewhere that the believer's soul absent from the body is present with the Lord.

It follows as a natural corollary from their general idea that this school of psychologers insists on attaching to the Hebrew word Sheol (שְׁאוֹל) and to the Greek word Hades (Αιδης) invariably the meaning of the *Grave*, a tolerably stout assertion standing here in the place of evidence.

* מַשְׁתּוֹת—purposes, opinions, counsels.—*Gesenius.*

† In common conversation, or in writing, either by heathen or Christians, we say, 'So-and-so did such and such things while he lived, but now he is dead;' without giving any opinion against the survival of the soul. Then why should the Bible, which is written in man's language, be so interpreted in some of its plain statements as to be made to contradict itself in various other portions, often quoted? When it *was* intended that we shall understand by death the extinction of the soul also, this is expressed in words, when Christ held out the threat of 'the destruction of body *and soul* in Gehenna.' Matt. x. 28.

II.

It is not a subject of wonder that a second school of criticism, in which no one has written more ably than Mr. Maude, is based upon rejection of much argument that passes current with the former.* Mr. Constable's proposal to abolish the soul of man as a separable entity is resisted (1) on the ground of almost universal instinctive expectation of survival; (2) on the testimony of those Old Testament Scriptures which he regards as a psychological authority entirely devoted to his own side of the argument; and (3) still more reliance is placed on the more luminous teaching of the apostles of Christianity.

It is held that, whether rightly or wrongly, the Scriptures speak of a *soul* or *spirit* which, although not forming the whole of the Man, is a part of his being, and is capable, under God's will, of surviving in death. Conceding that such a survival is contrary to the analogy of death in all other animated beings around us; that it is contrary to the original intention of God in the curse of death threatened at first to Adam in paradise; nay, even maintaining with Delitzsch that the survival of the soul or spirit in death is of the nature of a miraculous or abnormal provision, arising out of the economy of redemption, with a view to future resurrection; they nevertheless hold that it is impossible by fair means to eliminate the idea of a surviving soul from the Bible. Such a notion was believed in, both in antiquity and in more recent times. The question of the measure of truth in such a

* I have not thought it necessary to describe the intermediate eclectic opinion of Mr. Warleigh, Rector of Ashchurch, an able and resolute thinker, as the mark of a distinct 'school,' because it seems to be almost restricted to himself. He agrees with Mr. Constable that man has body, soul, and spirit,—the soul being the life, and the Spirit the cause of that life,—the Spirit of *God*. He believes that when wicked men die, God withdraws His Spirit, and the man wholly perishes till the resurrection. But Mr. Warleigh differs from Mr. Constable in this—that in the case of Christian believers, the Spirit which he describes as the Spirit of *God*, becomes, according to him, *a distinct individual Spirit of the man*, separable from the soul; and he thinks that this 'Spirit,' with all the attributes of an individual Mind, survives in Paradise till the resurrection, when it rejoins soul and body at the Lord's coming.

belief may be postponed. The present object is to show the evidence relied on to prove its reality and antiquity.

(1) Although in twenty-eight places in the Old Testament King James's version translates *Sheol* by the *grave*, no point in criticism admits of fuller proof than that *Sheol* was the name given to the under-world of souls departed. *Sheol* fills a much larger space in the Hebrew Bible that it does in the English. It can properly be rendered the 'grave' only where that word is taken, as in Gray's *Elegy*, to include the state of departed souls. Its true signification is rightly and uniformly represented in the Greek version of the Septuagint by *Hades*, a word which in Greek literature of all ages stood for the world of the departed. Sheol was not the sepulchre, but a place conceived of as being as far below the earth's surface as the visible Heaven was high above it (Deut. xxxii. 22; Psalm cxxxix. 8; Job ix. 8; Amos ix. 2, 3): 'It is high as heaven: what canst thou do? deeper than *Sheol*: what canst thou know?' It was a place of darkness and silence in 'the lower parts of the earth.' This, as is known, is exactly what was signified by the Greek *Hades*, as in Homer's eleventh Book of the Odyssey, where Ulysses descends to 'Hades' to consult the souls of the dead. The Septuagint translators, therefore, who well knew the native meaning of both words, have, by substituting uniformly the one for the other, shown beyond question what the word *Sheol* meant in the opinion of the Hebrews. Their judgment sets aside that of Mr. Constable. *Sheol* was the subterranean abode of departed spirits, not the sepulchre.*

When, then, the saints of the Old Testament speak of '*descending to Sheol*,' they, it is said, intended to express their faith in a soul surviving in a silent abode below the earth's surface. 'I shall *go down to Sheol* to my son mourning' (Gen. xxxvii. 35). In Jacob's idea Joseph had no grave. The belief in the abode involved the belief in its inhabitants.

(2) The law of Moses against 'necromancy,' or the attempt to hold illicit communion with the *dead*, proves unquestionably the popular belief that the souls of the dead survived. The law

* For the complete discussion of the signification of *Hades* see Dr. George Campbell's Dissertations perfixed to his Translation of the Gospels; Greswell's Notes on the Parables, vol. i.; Lange on the Revelation, Excursus on *Hades*, Delitzsch, *Psychology*, bk. vi.; S. Cox, *Salvator Mundi*.

is distinct (Deut. xviii. 11). 'There shall not be found among you (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים) *a seeker to the dead.*' This is probable evidence that Moses allowed such consultation to be possible; but it is certain evidence that the people for whom he legislated believed that the souls of the dead had a separate existence, and that some of them further believed they might be brought up from *Sheol* for purposes of divination. This offence constituted a prominent part of the sin of 'witchcraft,' or 'dealing with familiar spirits;' punishable with death. There cannot be a more decisive proof that the Hebrew people did not think that in death the whole man was utterly annihilated. They thought that a part survived in *Sheol*.*

(3) In the times of the Judges the same belief prevailed. King Saul thought that by consulting the witch of Endor it was possible to enter into consultation with the spirit of Samuel now departed; and, if we may trust the history, he succeeded perhaps beyond his expectations. If, on the other hand, the witch was an impostor, and only feigned that she beheld an apparition, still she practised on the popular belief. The Hebrews of that day must have believed in souls surviving, or so many witches would not have pretended to raise them.

(4) In the days of David and Solomon we find that good men spoke of their *nephesh* or soul as being in the hand or power of *Sheol;* Samuel speaks of his spirit as 'disquieted when brought

* The sense of this whole passage in Deut. xviii. is obscured in our Bibles by the insertion of the paragraph mark at verse 15. There is a close connection between that verse and those which precede. Divination and necromancy are forbidden as 'abominations,' but they are also prohibited as unnecessary intrusions into the spiritual realms, since God promises to raise up prophets '*from the midst of them, of their brethren,*' *men in the flesh*, so that there is no need for attempting to gain information from the world of spirits by unlawful methods. If this was true under the Mosaic Law, how much more emphatically must spiritualistic 'seeking to the dead' be an abomination now that the greatest of all the Prophets, like unto Moses, has arisen. To 'seek to familiar spirits, or to wizards that peep and that mutter' now, is the consummation of wickedness. But it is quite in character for those who cast the words of our Redeemer on all other subjects behind their backs. All such 'sorcerers' (γόητες), we are told, 'shall have their part in the lake of fire that burneth with brimstone' (Rev. xxii. 15). On the character of the *Goes*, or 'sorcerer' of the New Testament, see Smith's Bibl. Dict. on *Divination*, and John Sheppard on the *Divine Origin of Christianity*.

up' (1 Sam. xxviii. 15). In the Proverbs, Solomon speaks of certain *Rephaim* רְפָאִים as being 'in the depths, or valleys, of *Sheol*,' but who are lost to view in the English Bible, under the name of the 'dead.' Thus in ii. 18 we learn that there is a 'descent' from the harlot's house down to 'Death,' where are 'the *Rephaim*.' 'He knoweth not that the *Rephaim* are there, and her guests in the abysses of *Sheol*' (ix. 18). 'The man who wandereth out of the way of understanding, shall abide in the congregation of the *Rephaim*.' We meet with these *Rephaim* elsewhere. In Isaiah xxvi. 14, the prophet, speaking of pagan tyrants, who had oppressed the nation, says, 'They are dead men, they shall not live, they are *Rephaim*, they shall not stand up;' and in verse 19, after describing the happy resurrection of the righteous, he adds, 'the earth shall cast out (like an abortion) the *Rephaim*.' Again in chapter xiv. he describes *Sheol*, the King of the world of Shades, as 'stirring up the *Rephaim*' to meet the King of Babylon on the day when he goes down into the abyss. And once more, in Job xxvi. 5, we read another indication of popular opinion, when he says, speaking of God's all-piercing sight, 'The *Rephaim* are pierced through beneath the waters, and their habitations. *Sheol* is naked before Him, and *Abaddon* hath no covering.'

Who are the *Rephaim?* Gesenius says that the word stands for the departed souls of the dead in *Sheol*, and the reference is more commonly to the wicked dead (see Prov. ii. 18; ix. 18; xxi. 16—*Heb.*)

(5) In the days of Isaiah the prophet the practice of 'seeking to the dead,' forbidden by the Mosaic law, was rife in the degraded state of the nation (Isaiah viii. 19). The practice at least bespeaks the perpetuation of ancient belief in the survival of the souls of the dead. It proves, if nothing else, yet that Mr. Constable's opinion that man has no surviving spirit was not embraced by Israel.

Such, then, is the evidence of this faith presented in the Old Testament. No one can pretend that the *Sheol* of the Hebrews offers to us an attractive shadow-picture. Jacob thinks of descending to it 'mourning.' David has no cheerful thoughts of its darkness or silence. Hezekiah 'turns his face to the wall'

and prays to be delivered from 'going down to the *bor*, or abyss.' Even Samuel says only that he has been 'disturbed' by being 'brought up.'

Perhaps the chief value of these dismal Old Testament representations is as preparing us for the testimonies of the New. The advocates of the school now under description affirm that by fair criticism it is not possible to evade the evidence of the New Testament in favour of the survival of souls.

1. It is said that the common use of the term *Hades* in the Greek Testament to describe the state following death is decisive as to the belief of its writers.* To no Greek readers would the word signify aught else than a place where departed spirits reside.

2. Our Lord's words, if correctly rendered in the Greek version, if a version, of Matthew's Gospel, compel the admission that Christ regarded man as consisting of body and soul, of which unity one portion survived in the first death (Matt. x. 28). 'Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill *the soul*; but fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in Gehenna.' Here, it is argued, Christ asserts the survival of the ψυχή in death; and His words afford no congruous sense, if the ψυχή be not here a *separable soul*. For if the soul (or *nephesh* of Mr. Constable) perishes at death, then he who 'kills the body' does 'kill the soul,' as Calvin long since pointed out, and there is no distinction between the two cases supposed. No even colourable escape from this criticism seems possible except by refinements unintelligible to the common people.

3. The description which Christ gave to the Pharisees of the respective fates of the souls of the Rich Man and Lazarus in *Hades* (Luke xvi.), is an apparent indication of the conscious repose at least of some departed souls, and the sufferings at least of certain others. The only mode of resisting this argument—that of Mr. Constable, who supposes that Christ here holds out a description of *future torment in Gehenna*, under the image of separate souls suffering in *Hades*, as the Pharisees erroneously conceived it—is not one which can be tolerated until his general

* See a scholarlike letter to this effect by Dr. Weymouth, Head Master of Mill Hill School, in *Rainbow* of Nov. 1871.

argument has been made good on other grounds. It is an ingenious but gratuitous invention in criticism.

4. The words of Christ to the crucified robber at the hour of His death are naturally adduced as strong evidence of the unsoundness of Mr. Constable's theory. He himself, with characteristic candour, confesses that they long caused delay in his acceptance of his later views. The robber, looking upon the Saviour, gasped out the prayer, 'Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom!' He had probably learned enough of the history of Jesus and of the evidence of His Messiahship to embrace the faith of His resurrection at some future time. Christ's answer was, 'Verily, I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with me in the Paradise' (Σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ τῷ παραδείσῳ). 'The Paradise' was the poetic name given by the Jews of that day, says Professor Plumptre (rightly citing in proof Josephus, Wetstein, Grotius, and Schoettgen*), to the upper region of *Hades*, in which holy souls were believed to rest. Christ's words, it is affirmed, were understood by the robber in the sense which they popularly bore at that epoch. There is no doubt that he would receive the promise in the sense of going to 'Abraham's Bosom' in *Sheol*. One argument for the survival of souls, therefore, is derived from the historical signification of *Paradise*.

Another is drawn from the use and place of Σήμερον (*semeron*), *To-day*, in the same sentence. It has been attempted to join this word to the previous clause, 'Verily I say unto thee to-day,—thou shalt be with me in Paradise,' *i.e.*, after the resurrection. But, (1) the word σήμερον is here obviously emphatic, and Greek usage fixes the place of the emphatic *semeron* at or near the beginning of the clause to which it belongs. Hence we learn that it belongs to the second clause: '*To-day* shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' Thus we find it in Matt. xxi. 28 (Gr.), 'Son, go *to-day* work.' Mark xiv. 30, 'Verily I say unto thee, *To-day*, in this very night, thou shalt deny me thrice.' Luke iv. 21, '*To-day* is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.' Luke xix. 5, '*To-day* I must abide at thine house.' Acts xiii. 38, '*To-day* have I begotten thee.' These three examples are from the pen of the same S. Luke. Heb. iv. 7, '*To-day* if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.'

* Article on *Paradise*, in Smith's Biblical Dictionary.

That *to-day* is here emphatic is proved from two considerations —(1) The robber had prayed to Jesus to remember him when *He came into His kingdom.* The answer is a gracious surprise, indicated by the 'Verily!'—that he should 'be with Him *to-day* in Paradise.' Being emphatic, therefore, the *to-day* belongs to the beginning of the latter clause. (2) The word, which yields so pregnant a sense when taken emphatically, uses congruity when taken without emphasis as the ending of the first clause, —'Verily I say unto thee to-day!' If all that Christ intended were that He was speaking 'to-day,' that was already clear without observation, and there was no more reason for inserting the word *to-day* than when speaking on any other occasion.*

There is, however, another attempt to reconcile this expression of our Lord with the idea of the dissipation of the soul. It is said, If the soul totally vanish between death and the resurrection, there will be no sense of the lapse of time, and the awakening of the dead robber would be in the future Paradise, at a moment which would *seem to be* the evening of the very day on which he died. The answer to this criticism is briefly as follows: (1) It supposes, but does not prove, the dissipation of the soul. (2) It would not be true, whatever might *seem* to be the case, that *that day* the thief would be in Paradise. He would have to wait till Christ's return from heaven. (3) It is inconceivable that Christ would, under such solemn circumstances, have used words of comfort to the dying sinner, which can be prevented from conveying the idea of immediate entrance into some blessed state only by an argument on the dissipation of the soul, which was quite beyond the capacity of the thief, or of any except cultivated men—an argument partaking more of the nature of an intellectual riddle than of the serious significance fitted for the lips of a dying Saviour, whose own Spirit was certainly not about to sink into nothingness. On the contrary, we are taught by S. Peter that 'being put to death in the flesh He was made alive in spirit, and went and preached to the spirits in prison, who once were disobedient in the days of Noah' (1 Peter iii. 18).

5. Christ's own commendatory prayer in the act of dying is

* The *Improved Version* of the Unitarians characteristically marks the passage as *doubtful.* But it is in the text of the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrian MSS.

thought to be fatal to the theory of soul-dissipation. Mr. Constable is oppressed by the notion, that if anything survives in death the *man* is not dead, and hence, that the foundation of truth which he values will be removed. There is, however, one great example to the contrary—which, although only an argument *ad hominem*, obviates his objection. The Lord Christ undoubtedly died. Now His nature consisted, according to Mr. Constable, of a union between humanity and Deity. The Godhead of the Word was as truly a part of the nature of THE CHRIST as His humanity. In the passion *Christ* died. To Mr. Constable we can say nothing of the survival of His soul, for he thinks that He had none, in the popular sense of the term. His soul was His life in the blood. But he admits that a Divine Spirit formed an integral part of His nature, and that that Divine Logos survived the death of the Christ. Did that survival invalidate Christ's death? Yes or No? If it did, then, according to Mr. Constable, Christ did not die; but this Mr. Constable would doubtless deny, affirming that Christ died. Yet, if the survival of a Divine Spirit did not invalidate the death of Christ, then neither does the survival of a human spirit invalidate the death of a man in that incomplete death which prevails under the economy of redemption until the second death takes place.

6. The language of the New Testament writers, while freely speaking of death as a sleep, indicates that the sleeper was not wholly abolished. Stephen 'fell asleep,' but he first commended his spirit ('*my spirit*') into the hands of Jesus in heaven—as if the spirit in him were really a part of *his own* being, and not more a 'loan' than his body.

There is also a remarkable difference between the expressions of dying saints before and after the ascension of Christ to heaven, which was early noticed in the primitive Church.* In old times the saints ever spoke of descending into *Sheol*. Now they 'commit their spirits to the hands of Jesus.' S. Paul again declares that he was '*caught up into Paradise*' (2 Cor. xii.), whereas the Paradise of departed souls was shortly before thought of as in Hades, in the 'lower parts of the earth.'

* See Pearson on the Creed, in Article '*He descended into Hell.*' Dr. Winter Hamilton assents to this doctrine. Congregational Lecture on *Rewards and Punishments*.

7. S. Paul in often-cited passages employs terms unintelligible unless he believed in the survival of his spirit in death, and its residence in some restful abode *with Christ*, not in the subterranean Hades, until the resurrection. 'Therefore we are always confident, knowing that whilst we are at home in the body we are *absent from the Lord;* we are confident, I say, and willing, rather to be absent from the body and to be *present with the Lord*' (2 Cor. v. 6-8).

In the other noted text (Phil. i. 20-22) he puts his meaning beyond doubt. 'Christ shall be magnified in His body, whether by life, *or by death*. For to me to live is Christ, and to *die is gain*. But if to live in the flesh, this is to me reward of labour, so that what I shall choose I know not. For I am in a strait between two, having a desire for *departing, and being with Christ; for it is very far better:* yet to abide in my flesh is more needful for your sake.' It is thought to offer violence to these two passages to take them in any other sense than this: that Paul expected—notwithstanding his language elsewhere respecting death as a 'sleep' (1 Thess. iv. 13), and the day of resurrection as the day of adoption, and public manifestation of the sons of God (Rom. viii.)—that his spirit would ascend when he 'fell asleep,' to rest in the keeping of Jesus Christ till the second advent. He says not indeed one word of active service in the upper sanctuary; not a word indicating that the soul, so resting in that Paradise (to which whether in the body, or *out of the body*, he was once 'caught up,' 2 Cor. xii.), would be qualified for either work or converse with others;—on the contrary, he speaks of the disembodied condition as not in itself desirable, 'not that we would be unclothed;' he looked forward to the resurrection as the time of coronation and public acknowledgment;—but he does seem to speak quite distinctly of survival, and of ascension into the presence and society of Christ.

Now what are the two things between which Paul was held in a strait, not knowing which to choose? Surely they were life and death; 'abiding in the flesh,' and the 'departing' (of the soul) to be 'with Christ;'—'continuing' with the Church on earth, and being 'absent from the body,' to be 'present with the Lord.' This makes excellent sense. But try Mr. Constable's theory in a paraphrase, and what sense appears? 'Christ shall be magnified

in my body, whether by means of life, or by means of going to nothing. For to me to live is Christ, and to go to nothing is gain. For if I live in the flesh this is the fruit of my labour; yet what I shall choose I know not; for I am in a strait betwixt the two, having a desire for the returning at some future time, after a period of nothingness, and so being with Christ, which is far better. Nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you; and having this confidence I know that I shall abide and continue with you all.'

According to this scheme of interpretation, what are the two things between which Paul was in a strait? Will it be said, living here and living again at Christ's second advent? But what was there in those two things to put him 'in a strait' which he 'should choose'? He could not by any 'choice' of his hasten the resurrection by a single moment, and his dying, or going to nothing, is clearly by this hypothesis not one of the alternatives. These are 'abiding in the flesh,' and enjoying Christ's presence at the resurrection. Now since Paul could not expect to enjoy that sooner than the Philippians, what 'strait' could there be rendering it difficult to choose; especially as he says expressly there would be 'fruit of his labour' so long as he lived? Besides, if the reference were to the resurrection, the Philippians would be *with him there*, and both parties would be 'in the body,' so that there would be no contrast remaining between a state in which he 'in the flesh' should be with them, and one in which he would not.

With this unmeaning tangle compare the sense which comes out when we remember that the leading idea of the passage is, that *death is gain*. Why is it gain to die? Because to 'depart,' or no longer to be 'in the flesh,' or continue on earth, is to be 'with Christ.' And this agrees with the difficulty of choosing between the two attractions, to labour to serve Christ on earth and to enjoy His immediate presence in heaven. It agrees also with the words of the apostles in 2 Cor. v., that while we are 'at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord;' while to be *absent from the body*, ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, is to be '*at home with the Lord*.'

8. Lastly, the same idea comes out, it is thought, in Hebrews xi. 40, taken in comparison with xii. 23. The sacred writer says

the fathers 'all died in faith, not having received the promise; God having provided some better thing (κρεῖττόν τι, compare Phil. i. 23) for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.' Then in the following chapter, describing the privileges of Christians under this dispensation, he says, 'But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, *and to the spirits of just men made perfect*, πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων.' Does it not appear that in these verses the difference is described between the condition of just men in death before the coming of Christ, and their condition after it? Before that event they were not 'perfected,' a word taken from the mysteries, and signifying 'admitted to the inner sanctuary;' the 'way into the holies not having been made manifest;' but now 'the spirits of just men' are 'perfected;' that is, they are ascended to the 'heavenly Jerusalem,' and to 'Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant;' whither, in consequence, the departing souls of Christians ascend when they die. And does not this accord with Christ's own prayer, when shortly about to take his seat as Governor of the universe in heaven? 'Father, I will that they whom thou hast given me be *with me where I am*, that they may behold (ἵνα θεωρῶσι) my glory, which thou hast given me' (John xvii.). He needed not to pray that they might be with Him after their resurrection, for that was a matter of course; but He prays that their spirits may escape the old law of consignment to Hades, and may be 'with Him to contemplate the glory' of His Mediatorial Omnipotence.

III.

In summing up the result of this inquiry, it must be allowed, first of all, that nearly every presumptive *physical* argument is on the side of those who think that death ends consciousness, and terminates the spiritual individuality; and that the survival of the thinking power in the dissolution of the humanity is contrary to the analogy of the living creation to which man belongs. Death, too, as the original penalty of sin, was doubtless *death*

in the most absolute sense of the term. If, then, any element survive in the first death, it must be attributed to the supernatural action of redemption alone, which operates to the abnormal preservation of the spiritual essence in the dissolution of the man, both for judgment and reward. So much even Delitzsch concedes.

But, secondly, I venture to think that the large preponderance of argument is on the side of those who do not rely on this presumptive analogy against survival, but rather on the New Testament *Revelation;* which compels us to believe that in the death which men now die, the curse is executed in such a manner (in the survival of the soul) as to allow of its reversal by the resurrection of *the same man* to life, or of its second infliction, under the irremediable condition of extinction of 'both soul and body in hell' (Matt. x. 28). That such a survival of the spiritual element is *possible* is suggested even to reason by the fact that there is something within us which preserves its identity, its unity of consciousness and memory, through all the bodily atomic changes of eighty years. The authors of the *Unseen Universe* have supported this opinion with all the authority of physical science itself. (*Fourth edition*, p. 200.)

The general doctrine of the Bible that a spirit survives in man's death seems to outlast all the attacks of its opponents. The question remains whether the New Testament is mistaken. If our Lord and Saviour had not given so distinct a sanction to the belief by His own words on the Cross, and afterwards allowed His Apostle to use language confirmatory of the belief, we might perhaps have doubted the sufficient authority of Old Testament writers on such a question. But the evidence is not fragmentary. It is systematic, and extends through both Testaments. Without dogmatising on the measure or kind of consciousness in souls departed, whether of the righteous, or the wicked, I am compelled by the Scriptures to retain the persuasion of the survival of 'souls' in death. The phenomena of apparitions, and of spiritualism, may be regarded as inferior and secondary evidence indicating some activity in the souls of the 'dead;' though the mixture of credulity and deception in much of the supposed 'necromancy' is such as to render a cautious judgment unwilling to rest a primary argument upon such disputable testimony, notwith-

standing a personal conviction of the occasional reality of the phenomena.*

Perhaps the discrepancy in men's judgments on this question has arisen from the supposition that it behoves us to make out a uniform scheme as to the disposal of souls since the beginning of the world; as if the condition of souls departed at any one time or place must be taken as a rule for understanding all that is said of souls at other times and in other places. It is possible (the truth to be ascertained only by induction of evidence) that God, who deals so variously with mankind on this side the veil, as to the degrees of their consciousness, knowledge, and enjoyment, may deal with them in the intermediate state, if, as we believe, there is such a state, on a principle of similar diversity. Some may sleep, some may be wholly unconscious, some may be thinking, learning, improving; some may be in sorrow, some may be even in torment (Luke xvi.), some may be wandering on earth as *daimonia*, some may be shut up in the abyss, some may have been confined in Hades until the first Advent, some may have been evangelised in Hades by the Spirit of Christ, and some may have been translated to heaven since Christ ascended there. We need not imagine

* What adds to the difficulty of adducing the facts of spiritualism as evidence of survival is the suspicion that loftier demonic agency may have some part in ancient and modern necromancy. Tertullian has a curious passage on similar 'manifestations' in his own time. 'This imposture of the evil spirit, lying concealed in the persons of the dead, we are able to prove by actual facts—when, in cases of exorcism, the evil spirit affirms himself to be one of the relatives of the person possessed, sometimes a gladiator, and sometimes even a god.' *De Anima*, 57. See also Mr. Crooke's papers in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, 1874; Mr. Howitt's *History of the Supernatural* (2 vols., Longman, 1863); and Miss Hardinge's *Record of American Spiritualism*. The conduct of many scientific men in refusing even personal acquaintance with phenomena travestied by the jugglers of the Egyptian Hall, but attested by such capable and courageous observers as Dr. de Morgan, Dr. Huggins, F.R.S., Lord Lindsay, Mr. Crookes, F.R.S., Professor W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.E., and Mr. Wallace, F.R.S., deserves some reprobation. The generally trivial quality of the communications thus reported forms one portion of the case for judgment, in the decision of which society rightly looks to its foremost philosophers for guidance. But the truth is that the theory of some of these on the unseen universe would not allow of any tolerable solution of the remarkable phenomenon of folly, deception, and wickedness, thinly disguised by a varnish of religious language, and operating from 'the air.' The apostolic demonology alone explains that paradox.

ourselves under an obligation to force plain testimonies of Scripture out of their meaning, under the idea that it can teach only one and the same thing with respect to men of all ages, of all characters, of all conditions as to light and darkness. It is possible that truth may require us to believe in a various economy. And no man is justified in rejecting the belief in an intermediate state, because he is unable to reduce the whole doctrine to a neat and handy theory for use in controversy with opponents of the truth on immortality, some of whom are more apt at a speculative logomachy than at a broad and careful interpretation of Scripture.

Finally, there seems to be a special reason for holding fast to the survival and consciousness of *souls in Christ*, derived from the consideration of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in believers, of which S. Paul speaks in his eighth chapter to the Romans. If the indwelling of the Spirit will operate as S. Paul affirms, as a reason for the resurrection of the body, surely the same indwelling operates to the blessedness of the surviving spirit. The vital principle conjoined for ever to the Divine Nature cannot pass away, but awaits in closest neighbourhood to Christ the hour of resurrection. The eternal life begun knows no break. There is no black line in that spectrum. The light is continuous, and the spiritual inhabitant of the 'tabernacle' (2 Peter i.), though he may 'put it off,' can never die.

The survival of the spirits of *sinful men* in death seems also to hold an important place in the Scripture system; (1) In order that a continuity may be established between the personality of the man who sinned in time and that of the man who is to be raised for judgment at the last day. If no spirit survived, it might be truly said that a wholly *new* being was then created to suffer for the offences of another long passed away. Indeed ten new men might just as reasonably be created out of the old materials.

(2) In order that in some cases the spirit may suffer in Hades for the sins of a lifetime.

(3) That in other cases the ignorant rejection of God in life may be remedied by the evangelisation of 'spirits in prison.'

(4) That a special terror and awfulness may be assigned to the second death, in distinction from the first,—in this, that under

the first death there was no 'killing of the soul,' that tremendous and final stroke being reserved as the last penalty of transgression under the gospel, in the 'damnation of Gehenna.'

It is deserving of consideration whether the almost universal instinctive expectation of survival among wicked men ought not to be taken as something much more than the effect of traditional teaching,—and as a divine witness to the fact that the 'Lord knoweth how' to reserve the unjust to the day of judgment, under punishment, κολαζομένους (2 Peter ii.).—See Luke xvi. 24, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, spoken of a spirit in Hades.)

CHAPTER XXII.

ON THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TEACH THAT ANY SINFUL PERSONS, DYING IN IGNORANCE OF CHRIST, ARE EVANGELISED IN HADES.

> Sleep'st Thou indeed? or is Thy spirit fled,
> At large among the dead?
> Whether in Eden's bowers Thy welcome voice
> Wake Abraham to rejoice,
> Or in some drearier scene Thine eye controls
> The thronging band of souls;
> That, as Thy blood won earth, Thine agony
> Might set the shadowy realm from sin and sorrow free?
>
> *Christian Year—Easter Eve.*

THE grave question in the title of this chapter is often discussed as if it were identical with that of the final salvation of all men; but the two lines of inquiry altogether differ, and nothing but confusion of thought can ensue from complicating them in one examination.* It may be that the apostolic doctrine is clearly pronounced, as we believe it is, against the salvation of all mankind; yet may afford more or less distinct information as to God's merciful dealings with some departed souls in the intermediate state. It may be that the Scripture closes the door of hope irrevocably, as we are assured that it does, against those who have distinctly heard, and deliberately refused or neglected, the gospel message during their lifetime, and who die in such hardened impenitence. And yet it may be true that the divine truth and grace are offered in Hades to millions of souls departed, who died in a state of involuntary ignorance, through the delusions of education, or in a state of sin consequent on imperfect know-

* The question of Universalism will be discussed in Chapter xxvii.

ledge; so that if they turn hereafter to the light of God, they may participate in everlasting life, through the Incarnation.

I venture to add a few pages on this subject in a spirit of reverent inquiry, rather than of dogmatic assertion; premising that with us this is not a question of speculation, but simply of interpretation, and that it is not desired to vindicate for such interpretations a larger space in thought than the subject to be examined occupies in the sacred writings; much less to encourage delusive hopes of purgatorial salvation in those who neglect the gospel if offered on earth, whose 'damnation slumbereth not.'

The reader of the fifth chapter of this volume, '*On the numbers of mankind*,' will naturally ask, Do you, then, set forth, as the doctrine of Revelation, that the whole stupendous mass of human beings, in that chapter dimly imagined rather than described,—with the fragmentary exception of the small minority of persons affording manifest evidence of regenerate life, under the three successive dispensations, patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian,—have all departed to await in Hades the doom of the second death; so that perhaps ninety-nine hundredths of the human race are irrevocably doomed to extinction? To which we make answer in an emphatic negative, for the reasons following:—

(1) There is ground for disputing, at the outset of this argument, the truth of the popular signification attached to the phrase 'manifest evidence of regenerate life.' Such has been the depraving effect of many forms of Protestant opinion, that there are not a few who hold it as one of the plainest truths, that salvation has been attached by God in all ages to the intellectual knowledge of Christ. Understanding that under the present dispensation, salvation is made to depend upon a reception of Christ, *when clearly offered to men*, there are many who have inferred from this premiss that a similar condition of salvation has prevailed under all previous dispensations of God. It has been attempted to make out that the pious persons, who died before Christ's advent, understood and believed in the coming sacrifice of Christ, and were saved by their faith in it. Such an opinion is supposed to carry with it the conclusion that those who have not known of Christ in some degree, must needs perish

everlastingly. Perhaps there is no religious opinion, once widely received, which better deserves to be regarded as a bubble, sustained and floating only by its inherent emptiness, than this; as there is certainly none which may be more easily exploded.

S. Peter himself furnishes us, as has already been shown, both in his history and in his written doctrine, with an effectual antidote to this delusion. He was himself unquestionably a forgiven man when Christ pronounced him 'blessed' as the confessor of his Messiahship, and declared that the light which led him to that discovery was light from heaven. Yet this saved and forgiven man, when, in the next moment, he heard from Christ of His approaching death, 'took Him and began to rebuke Him, saying, That be far from thee, Lord.' Now such a reply was impossible according to the opinion thus held of Jewish faith in the coming Saviour. If it had been the habit of Jewish believers to look for a suffering Messiah, Peter, of all men, immediately he had acknowledged the Christ, would have acknowledged also with sorrow the necessity of His sacrifice. Instead of this, he rejected with abhorrence the idea of Christ's death; and was reduced to submission only by being ordered to the rear, with the appellation of *Satanas*. Neither Peter nor any other Jew of his time had understood the mode of man's salvation.

In his Epistle S. Peter informs us explicitly that a similar ignorance characterised the holy prophets themselves, who '*testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ*, and the glory that should follow.' He assures us that they 'inquired and searched diligently' into the meaning of their own oracles;—'unto whom it was revealed *that not unto themselves*, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Spirit sent from heaven.' Here, then, is an explicit apostolic assertion that even the prophets themselves were not saved through understanding the mysteries of redemption by Christ; whence it follows that before the first advent no inferior believers were saved by such understanding.

By what, then, were pre-messianic believers of Israel saved? We reply with confidence, by trust in the mercy of God, the ultimate object of faith which lies behind the Cross of Christ itself. They were saved by repentance and faith—repentance

according to the then known standard of right, faith in the divine mercy according to the measure of its revelation. They were 'born of the Spirit,' and the Holy Spirit can regenerate the souls of men by fragments of truth, and perhaps even by a direct action on the 'spirit,' or πνεῦμα, while the intellect is still under the domination of many erroneous ideas. Salvation signifies salvation from sin and death, which depends on the indwelling of God in the soul, whether as well known or ill known by the intellect (νοῦς); or as known in different degrees. All who are saved will be saved by divine grace revealed at last to the world in the Son of God, and by the direct renewing action of the Spirit of Christ; but this salvation, and this action, are not dependent on systematic knowledge of theological truth. They may take effect, as in the Christian economy, through the renewing action of a fully revealed gospel; or before it came through the dim communications of an elder and imperfect one. 'To them was a gospel preached, even as to us,' but it was not the gospel in the form of the gospel of John or the epistle to the Romans.

But the establishment of this principle in relation to Israel will carry us a great deal further. What was true of Israel and of the Patriarchs, before the advent, was true, and is true, of men of all ages and of all nations. Wherever there have been men whose souls moved towards the all pervading Light of God, 'feeling after and finding Him,' under whatever shades of heathenish darkness, there, we must believe, has been the action of the regenerating Spirit, and there has been salvation. Men may have described the Great Reality in erroneous phrases, and may have called themselves by erroneous names; but wherever the principle of true goodness has existed, it is because 'God has been in them of a truth'—and good men are wonderfully alike under all dispensations.

Results in character do not depend always on the measure of knowledge. There is no fixed proportion in quantity between the chemical elements required for nutrition, and those which are found in the complex food allotted to vegetables and animals. Sometimes the largest part of their structure is built up out of that of which there is the least proportionate supply. Thus as all vegetation depends on the one-hundredth portion of carbon which the atmosphere contains, so the enormous bony fabric of

the elephant is reared from the infinitesimal supply of phosphates in the stacks of foliage which he consumes. A similar law obtains in the spiritual realms. Souls endowed with a certain power can extract their aliment under most unfavourable conditions; and those who are bent on wisdom and goodness can find the new elements of their being amidst very unpromising materials. It is thus that so many reach God from amidst the unfruitful wastes of heathenism, of Mohammedanism, and of European superstition. The one element of truth which was essential to their development has been present in small quantities even amidst the profusion of indigestible diet that accompanied it.

This view of God's dealings with men is indeed contrary to the professed principles on which some of the missionary enterprises have been conducted in modern times. The supporters of missions have too often held it for fundamental doctrine, that the salvation of a man *called* a Buddhist, a Mohammedan, a Jew, a Brahminist, or a Fire-worshipper, is simply impossible. The cry has been, 'The heathen are perishing; shall we let them perish?'—a cry formed on a general, but not a universal truth. Among perhaps nearly all so-called 'heathen' nations, there are souls which give evidence of elementary goodness and 'repentance for sin,' and 'feeling after God,' and indeed of 'finding Him,' though not finding His true 'Name.' And when the less instructed supporters of missions become better acquainted with the interior life of mankind, they will learn to acknowledge the reality of such goodness, and its divine original. The denial of such spiritual life by the propagators of modern Christianity is perhaps one cause of its world-wide dogmatic rejection. 'Afterwards He appeared unto them *in another form;*' and it may be expected that Christ will by degrees make Himself known to us even in these imperfect types, if we will submit to study facts of character as well as modern theories of evangelisation.

The benefits of the system of nature can be enjoyed in great measure apart from a right understanding of the theory of nature. The sun has shone upon the earth and ripened the crops of former generations, even while men thought, with Ptolemy, that the earth was the centre and the sun a satellite. In the same manner the benefits of Redemption may be enjoyed apart from a right understanding of the relation of the facts on which it is

founded. An erroneous theology may be as the Ptolemaic system in comparison with the Copernican. But the Spiritual Sun does not altogether restrict His shining to the men who hold a correct theory concerning Him. This, however, is not to deny that, as the practical improvements of modern life depend on a scientific knowledge of nature, so a far higher spiritual life is built upon the foundation of a true theology; and no zeal can be excessive which is devoted to its ascertainment, defence, and diffusion, provided it be that zeal which is love in action, and which guards itself from the exaggeration of restricting all the Divine favour to its adherents. God is the God of innocently blind men, and their compassionate Judge, as well as the God of those who 'look up and see all things clearly.'

When direct sunbeams penetrate through interstices in the shady covert of trees and hedgerows, they carry to the ground a representation, not of the figures of the minute spaces between the leaves through which they streamed, but circular luminous images of the sun himself; so that the ground appears to be dappled with bright circles lying on a field of shadow. When the plane on which they fall is not at right-angles to the ray, the circle is projected slightly into an ellipse; but if received on an artificial screen placed exactly, the perfect circle is at once formed. In an eclipse these images follow the figure of the uncovered portion of the sun. The reason of the phenomenon is, that each point in the sun's disc sends forth a pencil of rays, which depicts on the ground a tiny image of the aperture, and an infinity of these little polygons makes up a little round, or image of the whole surface of the sun. Thus, too, the Divine Image is formed on the hearts of men of many persuasions, and of various beliefs, notwithstanding the figure of their receptive faculty; the Holy Beams, when they come direct to the soul, having a power of depicting the likeness of God, even when they enter through the smallest aperture of intelligence, or through the most jagged peculiarities of opinion. There is nothing which will more surprise good men, separated on earth by sect or tradition, when they reach the realms of heaven, than to contemplate in each other's countenances the identity of the image of the Most High. 'His name shall be in their foreheads, and there shall be no night there.'

On these grounds we believe, with Zwingli, in the salvation, even on earth, while in the body, of a 'multitude which no man can number, *of every nation and kindred and people and tongue;*' even of those who were not so happy as to have heard, while they lived, of Protestant Christianity or of any Christianity; so that we are not reduced to the necessity of declaring an unbiblical doctrine on the impossibility of the salvation of any man except through a knowledge of that Christianity. All that we are now learning of the inner and spiritual life of millions of men beyond the pale of the visible Church in ancient and modern Asia, assures us of the reality of the *divine operation* contended for, in numbers who on earth have never known the revealed Word of God and His Messiah. 'I perceive that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him' (Acts x. 35). And this we hold to be entirely consistent with the Article that 'They are to be held accursed that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of Nature;'—the saving influence in regenerate souls being connected with the modicum of truth which they retain, and not with the rubbish of error which accompanies it.

(2) But this persuasion, though illuminating many points in God's providence over mankind, does not remove all the difficulty caused by the general darkness that has 'covered the earth,' that gross darkness which has overshadowed the people. The action of infernal spirits has established all-various foul delusions over the largest portions of the earth, and during the longest spaces of history; so that the question recurs, notwithstanding consolatory reflections of the order above set forth, What will be the doom of those countless millions who have lived under the shades of depraving heathenism, lived in the sin which was the essential element of such heathenism, popular and philosophical, and apparently died in the evil condition which it entails;—those countless millions, of whom not the broadest charity can affect to suppose that they were generally aught else than workers of unrighteousness? Are we compelled to believe, by the New Testament revelation, that all of these, *without any further opportunity*

of knowledge or repentance, will be consigned to irrevocable destruction, and 'perish without law'?

Here we enter upon an inquiry in which it is vain to expect an answer of real value except as it may be supplied by apostolic men, speaking to us under the authority of inspiration. We thank God that there is some solid evidence of a nature to assist our judgment.

The two leading apostles of the gospel, S. Peter and S. Paul, appear to have given clear, if brief, intimations of a light of divine mercy 'shining in the prison-house' of souls, for certain classes of spirits departed—a light for those who have 'sat in darkness and death shade' while living on the earth. In commenting on these declarations, I desire to avoid larger inferences than are warranted by the definite statements, and to build up a hope based only on the truth.

The leading authority is the first general Epistle of that great Apostle to whom 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven' were delivered, by 'Him that hath the keys of Hades and of Death;' 'who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth.'

S. Peter in this epistle (iii. 18-22; iv. 1-6), in a passage singularly free from doubt caused by various readings, and in language obviously designed to teach with authority a doctrine good for the whole Church to learn—a doctrine which there is as much reason to receive with faith as any statement similarly delivered by S. Paul or S. John—thus describes the mission of Christ's Spirit at His death:—

'*For Christ also once suffered for sins, the just on behalf of the unjust, that He might bring us to God:*

'*Being put to death indeed in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit* (ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι), *in which also He went and preached to the spirits in prison, though they once had been disobedient, when the longsuffering of God was waiting in the days of Noah, while the ark was being prepared, in which few, that is eight souls, were saved by water.*

iv. (1) '*Christ then having suffered in the flesh, do you also arm yourselves with the same purpose; because he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin,* (2) *so as no longer to the lusts of the flesh, but to the will of God, the remaining time in the flesh to live:* (3)

for the past is sufficient to have wrought the will of the nations, etc. : (4) *wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, blaspheming ;* (5) *who shall give account to Him that is ready to judge* (κρῖναι) *living* AND DEAD' (νεκροὺς), (those whom He finds alive at His coming, and all the departed.)

This word, νεκροὺς, according to the character of S. Peter's mind, brings him back to the thought, with which he had ended the third chapter, of Christ's Spirit *preaching to the spirits in prison*—and now he adds, ver. 6, '*For, for this purpose even to dead men has the gospel been proclaimed* (εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη), *in order that they might be judged* (ἵνα κριθῶσιν) *after the manner of men in the flesh* (κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ), *but may be living* (ζῶσιν) *according to God in the spirit*' (κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι).

Now in these words S. Peter seems explicitly to declare, that when Christ died in the flesh, He was still 'alive in the spirit, and went and preached good news to spirits of men in the φυλακὴ (or prison of the 'abyss,' see Rev. xx. 7 ; Luke viii. 31), who had once been disobedient in the days of Noah.' And in the sixth verse of the fourth chapter he assigns *the reason why the spirits of the dead were thus evangelised*, even of those who at the flood died in disobedience—and moreover in disobedience to a law made known to them by the spirit of inspiration in Noah's preaching—'in order that they might be judged after the manner of men in the flesh, but meanwhile may be living ζῶσι (the present subjunctive) according to God in the spirit ; indicating a process going on now.

Here, then, is an inspired statement at least to those who believe in S. Peter's authority in this epistle, that some of the spirits of the dead, *who had died in disobedience*, were evangelised, had the gospel preached to them by the Spirit of the Saviour in the prison of Hades. And more than that, the reason given for this is one which carries us further. They had the gospel preached to them in Hades, *in order that they might be judged by Jesus Christ*, and judged like men in the flesh, *by the same rule as others who have had the gospel on earth*, that is, by the *gospel message itself ;* so that they should not necessarily perish under the law, but '*may live*' (enter into life) 'according to God in the spirit.' But this seems to involve, for the same reason, the presentation of the gospel to the spirits of other dead men who are to be judged by

Jesus Christ at the last day; and especially of those who had not enjoyed even such advantages as those antediluvians who had heard the law-preaching of Enoch and of Noah.

By S. Peter's declaration, then, a flood of light is thrown upon the divine dealings with the heathen millions. Every human soul survives. Perhaps to every human soul which has not heard it on earth, the 'gospel' will be offered in Hades. They may not accept it there; but then they will be 'without excuse,' and will be condemned to death eternal as if they were 'men in the flesh' who rejected the reconciliation.*

It may be asked, Why this special reference by S. Peter to those who died in disobedience at the deluge? A conjectural solution only can be offered. It may be that, as S. Peter intimates, their case was a hard one. Only 'eight,' a 'few,' out of a world perhaps of millions, were saved in the ark. The Antediluvians, too, had been longest in the φυλακὴ, or prison-house, of all those armies of souls departed, whom Ezekiel grandly describes as having descended into Sheol (ch. xxxiii.). To them Christ Himself preached the gospel, that being perhaps the sufficient work for the brief period intervening between His death and resurrection; the further work of evangelising all the rest of the dead, who had died without the gospel, being possibly committed to Christ after His resurrection and before His ascension, or to the Holy Spirit, the 'Comforter,' afterwards. There we touch pure conjecture again, and therefore shall not pursue the theme, with Clement and other ante-Nicene writers, who nevertheless positively declare the apostolic tradition to be as we have hinted. Solid ground, however, is reached in the general principle. S. Peter unequivocally implies that *since Christ is the Judge of all men*—'*the living and the dead*'—*all souls will hear of Him*

* Under the category of 'ignorant' persons perhaps the Divine Goodness will reckon not only the untaught victims of European priestcraft, but the numerous persons who in all ages, since Christianity was radically corrupted by its professional teachers, have been driven into scepticism by the darker perversions of its doctrine and morality. Where, on the other hand, scepticism springs from enmity to God, and is a 'work of the flesh,' it is one of the most malignant forms of impiety. And many such examples may be found in the fearful pages of our modern literature. Those who have had 'pleasure in unrighteousness' both under superstition and scepticism, belong to a different order from those who have been unwillingly ignorant.

before the judgment, if they have not heard efficiently while living in the flesh. The argument is that the dead—the majority of mankind—could not be justly judged by Him, if they had not heard of Him. They will therefore hear of Him in Hades. 'No thoughtful Christian,' says Canon Spence, 'can resist the persuasion that the blessed preaching was not limited to those who perished in the deluge, but that those unhappy ones were selected merely as a sample of the like gracious work in others. This extended view of our Lord's preaching is no mere outcoming of modern thought, but was held in the early Church, with different modifications, by writers like Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr' (*Bible Educator*, i., 118). See also, in support of this doctrine, that no human spirit reaches the crucial point of its probation till it has come into contact with the claims of the Lord Jesus Christ for acceptance or rejection, Professor Godet, of Neufchatel, on Luke xvi. 25.

We are now in a better position for understanding S. Paul's weighty but neglected statement, before the Areopagus at Athens—when, standing in the very capital of paganism, the centre of the traditions of the heathen world, he surveys the past, and contrasts it with the present. 'In times past, God' (as he had declared to the Lycaonians, xiv. 16) 'suffered all nations to walk in their own ways;' and not only that, but He withheld direct revelation from the majority, abandoning them to 'feel after Him' in the thick darkness, 'if so be they might find Him,'—a result not attained by the generality. Then he adds the remarkable words—'*But the times of this ignorance God* WINKED AT'—ὑπεριδὼν ὁ θεὸς—overlooked clearly in the sense of *not bringing the ancient world into final judgment solely on the basis of their ignorant paganism.* Thus is this word used in the Septuagint translation of Lev. xx. 4: 'If the people of the land *hide their eyes from* the man (ὑπεριδωσιν) when he giveth his seed to Molech and kill him not;' *i.e.*, overlook his offence, and *fail to punish* him. If the countless millions who had died in heathenism were all to be condemned to the death eternal, it could not be said that God had 'overlooked' or passed by their ignorance. This word therefore carries us to the belief of some operation of divine mercy on behalf of the departed nations, which S. Paul had no

commission then to announce, or at least which S. Luke has not thought fit to report. But this missing explanation is given at least in principles by S. Peter, to whose charge was consigned the first opening with the 'key of knowledge' of all the greater mysteries of redemption. And S. Peter teaches us in simple words that this method of the divine mercy consists in *evangelising the spirits in the prison*, or, as he describes them, *the dead*.

We conclude, therefore, that when S. Paul wrote later to the Romans that those who have sinned without law *shall also perish without law* (ii. 12), he did not design to contradict his own recent words, spoken on Mars Hill, but only to declare, without reference to redemptive processes in Hades, that at the last day, Christ's judgment on each lost man's sinful *life on earth* would be according to his knowledge here,—a principle which will remain true, notwithstanding the possible further opportunities of repentance and faith granted to certain spirits beyond.

But S. Paul's words to the Athenians make it clear that there is no such merciful future opportunity of repentance and faith granted to those who now hear God's word on earth, and deliberately reject it. 'But *now* commandeth all men everywhere to repent.' And in all his epistles he declares that present impenitence and unbelief shall be followed by 'everlasting destruction.' Such, in Christ's awful and emphatic words, 'shall die in their sins.' 'If one went unto them from the dead they would' not repent, 'if they hear not Moses and the prophets' now; and afterwards, in the world of spirits, if one from the earth went to them to preach repentance there, neither would they be persuaded by him. 'O that thou hadst heard, even thou at least in *this thy day*, the things which belong to thy peace, but now they are hidden from thine eyes!'

In this chapter I have restricted myself to the consideration of the two leading passages of the New Testament bearing on the question of a future probation for some souls. Much more to the same effect will be found in the works of Mr. Henry Dunn, but I do not feel sufficient confidence in the critical basis on which this suggestive author builds his hope of the 'Destiny of the Race'

to justify me in following his wider speculations. His writings, however, are always edifying and awakening.

Our Lord's double statement should not be forgotten. 'If I had not come and spoken to them *they had not had sin*,'—and 'If the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Tyre and Sidon, *they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes*.' God not only does not judge ignorance as if it were knowledge; but He also knows the positive circumstances of each man's earthly probation, and its issue,—and what would have been the happier result of probation under more favourable conditions. The germs of faith and penitence, which Christ affirms would have flourished under a more luminous dispensation on earth, may in many cases receive such illumination in a state beyond. But 'Capernaum,' 'Chorazin,' and 'Bethsaida,' which rejected the Light of the World, when shining full upon them, would reject it also in every world; for such there remaineth only 'fiery indignation to devour the adversary.'* The citation of these words of our Lord, therefore, by the author of *Salvator Mundi*, in order to support the speculation of the salvation of all men, even the most obstinate, seems to the last degree perverse. Those who 'would not be persuaded if one rose from the dead,' are men who 'would not be persuaded' even if evangelized in Hades themselves.

Note on the Salvation of Infants.

The question of the condition and prospects of infants receives some light from the preceding considerations.

The elder theology regards them as born under the hereditary curse of *death*, which since they possess immortal souls, must signify, it said, endless separation from God in hell for those souls so departing in infancy; unless that doom be prevented

* I think it right to acknowledge that while I am supported in these views by some of the foremost advocates of the general doctrine of this book, there are others of equal ability who do not agree with the preceding argument for a preaching of Christ to some persons in Hades. All who, with Mr. Constable, deny the survival, or assert the sleep of the soul, in Hades, of course deny this second visitation. I suggest therefore to the general reader that the leading argument be not prejudiced by this chapter, if he disagree with it.

(1) by an eternal election of grace; or (2) by a speedy administration of the regenerating Spirit in baptism; or (3) by a universal degree of redemption in favour of all infants dying before years of responsibility. The Augustinian theology, as we have seen, steadfastly maintained the selection of some infants for salvation, leaving the remainder to suffer in hell for ever. It is only during the last forty years, as we learn from Mr. Logan's *Words of Comfort for Bereaved Parents*, that the Scottish churches have ventured to repudiate the old blasphemy against God's justice and goodness, involved in the doctrine of the everlasting woe of non-elect infants. Formerly Scottish parents seem to have believed that their dead babes had probably fallen into the burning hands of some Invisible Moloch. The English Prayer Book also contains this equivocal consolation in the baptismal rubric, that 'baptised infants are undoubtedly saved.' This was not strong consolation for the bereaved parents of the non-baptised when the only known alternative was endless misery for the infant souls departed. A more fiendish dogma than this is inconceivable,—the consummation of theological hardness of heart, and a fitting revenge on the people of Europe for ever permitting the sin of enforced clerical celibacy.

Of late years it has been customary among Protestants to maintain with some confidence a hopeful doctrine respecting the millions who died in early childhood. Either they are thought to be regenerate in baptism, or to be regenerated by the Spirit in the article of death; so that scarcely any reformed church upholds the ancient horror of a *limbus infantium*.

The modifications of opinion on the condition and prospects of infants, which may be held under the general views of this work, are of several varieties.

(1) Those who believe that the sons of Adam are born with a nature not necessarily immortal, and under the curse of death, may hold with Dr. Watts, that in death either some, or all, of their number perish utterly, and are extinguished when they die in this world.

(2) Or any of the above-mentioned opinions may be held according to the convictions of the thinker. Those who believe in baptismal regeneration can hold that the baptised are immortalised, while the remainder pass away and perish. Or it may be

believed by Calvinists that some are elected to eternal life, others not; the issue being immortality or death according to God's good pleasure.

(3) Or lastly, it may be held that children are born under the legal curse of total mortality as sons of Adam; but, as the objects of the redeeming mercy which contemplates the whole race of mankind (as is asserted in numerous passages of apostolic teaching), their spirits pass—if they die before reaching years of serious responsibility, of which God alone is the Judge—into a state, 'with the Lord,' where they partake of the grace vouchsafed to the dead who have not known Christ; and that they are there tenderly developed and educated under the care of 'their angels' into the knowledge and service of Christ, receiving the gift of the Regenerating Spirit, and awaiting the resurrection of glory. Whether the result of such education in the unseen world will be universally efficacious, so as to render it certainly a good thing to die in infancy, may be either affirmed or questioned.

I do not think myself obliged to discuss these alternatives here, but simply to show how the general argument of this work will affect the question respecting children. And it is clear that the determination of each reader will chiefly depend on his modes of thought on other doctrines of revelation. It is sufficient for the writer to say that his own views confidently tend to the most hopeful solution of this mystery. To him Christ's Infancy carries with it the brightest hopes for the whole world of the young.

Two supplementary observations only are here required.

(1) Infants who do not die, but live on earth in Christian lands, are under the same gracious influences which would await them in death beyond. If they live to reject on earth in maturity their God and Saviour, they incur the death eternal.

(2) Under the old theologies, to beget a child was to bring into being a possible, and even probable, fiend,—destined to endless torment. No such frightful idea needs haunt the minds of parents. Every child is a candidate for immortal life, since for it Christ has died. Even under the darkest of the theological views possible under these general conclusions, every evil nature will have an end. This truth does not indeed render it a less solemn thing to bring children into the world; but it represents the birth of children as opening an infinite possibility of life and

salvation ; it dispels the black cloud which overshadows marriage as if it were the means of peopling an eternal hell, and shows how Christ's loving word thus turns the bitter water of despairing thought, at every wedding festival, into the wine of hope and gladness.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RESURRECTION TO LIFE ETERNAL AT THE COMING AND KINGDOM OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

The Christian doctrine of a Future Life regards the whole of man's compound nature. It does not honour one part of our being to the neglect or degradation of the other. The life of which it speaks is a life of the body as well as of the spirit, a life the form and pledge of which are given in the Resurrection of Christ, a life which is actually communicated to us by a true and vital union with Him. 'Because I live ye shall live also.'—Dr. J. J. S. PEROWNE on *Immortality*, p. 110.

ACCORDING to the argument of the preceding chapters, both the Law and the Gospel deal with man as an Integer, consisting of body and soul. The death incurred by sin was the destruction of this complex humanity. Redemption in like manner contemplates the whole nature, and carries with it, not only the immortality of the soul, by the indwelling of the Spirit, but the reconstitution of the body, in the resurrection of the dead, when 'this corruptible shall put on incorruption.'

In the history of doctrines several variations have occurred on the question of the Resurrection. There were Sadducees at Corinth who denied the future life altogether, and with it the resurrection of the dead. There were others who 'said that the resurrection had passed already;' apparently denying the reconstitution of the body, and applying the language of Christ respecting resurrection to spiritual renovation alone.

There is a third class of opponents of the doctrine of a physical resurrection, who maintain that the term ἀνάστασις is improperly translated resurrection, and should be rendered *survival;* holding that the reference is only to the survival of the *spirit* in a vehicle, the result of Redemption, and the boon bestowed by God through the mediation of Christ. Of this opinion the leading

supporters in the present generation have been Dr. Bush and the Rev. A. Jukes, following the Swedenborgians.

The chief difficulty attending the belief in the reconstitution of the body is occasioned by supposing that the New Testament requires us to think that it will be composed of the same atoms in number and weight which have entered into its structure during the present life. S. Paul, however, in 1 Cor. xv. distinctly declares that we '*sow not that body that shall be*,' but 'God *giveth it a body* as it hath pleased Him.' He asserts only as close a relation between the substance of the present and the future body as there is between the seed you sow and the body that shall be. This is not very much in point of atomic identity.

The attempt of Dr. Bush to set aside a bodily resurrection breaks down, I think, at the first step. The definition of the *resurrection* of Christians is fixed by the definition of Christ's resurrection. The word cannot signify one thing in our Lord's history, something quite different in the case of His followers. The manner in which both Christ and His Apostles closely bind together the fact of His Resurrection, and the hope of their own, seems to render it an act of violence to attempt to dislocate the two.

Now, if the words *Anastasis* and *Egersis* stand only for the *survival of the spirit*, Christ's *Anastasis* occurred on the day that He died; when He went 'and preached to the spirits in prison.'

But Christ's *Anastasis* occurred *on the third day*. And hence we conclude that the so-called resurrection of Christians is not the survival of their souls, but their rising up to life, in bodies which shall be 'given' them. S. Paul bases his hope of the *anastasis* of Christians wholly on the *anastasis* of Christ 'on the third day' (1 Cor. xv.), and hence we may be as certain as we can be of anything that depends on criticism, that Professor Bush, and his associates, are on this question engaged in a conflict with the apostles.*

* In the *Rainbow* for 1877 will be found a most able series of papers on the four theories of the Resurrection by Mr. Maude. Mr. Maude is of opinion that the Spirit of God forms around the Christian soul during life a 'spiritual body,' which becomes the vehicle of that soul in the intermediate state. He further thinks that this spiritual body will possess the power of clothing itself at the coming of Christ with *material elements*, through which it will be again placed *en rapport* with the Kosmos.

The hope of a physical resurrection of Christians to incorruptible life does not rest on the single testimony of the fifteenth chapter in the Epistle to the Corinthians.

S. Paul affirms in the Epistle to the Church of Rome also (ch. viii. 11), that 'If He that raised up Christ from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead *shall also give life to your mortal bodies*, on account of His Spirit that dwelleth in you.'

In the Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 18-20), he prays that the Church may 'know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints; *and what the exceeding greatness of His power to usward who believe, according to* (after the pattern of) *the working of the mighty power, which He wrought in the Christ, when He raised Him from the dead*, and seated Him at His right hand in the heavenly places.' Here he declares that the same omnipotence which raised up the dead Christ to life immortal will *raise up* also 'His body the Church.'

Another argument is derived from the *metamorphosis*, or change, that is to take place in the bodies of the latest generation of Christians. When Christ appears the living saints will be 'changed' (ἀλλαγησόμεθα, 1 Cor. xv. 51). Their bodies will be inwardly and outwardly altered, putting on incorruption. They will not drop off, and leave the soul naked and unclothed. Now if the last generation of Christians are to enter into the kingdom of God with spiritual bodies, 'changed' from their former bodies, not 'flesh and blood,' but incorruptible and immortal,' is it not reasonably evident that the same prospect awaits all the dead in Christ?

Enough of these 'oppositions of science,' not always genuine. Christ's resurrection is both the pledge and pattern of our own. 'He shall change the form (μετασχηματίσει) of *this body of our humiliation, that* IT (αὐτὸ) *may become like to the body of His glory, according to the energy whereby He is able to subdue to Him even all things*' (Phil. iii. 21). The risen body of Christ is a miracle of splendour. Its eternal 'form' was presented to view at night in the Transfiguration,—the miniature semblance of the heavenly kingdom (2 Peter i. 12-17). '*His face was like the sun shining in its strength,—His raiment was white as the light,—His feet like fine brass burning in a furnace.*'

Such an eternal 'house from heaven' awaits every Christian. '*Then shall the children of God shine forth as the Sun, in their Heavenly Father's realm.*' '*They shall be equal to the Angels.*' '*They shall die no more.*' *Their* '*mortality shall be swallowed up of life.*' In this final glorification will be revealed the physical effect of redemption. Christ the Second Man bestows far more than was lost by the First. He imparts life eternal to the whole humanity, but it is divine life in 'glory, honour, and incorruption.' Well may S. Paul exclaim—'Who is sufficient for these things? To some we are the savour of life unto life!' It is Christ's own life that becomes ours; the life of the 'Lord of all' and the 'King of eternity.'

But *when shall these things be?*—The answer of the New Testament is, I venture, with many contemporaries, to think, different from that which is commonly assigned in the modern church.* In our age the popular belief leads men to declare with confidence that the resurrection of glory will take place at the second coming of Christ from heaven, at His return to judge the world; but also to declare with equal certainty that that epoch will not be reached for at least *one thousand years*, and perhaps for *three thousand six hundred centuries*, if that prophetic millenary stands, by a figure of days, for years.

The belief is that the New Testament teaches us to look for Christ's return from heaven only *after* a 'millennium' of righteousness on earth, during which the whole earth will be outwardly subject to Christ; and since that time has manifestly not yet even commenced, the persuasion is that the *Parousia*, or Coming of Christ at the end of it, to raise the dead, is still far away in a remote future.

If this indeed be so, the conditions of Christian life are changed since the apostolic age, when men were bidden to 'watch because they *knew not* what hour their Lord would

* Theological ideas seem to have local and defined habitats, like the floras and faunas of the different climates of the globe. They have also their times and seasons. Hence presumably, the careful study of the question of Christ's return from Heaven, the key to the whole future of the Earth and Man, is almost systematically excluded from English schools of Biblical science.

come.' It appears that we now know for certain that it will not be at least for a thousand years.

Such an opinion there is much reason to regard as a serious misconception. For there is a broad and deep stream of evidence to prove that the apostles unanimously taught that after their departure there would be an 'apostasy' (2 Thess. ii.) from the faith, springing from a 'mystery,' or secret doctrine of iniquity already working, and ending in the reign of the 'lawless one' (ἄνομος) in the church of God,—who should undertake to 'change times (divine constitutions) and laws' (Dan. vii. 25);—who should 'exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he should sit in the temple of God, showing himself that *he* is God'—perhaps himself the 'Anti-Christ' 'whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of His mouth, and destroy *by the appearing of His bodily presence*' (2 Thess. ii. 8, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας).

In the second chapter of Daniel, the 'stone which is cut out without hands' (representing Christ, Matt. xxi. 44) *falls from heaven* upon the *feet* of the great image of worldly power (those feet supposed by the majority of Protestant writers to symbolise modern Roman Europe), and breaks it in pieces; the Stone 'becomes a great mountain and fills the whole earth.' In the same manner Daniel (ch. vii.) sees in a vision 'one like the Son of Man come in the clouds of heaven' *at the time of the destruction of the fourth world-wide empire;* the 'seven-headed, ten-horned beast,' who, says S. John, has his 'throne' on the Seven Hills (Rev. xvii.).

Christ describes the state of the earth at His second Advent, not as if it should be the end of an age of righteousness, but at the end of an age of apostasy, like 'the days of Noah,' *when but few expected Him;* thus indicating a general prevalence of erroneous prophetic opinion in the church, and a corresponding departure from God.

In the passage referred to, in S. Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, this argument admits of no easy disproof. The Thessalonians, who had been excited by the apostle's first letter, in which he five times refers to Christ's glorious Advent, were in a state of commotion from expectation of its immediate occurrence. The Second Epistle was written to correct this mistake.

S. Paul commences the second chapter with a statement of his theme—'Now concerning *the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ* (παρουσίας), and our gathering together to Him (καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς,—a term which fixes the reference to the personal return of Christ from heaven, when Christians are to be ever 'with Him'), I beseech you that ye be not soon troubled, neither by a spirit, nor by word, nor by a letter as from us, as that this DAY OF CHRIST is imminent.'

He then assures them that that 'day will not come except there come the Apostasy first (ἡ ἀποστασία), and the Man of Sin be revealed.' He proceeds to describe the marks of that Apostasy and power of darkness, showing that it is a *religious* power, else it could not 'deceive' (ver. 10) Christians into serving it 'as God' in the temple;' just as he adds, in 1 Tim. iv. 1, that the 'Spirit announces' an *ascetic* apostasy, 'forbidding to marry,' and 'compelling to fast,' under the 'inspiration of dæmons' (δαιμονίων). Then finally he declares that this Reigning Imposition is to be put an end to by the returning Christ, concerning the time of whose *coming* he now writes to instruct them. Thus Christ Himself is the destroyer of Antichrist. The 'Sanctuary' will then be 'cleansed' (Dan. xii.). And *at that time* occurs 'the first resurrection,' the 'resurrection of the just' (1 Cor. xv.). If these things be so, the 'resurrection' may be nearer than the majority of our contemporaries imagine, who are saying, 'Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.'

Here, then, to make an end of this division of our labour—to recapitulate the sum of the things which have been spoken—and to add credibility to some rejected ideas, let us recall the general *coup d'œil* which the Scripture affords on the method of the Divine government of the earth; since here, as everywhere, faith, so difficult under disconnected views, becomes our strength when Christianity is embraced as a supernatural whole.

Let the starting-point be found in the words of Christ in His own prayer: 'THY KINGDOM COME, THY WILL BE DONE ON EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN.' By one space-penetrating glance He saw how God's will is done in all other places of His dominion, as

also how it is defied or left undone over all the earth : and, under the effect of that double vision, of transcendent glory and world-wide misery and death, He breathes into our hearts the invocation —'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.' What was its true significance ?

There is no need to travel out of the record for an answer to this question. The first verses in the Sacred Scripture set our thoughts on the right track : 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was without form and void ; and darkness was on the face of the deep. And God said, Let there be Light.'

Here, in fewest words, fitting the mystery, is (1) the *Chaos*, or the earth in its earliest stage of inorganic disorder. Then follows (2) the *Kosmos*, or the earth of organic life, ascending till it reaches man, the image and the glory of God, formed originally for an eternal life, conditional on obedience. Then follows, (3) *The Kingdom of Darkness*, the black shadow of death by sin covering the earth from Adam's fall, till now ; and, (4) *The Kingdom of God*, secretly counter-working sin and death through redeeming grace, manifesting itself in the King of this kingdom, who is 'God manifest in the flesh.' These four stages seem to constitute together the history of the Divine Method for the earth, ending in the survival in immortal life of those who have been 'afore prepared unto glory.' This is the grand evolution : God as Creator first of all,—next God in the development, incarnate in Christ,—and lastly, God in the issue, receiving the Church into His glory for evermore.

1. First, there was the *Chaos*, or the earth of inorganic nature. The divine record reveals nothing of the mysterious past. Science, the revelation of nature to mature humanity, partially lifts the veil, yet leaves us still gazing into twilight and darkness. Whether the earth was at first produced in its present planetary position, along with the solar system in a state of equilibrium, as a solid globe of molten atoms—fire-pervaded—all in fierce struggle ; or in gaseous condition was flung off from the central sun, rushing as a flaming mist around that centre,—we do not absolutely know. But what we do know is that, amidst the seeming chaos, the Spirit of Order ruled ; and, through incalculable ages,

that Spirit moved upon the surface and through the mass, condensing, combining, solidifying, separating land and water and air; till at length the natural forces, acting out the volitions of orderly Eternal Thought, created an earth on which organic life was possible; and the long battle of fire and water, the strife and attraction of contending elements, ended in a habitable world. Then dawned the Kosmos.

2. Now Vegetation brightened the desert globe of land and water, and the living creature came forth, bred of earth and moisture, as, says our primitive cosmogony, 'Let the waters bring forth!'—'Let the earth bring forth!'—in this, according with the latest thought of those who see in what we term *matter* the possibility of life; but not according with that latest thought, if it be meant to exclude the all-pervading action of the Eternal Cause, which lives and operates through all causes that are visible, and communicates some of His own mysterious energy even to the Atom which has sprung from the depths of His Being.

And so this diviner order of the *Kosmos* reigned through untold ages, while the earth swarmed with the mortal lives that sprang into being in successive bursts of the all-creating Energy,—which never, by existing law, excluded itself from operating by introduction of fresh elements, but vindicated, even in a world of perishable plants and animals, both its love of continuity, and its absolute sovereignty and freedom,—at once in Creation and Destruction:—it may be bringing, as men say, life out of life, varying its forms under the pressure of external conditions, and achieving its present results by a gradual transformation of pre-existing types—though of this the fossil record contains no evidence,—or, it may be, in the popular sense, creating, time after time, new tenants of the void, and causing the fruitful Earth to bear in succession the original distinct kinds of living things, out of which all subvarieties have sprung. These are questions which we leave to the science of the future. To us the point of interest is, that this Kosmos of organic life ended in MAN, of whom we are compelled to believe that, with face uplifted to the skies, he is a special work of the Heavenly Power, and, though belonging to the system where death was the ancient and universal law of animal life, that he was not originally made to die.

Here, then, comes in the mysterious narrative with which the sacred history opens, of a primeval paradise and introductory trial of a man for continuance in life under condition of obedience, —a narrative more rational, and harmonising better with all the facts of human life and thought, and with our inward yearning for immortality, notwithstanding our evanescence, than any hypothesis of animal descent, or, rather, ascent, from ascidians and the fur-clad grinning monsters of the woods.

And so we will accept this narrative—even although it leads us into realms of thought where science founded on eyesight fails us, and a science based on insight begins. The Scripture, recording the revelations of God, assures us that man's history as a moral being cannot be understood apart from its relations, because it is interwoven with that of higher orders ; just as the history of inferior species on the globe is entangled with a system of prey prevailing over all the Kosmos.

This we shall now take as sufficiently proved by the emphatic declaration of Christ, and of His Apostles—that the case of humanity in sin and death is involved in the malign action of a *Satanas*, an 'ancient serpent,' a mighty 'destroyer,' more fell than any fiery dragon of preceding ages ; and that the result has been to poison humanity with the virus of his own rebellion against the Infinite ; the dread issue being sentence of return for man to the outer world and lower plane of animals, in penal conformity to the law of extinction for all earth-born lives incognisant of God ; the finite eventually falling out of being by necessity when not in union with the Eternal. 'In the day of thy eating thou shalt surely die.' 'Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou return.' A short animal life may remain to man, as to his mortal congeners, but it is limited by the horizon of time. 'Man that is in honour and understandeth not, is like the beasts which *perish*' (Psalm xlix. 20).

3. Next, therefore, follows on the Chaos and the Kosmos, the Kingdom of Darkness, extending over all man's world and sphere of action. There is an evil spirit that 'energises in the children of rebellion.' There is, through apostasy which has become congenital—a world-wide relapse of humanity into animal and demonic life ; a complex result, evolving a new type of sin most hateful—

combining the perversion of the animal life with the perversion of the higher than animal intelligence, and becoming more detestable in proportion as the demonic intelligence by culture exceeds in force the animal development. Hence man's ever-increasing energy, but without God. Thought is poisoned at its spiritual fountains, till at length a profound philosophic atheism measures at once the daring of humanity and the depth of its degradation.

The Kingdom of Darkness is man's arena of action separated from his God; and it is the shadow of death unto death eternal. Here is the true and real misery of mankind. These nations are hastening forward to the second death—the vast tide of human will, passion, and intelligence is pouring itself in ceaseless flow, unless arrested, into the depths of destruction. 'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die;' 'The world passeth away, and the lust thereof;' 'The letter killeth;' 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;' 'He that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap φθορὰν, *corruption, destruction*.' The result of the fall was hereditary death. Each man's sin has earned a more fearful repetition of the penalty in the bitter pains of death eternal. Unless born twice, men must die twice—the first and second death.

Awful, indeed, is this view of man's condition! The millions destitute of God are sporting on the brink of doom. Imagining themselves possessed of indestructible being, they are but phantoms dancing on the edge of that precipice beneath which is the gulf of oblivion, the everlasting death in hell.

4. But now dawns upon this darkness the light of the Kingdom of God, the light of Life. For He whose existence is everlasting and His glory infinite, and who alone knows all that is lost when His creatures lose life eternal—yearning over the children whom once that high destiny awaited, and commiserating us as the victims of malignant spirits who have spread the monarchy of death over all the earth—has from the beginning operated among men in His grace—in a kindness which has defeated the 'Man-killer' in a goodness which is beyond and above the goodness of beneficent law. This salvation, originating in the depths of the Divine Love, is destined to end in restoration of the Kingdom of Heaven upon the earth,—the fourth and final stage of the development of the 'purpose of the ages' (πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων, Eph. iii. 11).

The characteristic of this Kingdom is that in its inception and method it is supernatural and miraculous—a system superinduced by Divine Love on the laws of heaven and earth.

Every step of the procedure is by necessity supernatural. The central conception transcends all thought that has been trained simply under the course of natural law,—'*Eye* hath not seen the things prepared by God for them that love Him.' It is nothing less than the identification of the Divine Nature with the Human —of the Necessary Being with the vanishing phantasmal shadow; of the eternal Life with the child of death in the person of the Christ; who thus becomes the Life-giver to the dying race, the King of the kingdom of Heaven and Earth, the Author of Immortality to them that were perishing. This is the sum and substance of the Gospel.

The Divine Life takes possession of a human form, attracts and unites to itself, by a new inspiration of grace, all willing souls, and after stamping on them anew the Divine Image, breathes into them the spirit of Immortality.

We may now the better apprehend the meaning of our prayer, 'Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done *on Earth*.' The subject of the New Testament is this Kingdom of Heaven. No less than forty-four times does S. Matthew represent Christ as speaking of this earthly reign of God. Humanity asks, with fervent longing, to-day, *Where* is it? *What* is it? What is our relation to it? Is this Kingdom present, is it future? Is it on earth, or in the skies?

Men's ideas in Christendom on this subject widely differ. Not a few, perhaps the majority, think of the Kingdom of Heaven as being in Heaven itself, beyond the stars, in a state of which good men will one day for ever inhabit. Others, in millions, think that it exists on the earth already, in a visible form, and that it consists in the subjection of the nations to the Vicar of Christ at Rome. Others, as the late Mr. Maurice, regard the papal sovereignty as a diabolic caricature of this divine monarchy, but think that the Kingdom of God is truly found wherever, as in England, the State acknowledges the Christ, and consecrates the Civil Power by the establishment of Christianity.

Each of these hypotheses falls far below the ideal of Sacred

Scripture. The Kingdom of God is on Earth, in the last days, but it is nothing less than a restoration of the supernatural government of God as in the old times, a visible assertion of Heaven's Sovereignty over all the world. 'Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven.'

But the question returns—How can it be reconciled with sober judgment to believe in a final manifestation of such a sovereignty of God in this insignificant and sinful world? We will not answer that the world where Christ died is worthy of Christ's open triumph. Let us rather reply that it seems easier to believe in a final triumph of right upon earth than to believe in an indefinite perpetuation of the reign of evil, or of the chaos which is termed modern Christendom. For the Scriptures distinctly teach that the Kingdom of God upon earth passes through three stages:—(1) The stage of spiritual *preparation*, lasting from the day of Christ's humiliation until His second coming. (2) The stage of *judgment* on the forces of evil, Satanic and human; when evil spirits, evil sovereignties, deceitful priesthoods, and all things which do iniquity, shall be 'gathered out' of Christ's kingdom of the earth, and the area be left clear for nations, rulers, and teachers who do His will. (3) The stage of *open victory* and resurrection, when Christ, and His servants 'raised in glory,' will reign over the world, as the first scene of that eternal royalty which awaits them beyond, of which transcendent issue the Transfiguration was the prelusory representation. (See 2 Peter i. 16.)

We are not required to believe that this heavenly reign of Christ must be always visible to the nations of the earth; much less that the risen saints will be mingled with the terrestrial populations. May it not rather be that Christ, and His Church in angelic natures (ἰσάγγελοι, Luke xx. 36), will take the aerial places (ἐπουρανία, Eph. vi. 12) of the dispossessed spirits of darkness, and rule as guardians over the earth (over 'five' or 'ten cities,' according to desert), enjoying its beauty and glory as a whole, and 'inheriting' it, in a sense the most complete and satisfying until its end in the final conflagration? Caught up to meet their Saviour 'in the air' (ἁρπαγησόμεθα εἰς ἀέρα, 1 Thess. iv. 17), His servants will be 'ever with Him,' as when the attendant angels hovered unseen around the cloud of Glory on Sinai, or 'the multitude of the heavenly host' filled the empyrean at the Saviour's

Incarnation. On this hypothesis we may conceive that the 'flaming fire' which is reserved for some selected victims of divine wrath at the Advent of Christ,—who like Korah 'shall go down alive into hell,' and shall be '*gathered out of the kingdom*, as those that cause stumbling,'—is some locally kindled 'sea of fire,' —perhaps below the surface—and not that general 'melting of the elements,' which shall occur when, more than a thousand years later, the burning earth will become the scene and the instrument of the general destruction of ungodly men of all past generations, the residuum of evil after the failure of all saving processes.

On this theory of a limited and selective judgment on the wicked rulers and teachers found alive at Christ's Advent, we might also understand the language of prophecy when it tells of good agencies operating still among the sifted nations in Christ's Kingdom :—so that everything that is more valuable now in the work of righteous statesmen, legislators, scholars, missionaries, civilisers, will be, according to the law of continuity, carried forward into the final blessed state of the renovated world, when human life will answer to the Divine Idea, and God shall have 'destroyed them that destroy the earth.' (See Isaiah lxv., lxvi.)

We know but too well how large a demand is made by such a hypothesis on the patience of those to whom it is novel, and who can rest only in the thought of a heaven so transcendental, so distant in time, or so far away in space, as to exert no direct influence on the smooth waters of modern life. But the difficulty may be overcome. Christians are men who 'wait for God's Son from Heaven;' who 'love His appearing;' who expect Resurrection and Immortality in soul and body, at His return; who look to 'inherit the Earth;' and who know in themselves, 'as to the times and seasons,' that sudden destruction is coming upon modern society and the wickedness of Christendom, while all creation waits with outstretched neck for the 'manifestation of the sons of God.'

For then, as the Kosmos once of old succeeded the Chaos, so shall the Kingdom of God succeed the present Kingdom of Darkness: and the men who during the ages of trial have been found faithful, shall 'SHINE FORTH AS THE SUN IN THEIR HEAVENLY FATHER'S REALM.'

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON THE FUTURE PUNISHMENT OF THE SECOND DEATH.

'Future retribution has become a kind of figment. Hell is in the world of shadows. The tone in which educated men speak of it still, is often only that good-humoured condescension which makes allowances for childish superstition.'—F. W. ROBERTSON, *Sermons*, i., 132.

WE have now reached the point at which we are compelled to approach the awful theme of future punishment, and to test our general doctrine by putting to proof its agreement with the language of Scripture on the doom of men who 'judge themselves unworthy of everlasting life.' If the previous sections of the argument, on the state of mortality into which sin has brought mankind, on the object of the incarnation and the law of its beneficial application, be soundly laid in Scripture evidence, it follows that the New Testament will be found to teach that the finally impenitent portion of the human race will not live for ever.

The doctrine of the Second Death, which declares that unless men are born twice they will die twice, is represented in the Divine Revelation amidst 'blackness, and darkness, and tempest,' like that which covered Mount Sinai at the giving of the Law; and, therefore, none can break through to gaze into the abyss whence bursts the fire that 'burns into the midst of heaven.' To venture into those scenes with a design of exploring the shadows, on which even the flashes of Divine vengeance throw no light but rather render darkness visible, be far from us. A certain part of the moral effect of the prospect of judgment to come depends on its mystery. This only we know—that God, by all the voices of His prophets, has declared that amidst that darkness the wicked, under 'few' or 'many' stripes, shall 'utterly perish,' and that

the ungodly world shall 'pass away,'—Ὁ κόσμος παράγεται,—while 'he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever' (1 John ii. 17).

During many past years much confusion has prevailed respecting the origin and development of this system of interpretation. Discovering that one of its results is to establish a doctrine of future retribution which is irreconcilable with the belief in the eternal misery of the lost, the advocates of the latter opinion, naturally impressed with the magnitude of the cause at stake, have, not 'for the space of two hours,' but for a whole generation, filled the air with doubtless honest outcries against what they describe as the 'miserable doctrine of Annihilation;' and have persistently represented that this doctrine is the beginning and the end of our endeavours. It now, however, begins to be understood, after many years of misconception, that much more is concerned than a doctrine of future punishment.

And this is indeed worthy of consideration by those who imagine that our starting-point has been a determination to establish a doctrine of limited retribution, founded on a sentimental objection to the orthodox creed; whence we have proceeded to invent a corresponding dogma on the nature and the fall of man. The opposite statement would be nearer the truth, that the doctrine of the destruction of the wicked is a necessary inference from the positions already supposed to be established by independent evidence, on the constitution of Man, and the object of the Incarnation. A more exact representation is that, starting as we believe without pre-occupation, we have found the application of the right principle of interpretation to operate throughout the records of Divine Revelation, in the development of a theodicy which hangs together as an organic unity, and proves its truth by its internal coherence. It is the object of the present chapter to show that not only does the application of the true canon of interpretation to both Testaments bring out the uniform doctrine that life eternal is in Christ alone, and belongs exclusively to righteous men; but also the fearful converse, that all finally impenitent sinners, persistently choosing evil, shall be 'miserably destroyed.'

The question to be now examined is one to be decided by interpretation. The theological and spiritual principles which are

connected with that question will be considered hereafter. The issue in this place must be restricted to the inquiry, *what is taught by the apostles of Christ as the original Christian doctrine of future punishment?* The vastness of the subject, the intense emotion excited in honest minds, as one interpretation or another is favoured or threatened, must alike be excluded from view, during the critical process of ascertaining what the New Testament writers meant by their words on the punishment of Destruction.

There is no inquiry of more overpowering interest than this; for it bears both upon men's prospects, if evil, and upon the moral character of that Omnipotent Being 'with whom we have to do.' Nothing less indeed is involved than a reconstruction, by an inductive process, of the moral idea of Deity. The influence of either conclusion on the whole system of human thought and conduct must needs be enormous; and only a crass reprehensible thoughtlessness can pretend to make light either of the mischief wrought by erroneous opinion on the duration of future retribution, or of the beneficial effect Godward of a belief based on a revelation of immortal life rightly understood.

What is needed here beyond all else is a doctrine which rests on well-established principles of interpretation; one which meets the eye in every page of the Sacred Writings read in their simplest and most direct signification; and which will appeal to men's consciences, and fears of offended Justice without the intervention of a difficult critical argument to support it.

Any supposed dogma of the Christian revelation that depends for its evidence on three or four dubious scattered phrases in the synoptic gospels, and which is not even pretended to be proved by a single plain statement in the expository writings of the three great apostles, S. Paul, S. John, and S. Peter, carries on its own face decisive reasons for its rejection.* Doubtless, each book of the New Testament, taken apart from the rest, suffices, if it be in any sense a divine book, to set before the reader the grand issues of human life, in words which naturally and forcibly express those

* That the doctrinal writings of these three chief teachers of the gospel are wholly destitute of any assertion of the endless misery of sinners in the literal sense of the word, can be verified by every reader.

issues. It is inconceivable that any doctrine of fundamental importance can have been confided to the care of one or two of the sacred writers, to express it only once or twice in 1600 years in its fitting terms; while they themselves have everywhere else set it forth in delusive language, and all the rest of their fellow-evangelists and apostles have employed words in relation to the subject which by no ordinary rule of interpretation can be made to agree with these supposed exceptional expressions.

Thus much we are compelled to say at the opening of this discussion, since the Bible has fallen much into the hands of those who imagine that a few favourite 'texts' will suffice to prove that Omniscience is on the side of even the most extravagant theologies. The world has already suffered too much from systems founded on a handful of wrested quotations, even of the English translation, of Scripture, to allow of much reticence in repudiating these hermeneutical methods, whether of heated enthusiasts or ascetic priesthoods. Too much stress cannot be laid on the rule that since the Sacred Writings were for the most part the work of men who were commissioned by God in different ways to address the understanding of human beings,—the law shall be observed, in interpreting them, of *adhering to the natural and proper meaning of the words which they usually employ*. If we once abandon ourselves to the fancies of dreamers who see everything through an intellectual prism, for whom no word retains its natural signification, but every vocable is surrounded with an aureola or many-tinted halo of mysteries and 'inner senses,' we might as well abandon at the same time the hope of comprehending Christianity.

Under an ever-deepening impression of the responsibility attaching to the conduct of this inquiry, I ask, then, What is the ordinary language of Christ, as recorded by the evangelists; and what is the ordinary language of His apostles on the future punishment of the wicked? There is no need to support this argument by presenting numerical tabular statements of their various expressions, as some recent writers have done. It is sufficient to reply generally that the following phenomena stand forth in prominence throughout the New Testament.

Section I.

I. There runs throughout every gospel, and every epistle of Christ's messengers, a distinct and thrilling denunciation of *judgment to come on all who, having heard the summons to repentance, and the word of Divine Mercy, have persisted in impenitence or opposition to God.*

The language of both Christ and His apostles is very guarded respecting the persons who lived during ages of ignorance; in accordance with S. Paul's declaration on Mars' Hill, that 'the times of this ignorance *God winked at*.' But their words are distinct, uniform, and most appalling, in affirming a 'wrath to come' on all knowing offenders. There are few subjects on which the Son of God speaks more decisively than on the reality and the awfulness of Hell or *Gehenna*. The 'God' made known by Christ, though most benign, is not a Power to be 'mocked,' affronted, or defied. He is a Consuming Fire.

(1) First of all it must be asked, For whom are these judgments reserved? Who are the wicked? They are of several ranks. The foremost in Christ's enumeration of the victims of 'hell-fire' are dishonest and time-serving religious teachers—to whom He chiefly traces the ruin of mankind. In all written literature there is certainly nothing so terrible as our Lord's persistent threatenings of 'damnation' to the Pharisees and Sadducees. It is as if He had opened the abyss, and compelled these hollow pretenders to look down into the flaming depths into which they should be cast at the judgment. The twenty-third chapter of S. Matthew's gospel is the tremendous death-warrant of all self-seeking religious impostors to the end of time.

(2) Next to these appear, in Christ's teaching, their voluntary disciples,—the 'hypocrites' of every age, in whom spiritual arrogance takes the place of godliness; whose religion is a *doctrine without morality or love*, while their thinking is a tissue of perversions woven by party-spirit or self-interest, and often supported by cruel persecutions.

(3) After these, but at a wide interval, follow the sensual multitudes who boldly and shamelessly reject the divine message altogether, that they may follow their own sinful pleasures.

To these three classes of wicked men it will be found that Christ and His servants steadfastly announce a future punishment from which there is no redemption; and which is described as so dreadful in its 'many stripes,' in its 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth,' in its 'indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish' (Rom. ii. 9), that for nearly twenty centuries the readers of these warnings have gathered from them an expectation of woe fitted to appal the stoutest heart that hears them even amidst the frivolity of the present age.

It must be added that, although, in one solitary description of the 'torment' in Hades of the spirit of the selfish sensualist, Christ seems, according to S. Luke, to indicate suffering as awaiting the separate souls of wicked men who have 'had Moses and the prophets,' He and His apostles uniformly point to a 'day of judgment' in the future as the 'appointed' time of final execution of these awful threatenings. 'It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha *in the day of judgment* than for that city.' And by Christ Himself it seems to be distinctly said that men who are thus judged will corporeally appear before God to undergo the infliction. '*All that are in the tombs* shall hear His voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto *the resurrection of damnation*' (John v. 28, 29).

S. Paul speaks of himself as 'having hope towards God that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just *and of the unjust*' (Acts xxiv. 15).

S. John also, in the vision of the Apocalypse, appears to confirm this tremendous expectation when he says, 'I saw the dead' (the dead who 'lived again' at the end of the millennium), 'small and great' (high and low), 'stand before God; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works; and whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire' (Rev. xx.).

These citations, and many similar expressions in the New Testament, suggested in the earliest Christian centuries, the awful idea of a bodily resurrection of the wicked, *for the endurance of physical suffering by fire*. It is obvious that Fire, of some kind, is threatened by all the messengers of God; notably by Christ, who is 'appointed to be the judge of the quick and dead.'

Nevertheless it has become almost an established doctrine of this age, at least in Protestant countries, that the 'biblical threatenings of material fire in hell,' as they are termed, are all to be understood of mental anguish only, inflicted by the fire of 'men's own passions,' or of 'God's wrath.' This reaction has been caused doubtless by the recoil of thoughtful minds from the unutterably horrible prospect of *endless* torment by fire, presented by such teaching as was exemplified in our sixth chapter. An argument, too, of very considerable weight for regarding the threatenings of 'fire' as figures of speech for spiritual suffering, has been drawn from the tropical character of other representations of the future awards. It has been said, why should the 'fire of hell' be more material than the 'water of life'? Why should the 'furnace' and 'lake' of Gehenna possess more of physical reality than the 'sea of glass' or the 'pearly gates' of heaven?

There would be decisive force in these considerations standing alone: nevertheless, at the risk of much contradiction, I must, in the fear of God, as well as in faithfulness to my convictions, acknowledge that I see no sufficient evidence positively to contradict the belief of the primitive church, that the New Testament writers, and our Lord Himself, may have intended, by their menace of judgment, what their awful words appear to portend. It would be extreme folly to allow the rhetorical extravagances of some teachers of *endless* torment to blind us to the fact,—if the New Testament does really teach it as a fact,—that God's judgment will be executed by an infliction of fearful severity if of limited duration. The effect of the tenet of endless suffering has naturally been to induce its advocates to soften as much as possible the threatenings of direct infliction, until at last, in this age, the very defence of the doctrine of endless misery has come to rest on a 'figurative' interpretation of the hell threatened in the Bible.

On a subject so overpowering I desire to speak with profound caution and reserve; but I acknowledge that the positiveness with which both good and bad men at the present time decide against any retributive *infliction*, seems to me at variance both with Scripture and the analogies of the world that now is.* By

* The over-idealistic tendency which operated so powerfully of old to lead some to deny the physical reality of the Incarnation and of the sufferings of

a divine law physical miseries of the direst description here follow hard upon law-breaking. Why should it not be so beyond? Here men and women in great numbers have endured affliction *for truth and righteousness*, under God's permission. In past ages God's awful judgments have been executed by 'fire and brimstone' on Sodom and Gomorrha, and even on Pompeii and Herculaneum; and the former, we are told, were 'set forth as *an example* (δεῖγμα) to them that shall hereafter live ungodly.' In what does the 'example' consist, if the ungodly of the future suffer no infliction? Why the bodily resurrection of the wicked at all if there be no future judgment on the body? Why should such physical retribution from the hand of God hereafter be regarded as more incredible than the manifold inflictions of contemporary providence? If it has not been contrary to fact that God should judge wicked men by the body here,—why hereafter?

Is there not some special and terrible intention in our Lord's so frequent references to the 'fire of Gehenna,' which ought to render men at least cautious in expounding them. If the second epistle of Peter (far more probably by his hand than by any other) speaks Christ's doctrine, it is apparently taught that *the fire which is to melt the elements is the same* which will accomplish the destruction of ungodly men;—'the same earth is reserved unto *fire*, against the day of judgment, and *perdition of ungodly men*,' (2 Peter iii.). The 'tares' are to be 'burned' on the field where they grew. S. Paul speaks of men 'receiving *the things by the body* according to what they have done, good or bad' (τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, 2 Cor. v.).

And those who will reflect on the mysterious energy of Heat,—one of the forms of the universal ether,—on its relations with life and soul, as the source of our chief pleasures and pains,—on its all-pervading power as one of the principal effluences of the Eternal Spirit,—will perhaps somewhat modify their confident assertions of the 'grossness and coarseness' of the views of those who fear that these threatenings may be intended to be taken more 'literally.' Fire is but one of the manifestations of Energy

Christ seems to survive still in the opinion of many learned men as to the immateriality of future awards.

into which the elements are dissolving under the analysis of the electrician and the chemist. The realities of nature are uncloth-ing themselves. Both at the beginning and the end science stretches now beyond the phenomenal sphere into the psychical and spiritual. The fire threatened may not be the less spiritual because 'material;' for material is not far from spiritual any-where. It is ultimately God who is the 'Consuming Fire,' and nothing is gained by dismissing the idea of an external agent of destruction, if there still remains to be confronted Him who is said to 'burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.'

If it be said that such suffering is morally 'impossible under God's government,' it is obvious that it has already occurred in myriads of instances, in the martyrdoms of the saints. It is therefore not so clear that it is morally impossible in the punish-ment of the wicked. Is there not reason to fear that men have reached in our time utterly perverted notions of the Great Power which is behind Nature? The Infinite Spirit works by His in-scrutable will in material forces and forms. Material representa-tion seems to be the last end of God in His Self-Manifestation. If the 'Word was made flesh' in order to redeem men, and suffered physical agony, is it wholly incredible that a daringly wicked man shall be 'made flesh' again, to receive the 'due reward of his deeds'?

The duration of such sufferings must be spoken of with awe, and only in the language of Christ and His apostles. Nothing is affirmed by them of 'untold ages.' Inconceivably fearful words are used respecting the doom of the leaders of the world's in-surrection against God and His King; but both as to these, and as to men generally, the sayings of Christ must govern us. The rapid destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha is set forth as an 'example' of the general judgment. There will be 'few stripes,' and 'many stripes,' 'perishing without law,' and 'judgment under the law,' 'swift destruction,' and a 'greater damnation.' It is the act of God, and in all its details will be righteous,—yet a doom over which all Heaven will 'rejoice' (Rev. xix. 3).

If it be still rejoined that this is too fearful and overpowering a statement to be believed; it must be answered, that no doctrine of future punishment can possibly be true which does *not* bring 'great fear upon every soul.' It was thus that S. Paul 'reasoned'

before Felix of 'judgment to come' until 'Felix trembled' (ἔμφοβος γενόμενος, Acts xxiv.). No doctrine of future punishment, I repeat, can possibly be true at which such men as the Roman governor do *not* 'tremble.' To refine away the threatenings, until both gross and refined sinners find hell not so formidable, is surely no true kindness to those whom Heaven desires to convert and save.

Why should it be thought a thing incredible that the Creator of the world will mark with visible and intense abhorrence those actions which we ourselves are so made as to look upon with indignation?

When we behold a man, created in God's image, degrading himself by drunkenness many degrees below brute beasts; or when we see man or woman desecrating the sacred affection of love, till it become by misuse a vile and cancerous passion eating out the forces of life,—why should it be thought incredible that Almighty God, outraged at the ruin of His own Image, should punish such offenders by a 'miserable destruction'?

When we see a daring sinner living by falsehood in his trade or profession, or committing perjury in a law court, by impudently calling on the God of Truth to witness a deliberate lie,—why should it be thought incredible that such liars shall, in S. John's awful words, 'have their part in the lake of fire,'—since no wickedness has more of will in it than wilful falsehood?

When we see priesthoods making gain, or seeking for power, by deceiving the ignorant peasantry with pretended miracles,—when we see kings and statesmen entering upon unjust wars, and sacrificing thousands of lives to haughty temper, guilty ambition, or lust of power,—when we see professors of false religion and unprincipled rulers conspiring together to torture to death the martyrs of truth, as we read in the pages of history, till heaven itself calls for retribution,—does not conscience judge that if God shall 'take vengeance' on such men hereafter, He will, as Judge of all the earth, do right?

But if God will do rightly in judging the great criminals of history, He will also surely do rightly in judging *all* men according to their works. He will do rightly in punishing with 'many stripes' those who knew their Lord's will and did it not; and with 'few stripes' lesser offenders.

And is not this precisely what the Lord Jesus Christ declares? There is severity with God, as well as goodness, in His dealings with men under the reign of physical law. The same rule holds in moral law. If I oppose the will of God, I shall reap the consequences in the deserved penalty of sin. There is no unrighteousness in such recompense. Judgment comes because Heaven acts in morals as uniformly, and as severely, as it acts with the breakers of natural law. The difference is that moral law-breakers will be chiefly dealt with hereafter, when 'sin is finished,' and the account is closed.

And yet it may well be that, even if there be no bodily infliction, a greater and more frightful penalty in the spiritual results of a sinful life, shall precede and accompany the destruction of great offenders. Christ's words in the monitory parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus—*Son, Remember!*—point apparently to a previous endurance, at least in some instances, of the unspeakable misery which an awakening conscience brings. And it is not necessary to imagine anything beyond this stroke of a scorpion-conscience—a steadfast compulsory review of an evil life, as even Swedenborg teaches—to perceive in many cases the most tremendous consequence of it. What must it be, for example, for an indevout scientific man to pass into a condition where atheism is no more possible; because the Divine Wisdom,—no longer beheld at a distance in the order of revolving planets, in the laws of sidereal motion, in the arrangements of far-off universes, in that remoter magnificence which shrouded it from view while he inhabited the body,—has now come near as the Ruling Authority, and closely encompasses the soul, and pierces its secret darkness through, in one calm, intolerable blaze of the Excellent Glory? What must it be to perceive, with a clearness which profane defiance and dishonest speculation can overshadow no longer, that Almighty God is holy, and that Omnipotence is everywhere, —or to review in thought those inner and outer evidences of a Divine Revelation of truth, which, made light of on earth, will seem so appallingly real in their power of condemnation now that they are remembered in perdition? Those must be very ignorant of much that is passing in this world, in the solitudes of enforced thought, in prisons and on beds of sickness, who peremptorily

decide that such experiences are improbable beyond. If Christ be from God, such experiences await every rebellious spirit hereafter, in 'the wrath of the Lord God Almighty and the wrath of the Lamb.'

Every man's responsibility will then be found to extend over a wider area than he imagined. And those whose sins are not forgiven on repentance will justly be held accountable for the whole sum of their evil influence in the creation. It may form the spiritual punishment of many to trace out the whole history and effect of their misdeeds in subsequent generations. 'It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this, judgment.' This subject is to the last degree painful and terrible, but how vain to deny that it occupies a prominent place in the New Testament Revelation.

This is what first strikes every reader of the New Testament writings,—a distinct threatening of judgment to come *on every soul of man that doeth evil*,—a threatening brought home to the conscience by all the lines of evidence which prove the truth of Christianity; for those warnings of 'righteous judgment' are proved to be from God by precisely the same arguments which attest the divine promises.

Section II.

The *second* noticeable fact in respect to the language of the New Testament, not less than the Old, is that, in ninety-nine instances out of every hundred in which the issue of God's judgment is referred to, its effect is declared to be to bring the subjects of it to an end which is described as *death*, *destruction*, *perishing*, *utterly perishing*, *corruption*; and, negatively, as exclusion from *life*, or *life eternal*. Such phrases as *endless woe*, *endless misery*, are unknown to the Bible. The ordinary language of the pulpit on this subject is systematically unscriptural.

Now the words which occur constantly in the prophetic and apostolic writings in reference to judgment to come, are, as is known, taken by nearly all Christendom, and have been taken for many centuries, to stand for the idea of *misery* only; a misery believed from the supposed nature of the sufferers, as beings immortal, and, from other declarations of inspired writers, to be ab-

solutely endless. It is denied with the utmost force of conviction, by multitudes of Christians, learned and simple, that these words signify what they seem to signify—the utter destruction or extinction of the life of the condemned. It is held that their real and proper sense, because their historical sense in Christendom, is that the existence of wicked men will be carried on through the boundless eternity, as long as the Necessary Being endures, in a state of conscious suffering ; greater or less in degree, but illimitable in duration.*

There must exist some argument of almost overpowering influence which has thus determined the interpretation of masses of language to a sense exactly contrary to its natural meaning. For the process by which such terms as *death*, *perishing*, *destruction* are made to stand for the idea of *endless misery*, is one so remarkable as to arrest attention and demand instant inquiry. A corresponding action on the word *Life*, so often used in the Bible to denote the eternal reward of the saints, would result in making it stand for the strange idea of a *happy extinction*, or a blessed abolition of existence—an *euthanasia*. The radical idea of destruction, that is, extinction of being, is first taken out of the term *Death ;* then the word is made to stand for its opposite, eternal being ; and then the associated idea of misery is grafted upon the stock of the converted primary ; the result being, that *destruction* stands for endless misery. An exactly parallel treatment of the promise of Life, therefore, will result, first, in taking out of it its radical idea of conscious existence—next, in making it stand for its opposite, extinction—and, lastly, in joining the idea of happiness with the converted primary,—so that you obtain the complex result of a *happy extinction*. It

* No one has exhibited this conviction with greater force than Mr. Darby in his various tractates on this awful subject. His expression of displeasure at the spiritual character, and of scorn for the scholarship, of all who hold a different belief than his own, we must not turn aside to characterise—further than to entreat his reconsideration of much unfitting language. One observes, however, that zealous Calvinists are often indifferent to the moral credibility of their doctrines, because it is thought that predestination will secure the 'faith' of the elect, and the honest moral difficulties of the non-elect are of no consequence to any one. If they do not see the justice of their own helpless condemnation to endless torment, their opinion is of no account to writers of this school.

would require some argument of overmastering force to persuade nine-tenths of the scholars of Christendom to perform this operation upon the promise of life to the righteous; and no such argument has ever appeared or operated.

To what, then, is to be attributed the almost unanimous decision of Europe and America, that the terms in which punishment is threatened to wicked men in the Scripture are rightly to be treated in the fashion described?

The answer is obvious. The popular belief of Christendom has now for many ages been fixed in the *Natural Immortality of the Soul*, as a dictate of reason, and first principle of religious truth; a principle thought to rest on similarly decisive evidence with the existence and moral government of God. And since the soul is Immortal, or deathless, it can never *die* or *perish* in the proper and natural sense of those words, but only in some figurative or tropical sense, such as this of endless misery. Thus psychology gives the law to interpretation.

Add to this that there are three passages of the New Testament,—perhaps four,—which have been regarded as categorical assertions of the doctrine of endless misery,—and we arrive at the explanation of a handling of words, at first sight so artificial and indefensible. The argument for the figurative interpretation of Death, Destruction, and Perishing, derived from these supposed decisive expressions in the New Testament, will be examined afterwards. At present we are concerned to consider the language by means of which Christianity published to the world its doctrine of future retribution.

The original words (verbs and nouns) generally employed by New Testament writers to warn wicked men of their future doom, are the following:

1. The verb *to die*. 'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall *die*' (μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, ye shall soon and certainly die; Rom. viii. 13). 'That a man may eat thereof, and not die' (John vi. 50).

2. The noun *death* (θάνατος). 'The wages of sin is *death*' (Rom. vi. 23).

3. The verb *to destroy*. God is able to '*destroy* body and soul in Gehenna' (ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ, Matt. x. 28). In this sense also a man is said to 'destroy his own life.'

'He that loveth his life shall lose (*destroy*) it' (John xii. 25). ἀπολέσει αὐτὴν—ψυχήν : in opposition to ζωογονήσει αὐτήν.

4. The noun *destruction*. 'Broad is the road that leadeth to *destruction*' (εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, Matt. vii. 13). 'Vessels of wrath fitted for *destruction*' (ἀπώλειαν, Rom. ix. 22).

5. The verb *to perish*. 'God so loved the world, as to give His Only Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not *perish*' (μὴ ἀπόληται, John iii. 15).

'The preaching of the cross is to them that *perish* foolishness' (τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, 1 Cor. i. 18). 'Shall the weak brother *perish* by thy knowledge?' (ἀπόλλυται, 1 Cor. viii. 11). 'They shall *perish* without law' (ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, Rom. ii. 12).

6. *Destruction* (ὄλεθρος). 'Who shall pay the penalty, eternal *destruction* from the presence of the Lord' (ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον, 2 Thess. i. 9).

'Foolish and hurtful lusts drown men in *destruction* and perdition' (εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀπώλειαν, 1 Tim. vi. 9).

'Then sudden *destruction* cometh upon them' (τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὄλεθρος, 1 Thess. v. 3).

7. *Corruption* or *death* (φθορά). 'He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap *corruption* (φθοράν), but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap *life everlasting*' (Gal. vi. 8).

'That by these ye might become partakers of a divine nature, having escaped the *corruption* or mortality which is in the world through lust' (φθορᾶς, 2 Peter i. 4). 'These, as irrational brute beasts made for capture and *destruction* (φθοράν), shall *utterly perish* in their own *corruption*, or mortality' (ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται, 2 Peter ii. 12).

In the same sense διαφθείρω, Rev. xi. 18 'to destroy them that destroy the earth.' Sept., Judges vi. 4. The trans. pass. (διαφθείρομαι) to *decay wholly*, to perish (2 Cor. iv. 16, 'The outward man *perisheth*, the inward man is renewed').

8. *Extermination*. 'He shall be *destroyed from among the people*' (ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ, Acts iii. 23),—the Septuagint translation of נִכְרְתָה, it shall be exterminated, in Exod. xii. 15. See also Exod. xxii. 20, Zech. xiii. 8; Sept.

9. *Being killed*. 'I will *kill* her children with death' (ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ, Rev. ii. 23). 'The letter (or law) killeth (ἀποκτέννει, 2 Cor. iii. 6). See also Romans vii. 11.

10. *Vanishing.* 'Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and *vanish*' (ἀφανίσθητε, Acts xiii. 41). The word used by Josephus to describe the opinion of the Sadducees. 'Their doctrine makes souls to vanish along with the bodies' (συναφανίζει τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς σώμασι).—*Antiq.* xviii. ch. i. 4.

Let us now consider the history of these words, used (as is affirmed) in the New Testament, to signify the endless misery of souls and bodies, immortal or immortalised.

No fact in literature is capable of clearer demonstration than that the majority of these nouns and verbs, denoting *destruction* of some sort, are used by Plato again and again in the *Phædon*, a dialogue on Immortality, expressly for the purpose of conveying the idea of the literal destruction or *extinction of the soul.* In proof of this, it will not suffice to refer in a foot-note to the passages in the *Phædon* where these words occur. They must be presented to the reader in distinct citation. And in order to dispel the suspicion even of involuntary tampering with the translation under the influence of theory, we will also for the benefit of English readers set forth the passages of Plato in the version of Dr. Jowett, whose impartial accuracy none will question.

The importance of these citations in this discussion arises from the fact that the *Phædon* was during the four hundred years before Christ's ministry the great classic treatise on Immortality, known and acknowledged as such throughout the Greek-speaking world. Based upon the ever-moving story of the martyrdom of Socrates, and professing to detail the arguments *for the immortality of the soul*, on which he rested his hope of a life to come, on the day of his judicial death by poison, the *Phædon* was as well known among the reading population of the Macedonian and Roman empires as any tragedy of Shakespeare is known among English readers. The words, therefore, in which Plato expressed the leading ideas of this dialogue formed a fixed element of thought and speech over the wide area where his works were studied in the numerous academies and schools around the Mediterranean shores.

The main object of the dialogue is obvious to every reader. It is to adduce arguments of various kinds in support of the belief

that in death the soul will *not* become extinct, will *not* die, perish, or be destroyed. The reader's attention, therefore, is now invited to the terms in which *that idea* is set forth throughout the *Phædon*. They are precisely the terms generally chosen in the New Testament to denote the punishment of the wicked;—with this difference, that Plato says the soul will *not* suffer θάνατος, ἀπώλεια, ὄλεθρος, φθορά; that it is *not* destined to ἀπολέσθαι, καταφθείρεσθαι, διαφθείρεσθαι, ἀποθνήσκειν; while the New Testament writers declare that wicked men *shall* suffer what is denoted by these terms. In Plato's dialogue these words stand for *extinction of life*, for that idea only, and in the strongest possible contrast to the idea of perpetuation of being. Our argument is that in the New Testament they signify precisely the same doom,—the final and absolute *extinction of life* in the case of the wicked.*

There is, I submit, no possibility of escape from the force of this argument except by a statement which is fatal to the New Testament writings as a revelation. It is said that these words in the New Testament are not used in the sense in which Plato and all his readers for four hundred years, not less than all good writers in Greek following the times of Christ, used them; but in a new and special sense, which was created for them by *inspiration of God;* so that inspiration must be regarded as having for its object to give, not only a new, but a self-contradictory sense to some of the most familiar words in the Greek language. But if this were the effect of inspiration, inspiration would be fatal to revelation; since revelation consists in making truth known to the nations through language, and inspiration of the quality supposed deprives words of their proper meaning and affixes one diametrically opposite.

The passages in the *Phædon* in which the words occur, which are also used in the New Testament to denote future punishment, are as follows. The Greek words spaced out are the same with those used in the New Testament to denote future punish-

* Professor Cremer, in his Lexicon of the New Testament, while asserting that in Scripture these terms stand for the eternal misery of mankind, frankly allows that 'such a signification is *peculiar to the New Testament, and without analogy in classical Greek.*' *In voc.* ἀπολλυμι.

ment. Their English correlatives are given in italics in Mr. Jowett's version.

CHAPTER XIV.—Εἰπόντος δὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους ταῦτα, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κέβης ἔφη· Ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καλῶς λέγεσθαι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πολλὴν ἀπιστίαν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ σώματος, οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι ᾖ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθείρηταί τε καὶ ἀπολλύηται, ᾗ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ.

'Socrates having said these things, Cebes answered: I agree, Socrates, in the greater part of what you say. But in what relates to the soul men are apt to be incredulous; they fear that when she leaves the body her place may be nowhere, and that on the very day of death *she may be destroyed and perish.*'—*Jowett*, p. 414.

CHAPTER XXIII.—Εἰ μέντοι καὶ, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωμεν, ἔτι ἔσται, οὐδ' αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀποδεδεῖχθαι,—ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐνέστηκεν ὃ νῦν δὴ Κέβης ἔλεγε, τὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα ἀποθνήσκοντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διασκεδάννυται ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ αὐτῇ τοῦ εἶναι τοῦτο τέλος ᾖ. Τί γὰρ κωλύει γίγνεσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν καὶ ξυνίστασθαι ἄλλοθέν ποθεν καὶ εἶναι πρὶν, καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπειον σῶμα ἀφικέσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀφίκηται καὶ ἀπαλλάττηται τούτου, τότε καὶ αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν καὶ διαφθείρεσθαι;

'But that after death (says Simmias) the soul will continue to exist is not proven even to my own satisfaction. I cannot get rid of the feeling of the many to which Cebes was referring—the feeling that when the man dies the soul may be scattered, and that this may be the end of her. For admitting that she may be generated and created in some other place, and may have existed before entering the human body, why after having entered in and gone out again may she not herself *be destroyed and come to an end*?'—*Jowett*, p. 424.

CHAPTER XXIX.—Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἆρα, τὸ ἀειδὲς, τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον, γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀειδῆ, εἰς Ἅιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεὸν, οὗ ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἰτέον, αὕτη δὲ δὴ ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ οὕτω πεφυκυῖα ἀπαλλαττομένη τοῦ σώματος εὐθὺς διαπεφύσηται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν, ὥς φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ φίλε Κέβης τε καὶ Σιμμία.

'And are we to suppose that the soul, which is invisible, in passing to the true Hades, which, like her, is invisible, and pure, and noble, and on her way to the good and wise God, whither, if God will, my soul is also soon to go,—that the soul, I repeat, if this be her nature and origin, is *blown away and perishes* immediately on quitting the body, as the many say? That can never be, my dear Simmias and Cebes.'—*Jowett*, p. 428.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—Εἰ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ψυχὴ οὖσα ἁρμονία τις, δῆλον ὅτι, ὅταν χαλασθῇ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἁμέτρως, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἀνάγκη εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει ἀπολωλέναι, καίπερ οὖσαν θειοτάτην, ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἁρμονίαι αἵτ' ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις· ἆρα οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τί φήσομεν, ἐάν τις ἀξιοῖ κρᾶσιν οὖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θανάτῳ πρώτην ἀπόλλυσθαι;

'And, if this be true, the inference clearly is that when the strings of the body are unduly loosened, then the soul, though most divine, like other harmonies, of course *perishes* at once. Now, if any one maintained that the soul, being the harmony of the elements of the body, first *perishes* in that which is called death, how shall we answer him?'—*Jowett*, p. 434.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ σώματος, ἣ τῇ ψυχῇ φέρει ὄλεθρον, μηδένα φαίη εἰδέναι.

The whole passage is as follows (the extract is in italics): 'For suppose that we grant even more than you affirm as within the range of possibility, and, besides acknowledging that the soul existed before birth, admit also that after death the souls of some are existing still, and will exist, and will be born and die again and again, and that there is a natural strength in the soul which will hold out and be born many times;—for all this we may be still inclined to think that she will succumb in one of her deaths and utterly perish (*παντάπασιν ἀπόλλυσθαι*); *and this death and dissolution of the body which brings destruction* (*ὄλεθρον*) *to the soul may be unknown to any of us*, for no one of us can have had any experience of it. And if this be true, then I say that he who is confident in death has but a foolish confidence, unless he is able to prove that the soul is altogether immortal and imperishable (*παντάπασιν ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον*). But if he is not able to prove this, he who is about to die will always have reason to fear that when the body is disunited, *the soul may utterly perish*' [*εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἀεὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι δεδιέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, μὴ ἐν τῇ νῦν τοῦ σώματος διαζεύξει παντάπασιν ἀπόληται*].—*Jowett*, p. 436.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—Καὶ πάνυ δέομαι πάλιν, ἄλλου τινὸς λόγου, ὅς με πείσει ὡς τοῦ ἀποθανόντος οὐ συναποθνήσκει ἡ ψυχή.

'And now I must begin again, and find another argument which will assure me that when the man is dead the soul *dies* not with him.'—*Jowett*, p. 437.

CHAPTER XLI.—Κέβης δέ μοι ἔδοξε τοῦτο μὲν ἐμοὶ συγχωρεῖν πολυχρονιώτερόν γε εἶναι ψυχὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τόδε ἄδηλον παντὶ, μὴ πολλὰ δὴ σώματα καὶ πολλάκις καταρρίψασα ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τελευταῖον σῶμα καταλιποῦσα νῦν αὐτὴ ἀπολλύηται, καὶ ἦ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θάνατος, ψυχῆς ὄλεθρος.

'On the other hand, Cebes appears to grant that the soul was more lasting than the body, but he said that no one could know whether the soul (after having worn out many bodies) might not *perish herself* and leave her last body behind her; and *that thing is death, which is the destruction of the soul.*'—*Jowett*, p. 440.

CHAPTER XLIV.—

'You say, Cebes, that the demonstration of the strength and divinity of the soul, and of her existence prior to our becoming men, does not necessarily imply her immortality. Granting that the soul is long-lived, and has known and done much in a former state, still she is not on that account immortal; and her entrance into the human form may be a sort of disease which is the beginning of *dissolution* (ἀρχὴ ἦν αὐτῇ ὀλέθρου), and may at last, after the toils of life are over, *end in that which is called death* (καὶ τελευτῶτά γε ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θανάτῳ ἀπολλύοιτο).'—*Jowett*, p. 446.

CHAPTER LV.—Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὧδε, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη περὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου εἰπεῖν εἰ μὲν τὸ ἀθανατον καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν, ἀδύνατον ψυχῇ, ὅταν θάνατος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴῃ, ἀπόλλυσθαι· θάνατον μὲν γὰρ δὴ οὐ δέξεται οὐδ' ἔσται τεθνηκυῖα, ὥσπερ τὰ πρία οὐκ ἔσται ἄρτιον.

'And the same may be said of the immortal: for if the immortal be also imperishable, the soul when attacked by death *cannot perish;* for the preceding argument shows that *the soul will not admit of death, or ever be dead,* any more than three or the odd number will admit of the even.'—*Jowett*, p. 457.

* * * * * * *

And again:—Οὐκοῦν καὶ νῦν περὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου, εἰ μὲν ἡμῖν ὁμολογεῖται καὶ ἀνώλεθρον εἶναι, ψυχὴ ἂν εἴη πρὸς τῷ ἀθάνατος εἶναι καὶ ἀνώλεθρος· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλου ἂν δέοι λόγου. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεῖ, ἔφη, τούτου γε ἕνεκα· σχολῇ γὰρ ἄν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο, εἰ τό γε ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀίδιον φθορὰν δέξεται.

'And the same may be said of the immortal: if the immortal is also imperishable, then the soul will be *imperishable as well as immortal.* But if not, some other proof must be given of her imperishableness. No other proof is needed, he said—for if the immortal, being eternal, is *liable to perish, then nothing is imperishable.*'—*Jowett*, p. 457.

There can be no hesitation in affirming that any ordinary reader of Greek coming to the New Testament for the first time in the age of the apostles, would, as Archbishop Whately supposes, have taken the words now in question, singly, and still more in their

striking combination, in the sense in which they are used in the preceding extracts from the *Phædon*. If it can be shown, as perhaps it can, that some of these words had been occasionally used, in highly emotional passages of the poets, in a strained and tropical sense, in which the idea of misery and pain *leading to death* is the prominent thought, such a reader would at once decide that in a grave *philosophical* or *religious* treatise these words must be taken in their proper and obvious meaning; especially in sacred writings partaking of the quality of public legislative documents, in which important words are to be always taken in their strictest and most direct definition.

Unquestionably such a Greek would reply to any one who proposed to put the 'figurative' sense of endless misery upon them, somewhat as the head master of an English public school replied to a recent proposal of the same sort: 'My mind fails to conceive a grosser misinterpretation of language than when the five or six strongest words which the Greek tongue possesses, signifying "destroy," or "destruction," are explained to mean maintaining an everlasting but wretched existence. To translate black as white is nothing to this.'*

Nothing less than an argument of overwhelming cogency ought to prevail to deflect and reverse the ordinary signification of Greek words in interpreting the New Testament. No scholar can doubt that the Greek language received in the hands of the Jews a certain Hebraic education, so to speak, during the three hundred years before Christ, which fitted it more completely for its highest use as the instrument for propagating Christianity;

* Dr. Weymouth, of Mill Hill, commenting on and agreeing with a similar statement by the late Dr. Mortimer of the City School. How differently minds are constituted may be seen in Professor Moses Stuart's observation on the text, that 'the wages of sin is death.' He asks, 'Is it in the power of language to convey a stronger impression of the retribution (of eternal misery) that will be made in the invisible world than such an expression conveys?'—*Essays*, p. 104. But this, even on the part of so excellent a scholar as Dr. Stuart, seems to be trifling with that common sense which God in His great mercy has given to the unlearned, to preserve them from the infatuations occasionally incident to their superiors in learning. In reply to Mr. J. N. Darby's assertion that the word 'destroy' is never used for causing the final cessation of existence (p. 144), it is sufficient to say that it is seldom used to signify anything else than the putting an end to the organic form, or substance, of existing things.

but it may be safely maintained that no part of that education of the language was directed to the overthrow and reversal of the signification of its most familiar words; or to the establishment of rare, idiomatic, and secondary senses, as the primary, leading, and established senses of the chief terms to be employed in offering the revelation of the gospel to mankind, and in making known the penalty for rejecting it. Surely the Greek world had not *to learn a new Greek language before it could understand the apostles*, for if so the 'gift of tongues' was an equivocal blessing.

Highly exaggerated notions are entertained by some writers respecting the peculiarity of the Greek Testament idiom. No sooner is it demonstrated that the identical terms which are employed in the New Testament books signify in the pages of Plato, in a discussion on immortality, and in all other known classical writers, *literal destruction or abolition of life*, than you are met with the statement that New Testament Greek has its own 'spiritual and secondary meanings,' and cannot be rightly understood if we take its words in 'classical' senses. The argument is not indeed always used with consistency, for sometimes we are urged to attach 'figurative' senses to these very terms in the New Testament on the strength of quotations supposed to contain similar figures, *taken from the Greek poets!* The argument on the carnality of classical Greek is taken up or laid aside apparently according to the exigency of the criticism.

But indeed the doctrine is exceedingly pernicious, and destructive of Christianity, that the evangelists and apostles wrote in language which was in the main unintelligible to their Greek converts. When Luke wrote a gospel for the churches planted by Paul in Achaia, or Macedonia, or Asia Minor, or when S. Paul wrote two letters to the Corinthians, recently converted from heathenism, who can imagine, except one who has a theory to obey, that these compositions were set forth in words which were employed in senses previously unknown to the readers at Corinth, Philippi, Athens, or Thessalonica? Granting that there would be some tincture of foreign idioms in the combination of their phrases, and admitting that there would be some new Hebraic phrases introduced from the usage of Greek-speaking Jews of Palestine or Alexandria, still it is evident that their ordinary expressions were, from the very fact that they were used by the

apostles, judged by them to be intelligible Greek, so that none of the idioms were beyond the comprehension of an honest, religious, Greek-speaking man. And equally evident is it that old words would not be used in new and strange senses, such as making death (θάνατος, or φθορά) stand for endless misery, without full warning from such conscientious correspondents.*

Take for example the common verb ἀπόλλυμι, to *destroy*. No scholar is ignorant that the first, proper, and prevailing sense of this verb is *thoroughly to break up the existence of anything, as an organic unity;* in the case of living things, *to destroy their life*. No one will deny also that it bears the secondary, idiomatic sense of to *lose*, especially in the first aorist active. There are also examples in the tragedians, in the 'hyperbole of passion and poetry,' in which the idea of *misery* and *pain* might seem to be more prominent than the *destruction* they were bringing on, but

* Since this was written we have the added authority of Mr. Baldwin Brown for believing that the threatening of *destruction* in the Bible always stands for the idea of 'annihilation,'—only he affirms that it is the sinner's *sin* which is to be destroyed in hell, not himself. 'There is a divine and blessed way of destroying sinners by destroying sin.' There is no need for encumbering our pages with an argument in reply to this notion borrowed from Origen and the Universalists. Mr. Constable has sufficiently exposed it. He says,—'S. Paul describes the Gospel thus: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world *to save sinners*" (1 Tim. i. 15). Mr. Brown would have us think that the very same blessed truth would have been conveyed if it had been said that "*Christ Jesus came into the world to destroy sinners*," for saving a sinner and destroying a sinner mean the same thing with him. Or, let us read our Lord's awful warning to His generation as interpreted by Mr. Brown: "Except ye repent, *your sins* shall all likewise perish" (Luke xiii. 3). Why, instead of deterring from sin, a premium would here seem to be set upon impenitence! What does Mr. Brown make Paul tell us is the due reward of transgression? "The wages of sin,"—read after his interpretation—"*is the death of sin*" (Rom. vi. 23). What warning does he make Peter hold out to the false teachers who should privily bring in damnable heresis, even denying the Lord that bought them? He would make him say that they would "bring *upon their sins* swift destruction" (2 Peter ii. 1). Such is the confusion and utter violence to the language and sense of the New Testament which the adoption of Mr. Brown's theory of interpretation would bring upon it.'—*Rainbow*, 1876. The same reply is applicable to the argument of the Rev. Samuel Cox in *Salvator Mundi*. The whole array of words threatening *destruction* to the wicked he regards as in effect so many fatherly promises of chastisement, restitution, and eternal life to lost sinners; but he avoids the consideration of the above arguments against such violent perversion.

these are exceedingly rare, and in no cases occur, so far as I can ascertain, except when the misery is likely to *end* in destruction.

If now I open the tenth chapter of S. Matthew's gospel, I find no single word used in the whole chapter in any other sense than that in which an ordinary Greek would have understood it. Why should I be asked to believe that in verse 28 the word ἀπολέσαι, to *destroy*, is used in a 'sacred' or 'poetic' sense wholly unknown to ordinary Greek readers—to *make miserable*, without literally putting to death? If I find in the second epistle to the Thessalonians no word used in any other sense than that in which all the Greeks in Macedonia would have understood it, why am I to think that in i. 8, the word ὄλεθρος is used out of its proper meaning of destruction of life (the sense in which Plato uses it in the *Phædon*), and that it is here to be taken in the sense of *misery* which will be endless, to suit the theory of a soul that is necessarily immortal? Language cannot thus be created anew at the word of command, any more than a man can immortalise the human race by an assertion of their immortality. One might just as reasonably attempt to set up an argument to show that in Matt. x. 28, σῶμα does not mean the body, or ψυχή the soul, on the ground that divine revelation is something much higher than the common Greek-speaking populations were able to conceive of. Such criticism prepares the way for all the 'inner and deeper senses' of Swedenborgianism and Universalism.*

* A curious example of the hold which 'figurative' senses have on even the ablest men appeared a few years ago in a public discussion on this subject. Dr. Mortimer, late head master of the City School, had laid it down a little too broadly that 'ἀπόλλυμι, whenever and wherever it occurs in a Greek author, has but one meaning—the destruction of the object to which it is the active verb.' Profiting by this too sweeping statement, which omits to account for the occasional secondary sense of *losing*, Dr. Lindsay Alexander (clarum et venerabile nomen) took advantage of the existence of the secondary sense of *losing* to throw a doubt upon the proper and primary meaning of the word as applicable to future punishment. The following reply was given by the writer to Dr. Alexander and his associates in this criticism, and I hope will explain the value of that objection :—'If a man were engaged in teaching English to a foreigner, and were to inform him that "whenever and wherever the word *strike* occurs in an English author it has but one meaning—to *give a blow* to the object to which it is the active verb"—what would be thought if Dr. Alexander were to step in with an indignant protest against the delusion practised on the foreigner, declaring that it is notorious that to *strike* often

If the reader will take the trouble to run his eye through any lexicon of the New Testament, even of that class which might be described as dogmatic commentaries in disguise, he can judge for himself whether the spiritual discipline of Greek, to which I have referred, had the effect of altering the *proper signification* of any large family of words to suit the new religious purpose.*

The meaning of many terms was heightened and deepened; but, as Professor Cremer allows in his lexicon, words which relate to the future state form the only class which, it is pretended, were twisted out of their *proper meaning*, in the New Testament dialect; and this notwithstanding the fact that Greek already abounded in words for expressing with fullest accuracy the ideas which it is sought to enforce under the perverted terminology.

MORAL IDEAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE TERMS LIFE AND DEATH.

It is now necessary to consider an argument which exerts more influence than perhaps any other in supporting what are called the secondary senses of *death and destruction*, and with them the doctrine of eternal misery; I mean that which is derived from certain supposed exclusively moral senses of these terms in the New Testament.

signifies to *cease from work*, and also to *pull down a flag* in battle? Assuredly every one would think that Dr. Alexander was somewhat needlessly interfering with the lesson, since the object of the strong general statement made to the learner was sufficiently obvious—to impress upon him the proper, ordinary signification of the verb to *strike*, and the radical idea to which all the secondary and idiomatic meanings are clearly traceable. What would any bystander think if Dr. Alexander commenced a series of quotations from English poets and journalists to show that to take the verb in the sense of *giving a blow* would make nonsense in places were naval actions and trades unions are spoken of? I feel certain that the bystanders would consider that the foreigner was being unfairly treated, and that the teacher ought to be supported in his general doctrine; since it is of the last importance that foreign people should learn the *proper* meanings of our common words, and not be seduced into mistaking special and idiomatic uses for normal significations.'

* See for example the meritorious *Handbook to the Grammar of the New Testament*, recently published by Dr. Samuel Green, late of Rawdon College.

An impression widely prevails that the *life* spoken of by the Apostle John, ζωή, does not include the idea of existence, which is always presupposed, but signifies only a moral condition of holy union with God, carrying with it the result of heavenly joy, in 'life eternal.' Those who do not possess this life are called the dead, νεκροὶ, as in Matt. viii. 22; Eph. ii. 1, 5; Col. ii. 13; Apoc. iii. 1.* The words of S. Paul respecting the wanton widow are also cited: 'She that liveth in pleasure (ζῶσα τέθνηκε) *living is dead.*' Hence, it is argued, the proposal to take the words *life* and *death*, as including the ideas of existence and non-existence, is contrary to the usage of the Scripture, and leads to a whole world of wrong conclusions. The 'dead,' so called, are persons actually alive; and this proves that those who hereafter are to be 'hurt of the second death' may be persons who are still alive and conscious of their sufferings, and are by no means destroyed, in the literal sense of that word.

1. In clearing up this question, so important in its bearings on the main controversy, let it be understood that we offer no denial of the self-evident fact that the term *life*, as used in Scripture to describe the present and future states of regenerate men, does include the associated ideas of holiness and blessedness, arising from a new relation to God, a spiritual resurrection resulting from redemption (Rom. vi. 4). No one ought to affirm that the bare idea of animate *existence* is all that the term includes. No one of any account does affirm it. Our position is that the idea of existence is included in the meaning, is fundamental to it, the moral ideas associated with it having this conception of eternal

* The expressions which run through the fifth and sixth chapters of S. John's gospel are usually assumed to be wholly of a figurative character. The 'dead' hearing the voice of the Son of God, and living, are said to be morally dead, and their resurrection to be only spiritual. But this rendering overlooks the references to physical resurrection contained in the words, 'All that are in the graves (tombs, monuments) shall hear His voice and shall come forth.' Our Lord's intention clearly was to vindicate His claim to be the Life-giver, by declaring that He would speedily give token of His power by raising many from the sepulchre. This was fulfilled during His ministry; and at the moment of His death, when 'many bodies of the sleeping saints arose,' an earnest of His ability to raise all mankind, either to the resurrection of 'life' or of 'judgment.' But the whole chapter must be read with new eyes to learn the force of these references to His Life-giving power.

sentient being in the complex humanity (in opposition to death or destruction) as their basis.*

It follows from this statement that it is no sufficient answer to our argument to go about to prove that life carries with it an association of moral ideas; for this fact we, too, urgently affirm. What must be established to overthrow our argument is the difficult position that the terms, life and living for ever, *exclude* the idea which they most naturally denote. What we maintain is, that just as the apostolic phraseology concerning a spiritual resurrection-life, as descriptive of the regenerate man's estate (Rom. vi. 1-16), does not exclude, but rather involves and enforces that physical resurrection, that re-construction of the dissolved humanity in corporal immortality, which is the destined portion of every

* A very able writer in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, for 1877, speaks of the definition of *life* thus: 'No exact and exhaustive definition of "life" has yet been framed. Perhaps there is no word in our language, not even its correlative "death," with so many and so delicate shades of significance. A common, though vague, idea runs through all its meanings, but the sense in each case depends upon the subject of which "life" is predicated. There is a plainly perceptible difference between the "life" of an ox and the "life" of the grass on which it feeds; and between the "life" of the ox and the "life" of the man who owns it. It would be ridiculous to confine the term to its lowest signification; the inapplicability of a formula so constructed would be seen at a glance. The Conditionalists commit a very similar absurdity, when they press in their favour what they are pleased to call the "literal sense" of the word in question, by which they mean the lowest sense. But the "literal sense" is not necessarily the lowest sense.'—On this I observe that there is one thing common to all the subjects of which *life* is predicated,—that their *death* consists in the total destruction of the organism—the cessation of the life of the integer. In order to understand the radical meanings of *life* and *death* they must be considered together. The attempt to set up a sense of *death*, which excludes the idea of destruction, is a departure from the analogy supplied throughout nature, and requires for its establishment somethin much more forcible than the uninspired assertion of our opponents, that life in relation to man's religious state and prospects, signifies only *union with God* and that his death eternal signifies only *endless misery*. I cannot too strongly recommend the appendix to Rev. Thomas Davis's work on *Endless Suffering*, where the reader will find critically discussed the phrases in the Pauline Epistles on which the Augustinian theory of 'death' is founded (Longmans). Christ bestows on His servants life in all its 'shades of significance'—including the lowest as well as the highest. 'He will raise them up at the last day.' And He bestows such complex life on these alone. It is life in His own Image, as God and Man in one Person for ever.' (3rd Edition).

Christian—so the moral idea of eternal life in Christ does not exclude, but imply, the under-lying fact of an eternal existence, depending on union with Him as the 'life-giving Spirit.' And just as we reprobate the criticism of those who argue, that because the apostles describe a moral resurrection of believers, therefore they do not teach a physical resurrection, (the error of Hymenæus and Philetus, who said 'that the resurrection is past already'), so we maintain that the doctrine of those persons is to be condemned who hold that, because there is a spiritual sense included in the 'life' possessed by believers, therefore we are to exclude from the term the fundamental idea of a literal immortality in body and spirit. The new life, being divine in its quality, is eternal.

2. Next it is necessary, in order to obviate similar misconceptions, to add that we do not question the figurative uses of *death* in the New Testament. In every language these uses are common. Thus, in English, we say—to be 'dead to any thing or person' in the obvious sense of *ceasing to be* in living relations with him or it. So a man is said to be 'dead to the law,' 'dead to the world,' 'dead to sin,'—the meaning being that he *ceases to live or exist* in certain relations with them. But in these cases the figure is formed on the proper meaning of the term.

Again, we often speak of one as a 'dead' man, who is in imminent *danger of death;* as when you hold a pistol to a burglar, and say, 'You are a dead man, if you move a step further;' or, as when the apostles cried out in the storm, 'Lord, save us, *we perish*,' ἀπολλύμεθα—not intending to indicate that they were in a state of perpetual suffering, but in danger of literal death. Thus, also, S. Paul says of himself—'*In deaths oft;*'—'*We that live are always delivered unto death;*'—'*Thanks be to God, who hath delivered us from so great a death.*' Also, he speaks of 'delivering such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh' (ὄλεθρον). In this passage, the term *destruction* is used to denote the effect of the *mortal disease* with which the incestuous man was smitten for his sin; the final result of which was certain, *unless he repented.* The fact that he did repent and live (2 Cor.) no more proves that the ὄλεθρος was mere suffering, without danger of death, than the use of the phrase 'we perish' by the drowning apostles proves that they were in affliction which threatened no fatal result. Yet it is on such trifling perversions as these that

some authors rest a mighty theory of interminable suffering for sinners of every description. In none of these cases would any one contend that the words *death*, *perishing*, or *destruction* stand for a state of sin or misery, but the condition of a man who is on the brink of death, or in danger of physical destruction. That is to say, death is used *proleptically*, in anticipation of a future result: in a manner the reverse of that which is found in the phrase —'I saw the *dead* stand before God,' where the persons then raised up are spoken of as dead, not because they had been *wicked*, but *dead* in the past.

3. Neither, in the next place, is it denied that when sinful and unregenerate men are called 'the dead,' or 'dead by sin,' or are said to 'abide in death,' or to be in 'death,' there is a strong associated reference to the spiritual condition of sin and misery which brings or keeps them under this category. So that it is not sufficient to adduce evidence to prove that there is a reference to a moral condition, for we maintain this as firmly as the advocates of natural Immortality.

But the true question is, whether, underneath all such moral references in the terms, there is not a deeper reference to the historical meaning of death as illustrated in that narrative of the Fall of Man on which redemption is founded; that meaning which is explained in the sentence passed upon Adam, 'To dust thou shalt return,' and which finds its full explication in the correlative terms used throughout the Bible to reveal it; as in our Lord's words in Matt. x. 28, 'Fear Him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.' This is the essential question. The evidence in support of the affirmative answer is as follows:—

The synonymous terms employed in the New Testament, in explanation of the *death* in which sinners lie by sin, compel the assertion that the conceptions of existence and non-existence are at the basis of the terms Life and Death. Take, for example, the verb ἀποκτείνω, to kill, or rather kill outright. This word has dropped out of use in modern theology, because it fails to express the complication of ideas which in later ages have grown up around the two words *death* and *destruction*, and which have stifled their proper signification. But in the New Testament the verb *to be killed* is used interchangeably with the verbs *to die* and *to be destroyed;* is used, in fact, to explain what it is to

die or be destroyed. Thus, in the Epistle to the Romans, S. Paul, after previous references (chapter v.) to the death which descended upon the race from Adam (including, as he specially observes, that innocent part of mankind who had 'not sinned after the manner of Adam'), goes on in the seventh chapter to treat of the effect of the law upon those who attempt to serve God while under its ban. He says (vii. 11), 'For I was *alive* without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, *and I died*. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be *unto death*. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it *killed* or *slew me* outright,' ἀπέκτεινεν. This is in accordance with his statement in 2 Cor. iii. 6, where he contrasts the different effects of the law, or ministry of condemnation, and the gospel, or ministry of righteousness. 'The letter *killeth*, ἀποκτέννει, but the spirit *giveth life*.' Now, in each of these cases, S. Paul uses the verb *to kill* as explanatory of the *death* which comes by sin under the law, *and this being so, it ought to be capable of being used interchangeably with death*, and its derivatives, as employed to describe the state and prospects of sinners. Let us, then, assume the senses attributed to *death* and the *dead* by established usage. 'Sinners are morally dead, and the word signifies nothing else than a state of sin and misery; there is no reference to existence or non-existence.' If so, then it ought to make sense to say that a wicked man is 'killed in sins' (Eph. ii. 1); or that he is spiritually killed by transgression,—and will be *slain* and *killed* to all eternity in the miseries of hell. But ordinary preachers would not now think of telling a wicked man that the law or curse of God would *kill* him. That word would not express their idea of 'death.' They would be afraid lest the sinful man should take it in the sense of literally losing his life in hell. S. Paul, however, used the word constantly and fearlessly as synonymous with *death*—a decisive proof that the radical meaning of death, the loss of literal life or existence, lies at the basis of it wherever it is held forth as the doom of the wicked. We conclude then that when the unregenerate are called 'the dead,' the usage is *proleptic* or anticipatory, one of the commonest figures in all languages;* founded upon the

* It is thus that Maimonides, 'the eagle of the Rabbins,' the greatest and most learned of the Jewish commentators on the Hebrew Bible, explains the

doctrine which underlies the gospel, that men have lost life eternal by the fall, and have aggravated their doom by their own sins, so that all who are unsaved are but awaiting that sentence of the 'second death' which will consign them to 'destruction of body and soul in Gehenna,' an 'everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord.' 'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall soon and certainly die (μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν); but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, YE SHALL LIVE' (Rom. viii. 13), where the word is used in its most emphatic sense, as where the eternally existing God is called, the Living God.

The general philological argument to which attention has been now drawn, I believe, compels the conclusion that the New Testament doctrine on the future punishment of obstinately impenitent men is that they shall be 'blotted out' and finally perish under inflictions corresponding with their sins. A doom more credible, indeed, than that of endless existence in misery, but in another aspect not less awful,—for what can be imagined more tremendous, as the issue of an evil life, than to have incurred a death which shuts the sinner out of the universe for ever, by driving him into the abyss of destruction? The horror of capital punishment on earth is the best representation of such a doom, though offering indeed but a feeble image of the catastrophe when a soul shall 'die in its sins' by undergoing the final stroke of extermination as an enemy of God.

SECTION III.

I shall now add some criticisms on the New Testament language on future punishment, which taken collectively confirm the general argument just exhibited.

If the preceding considerations are based on truth, we ought

term. In his book on *Repentance*, ch. viii., he says, 'But this is the penalty which awaits the unjust—that they shall not attain that life, but shall be utterly destroyed. He who is unworthy of eternal life is called *the Dead*, הוא המת, *because he shall not live for ever*, but on account of his iniquities shall be cut off in his wickedness, and like a beast shall perish.'—ואכד כבהמה נכרת; Edition by Clavering, Oxford, 1705.

to discover in the apostolic writings forms of expression either openly, or by implication, or by undesigned coincidence, bearing testimony to the correctness of these interpretations. A wise inquirer will weigh the conjoint as well as the individual value of those to be now adduced.

These coincident forms of expression may be divided into two classes: *firstly*, the images employed to denote future punishment; *secondly*, certain unrhetorical explicit statements of doctrine.

1. The images used to denote the future punishment of sinners agree entirely with the doctrine of their ultimate destruction, and are to the last degree unsuited to denote the idea of their everlasting existence in misery.

The name of the wicked shall be 'blotted from the book of life.' The wicked man shall be 'cut down' like a dead tree. He will be 'cut asunder' amid his 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.' He will be cast into the fire to be 'burned' *like a fruitless branch.* He will be 'burned up' *like* '*chaff*,' or 'stubble,' so that the fire shall leave him 'neither root nor branch' (Malachi iv.). He will be 'broken to shivers' *like a potter's vessel*,—'dashed to pieces,'—'ground to powder.' He shall be thrown down into destruction *like a* '*house without a foundation;*' be 'cast away' to putrefy *like bad fish.* If the *destruction* so constantly threatened to sinners in the *Old* Testament be regarded as a figure of the future punishment in another state, the image at least is a strong support of the belief that *karat* or *extermination* is the impending penalty. If the Old Testament threatenings under the Law are to be taken as distinct predictions of future punishment, then they agree in their literal sense with the New Testament, which also denounces the same 'destruction.'

But there is not one image in either the Old or New Testament, descriptive of retribution, which encourages the expectation of a bad man's everlasting life. 'When the wicked spring as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity flourish, it is that they shall be *destroyed for ever*' (Psalm xcii. 7). 'All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of the grass; the grass *withereth*, the flower *fadeth*—but the word of the

Lord endureth for ever' (Isaiah xl. 7). 'The enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of rams; *into smoke shall they consume away*' (Psalm xxxvii. 20). This is language which it is difficult to believe proceeded from inspired men who thought that the wicked were immortal, and would endure for ever to be the plagues of the universe, or a torment of soul to the saved, who should behold their endless woes.

It has been often said that the proposal to denominate a limited amount of suffering, terminated by destruction, *Death*, is unreasonable. Such a term must signify either *misery* or *extinction*, but not both. To this we reply, that the contrary is nearer the truth: and that the real objection lies against the popular interpretation. For it appears to be as irrational to declare that those persons shall *perish* and be *destroyed*, who are in fact to be kept alive evermore in suffering, as it would be to say of a man labouring under a distemper, which was certain *not* to be fatal and mortal, that he was *dying* or *perishing* in it. We should never be induced to employ these phrases in any case in which it was not evident or probable *that the disease would end* in dissolution; and it remains to be seen by what process of thought in the apostles of old it originally was, that they came as is supposed to affix these expressions to the cases of those whose torments should be 'without measure or end.'

A striking confirmation of this argument arises from consideration of the language employed by Mohammed in the Koran—like the Bible, an Oriental book—when denouncing future punishment to unbelievers. That marvellous farrago of sense and nonsense is destitute of the threatening of *death, slaughter, and destruction* to the wicked in hell. Mohammed intended to teach the everlasting misery of 'infidels,' and he has given expression to his ideas in words well fitted to denote them. See Koran, chaps. iv., vii., xx., xxix.

Indeed, so far is the proposed signification of these words, 'death,' 'perishing,' 'destruction,' from being alien to their proper application, that it is one of the most ordinary usages of speech to convey the compound ideas of suffering and final cessation of life by each one of the very terms under examination.

So far is it from being the fact that Death must signify *either*

misery *or* non-existence, but not the composite conception of misery *and* loss of life, than no phrases are more usual than these: 'an easy death,' 'a lingering death,' 'a painful death,' 'a violent death,' a 'horrible death,' 'a miserable destruction;' in each one of which the notion of a final cessation of life is associated with the conception of varying degrees of suffering. Thus, also, in Scripture (as has been shown in the former part of this chapter), we find the idea of a 'mighty destruction' and of a 'great death' (2 Cor. i. 10), presented in reference to temporal dissolution, in such a manner as to indicate that it is entirely in accordance with the thoughts of the Bible writers to denominate the future punishment of the wicked, consisting in suffering and destruction, by the general name of Death; leaving it to other occasions to add the qualifying representations concerning the extent of that suffering, from the 'few stripes' of the comparatively ignorant up to the 'greater damnation' of the well-instructed transgressor.

(2) We shall now proceed to point out some such portions of Scripture as appear to fulfil the conditions just stated and required, commencing with the gospel of Matthew.

Matt. iii. 12.—'He will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; *but He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.*' It is difficult to believe that if John the Baptist had before his imagination the thought of the *indestructibleness* of the wicked in the fires of hell, he would have likened them to *chaff*, which is proverbially the thing in creation least fitted to withstand the action of the flames. This is an image which no orthodox preacher in modern times can be induced to employ. The meaning of the πῦρ ἄσβεστον of the New Testament writers is here revealed. It is a fire which thoroughly accomplishes its object and *burns up the chaff.*

Matt. v. 30.—'Cut it off, and cast it from thee; it is profitable for thee that *one* of thy members should *perish*, and not that thy *whole body* should be cast into hell.' Here there is manifestly a comparison drawn between the evils of the literal *perishing* of one member and of the whole body. The effect of cutting off the hand is literal perishing (ἀπόληται). This fixes the signification of ἀπώλεια in relation to the whole body.

Matt. vi. 25.—'Take no thought for your life, ψυχή, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink: nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the soul, ψυχή, more than meat, and the body than raiment?'—Our Lord by this last question intimates that if His hearers neglected the kingdom of God on account of meat and drink, they would lose their *lives*, body and soul, in the

world to come, and therefore He warns them that it is of far more importance to preserve the soul or life to eternity than to be anxious about it on earth; to preserve the body for ever than to clothe it curiously now.

Matt. x. 28.—Fear not them which kill the body, but are *not able to kill the soul* (ἀποκτεῖναι); but rather fear Him which *is able* to destroy (ἀπολέσαι) both soul and body in Gehenna.'—'To kill the soul' unquestionably signifies to destroy its life, in the same literal sense as that in which men were able 'to kill the body.' It is the threat of God's accomplishing what man was unable to effect, which the Saviour holds out to the timorous; He '*is able* to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna;' and the ability to destroy the soul, to kill it outright, will be exerted by that God who is a 'consuming Fire,' and whose threats are not vain. Christ here taught the doctrine which is found substantially in the Talmud. 'The body shall be consumed, and the soul burned up, and the wind shall scatter it under the feet of the just' (*Roschasciana*, ch. i. quoted, by S. Cox in *Salvator Mundi*, pp. 71-3, which see for further evidence of Jewish belief).

Matt. xvi. 25.—'Whosoever shall wish to save his life, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι, shall lose it, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν.' 'For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own life, ψυχὴν, or what shall a man give in exchange for his life, ψυχήν?'

The same aphorism occurs in S. Luke, chap. ix. 25, with this variation: 'For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world and *lose himself, or be cast away*' (be lost); ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς. And again, in chap. xvii. 33: 'Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it,' καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ αὐτὴν, ζωογονήσει αὐτήν.

In the Gospel of S. John also it occurs thus, chap. xii. 25: 'He that loveth his life, ψυχὴν, shall lose it, ἀπολέσει αὐτήν; and he that hateth his life, ψυχὴν in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal,' εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον φυλάξει αὐτήν.

Here, *to love or save the life*, ψυχὴν, in the first clause in each passage, is determined by the connexion not to signify being concerned for a man's salvation, but the desire of saving his *life*. If, then, by 'losing *it*' our Lord intends eternal suffering in hell, the ψυχή which shall so suffer must be taken in quite a different sense from the ψυχή of the first clause, which will be a great confusion of terms. The αὐτὴν, '*it*,' referred to is surely the ψυχὴν taken in the sense of the first clause of the sentence *life*; which, says our Lord, a wicked man shall *lose*. Otherwise the whole will stand thus: 'He that loveth his ψυχὴν in the sense of *life*, shall lose it in the sense of *soul*.' But then the verb *lose* must also undergo a conversion of meaning in the two clauses of the sentence, as it is given by Luke, chap. ix. 24. There our Lord says, 'Whosoever will *lose his life*, shall save it.' Here *lose* must signify literally lose. Else our Lord will be represented as saying, 'Whosoever shall consign his soul to eternal misery for my sake, the same shall save it;' which is absurd. But if a literal loss of life is the meaning of the phrase in one clause, it surely stands for the same idea in the next;—unless we are prepared to read the whole passage thus:

'Whosoever will save his ψυχὴν, in the sense of *life*, shall *lose his* ψυχὴν, in the sense of his soul going to eternal misery: but whosoever shall lose his *life* in its literal sense for my sake, shall save or keep *it* in the sense of soul, and preserve it (ζωογονήσει, Luke xvii. 33,) in the sense of making it happy.'

The '*losing*,' of Matthew and Luke, is the *not* '*keeping*' of John; and not keeping is the explanation of losing. And certainly not 'keeping' a man's life or soul, or self, is the last form of expression fitted to denote that soul's everlasting existence in torment.

Luke ix. 56.—'The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, ψυχὰς ἀνθρωπων ἀπολέσαι—(some MSS. ἀποκτεῖναι,) but to save them.' This verse is omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, and is absent from all the more authoritative manuscripts. But, as Alford bravely says, '*This whole passage has been tampered with*, as supposed to involve indirect censure of Elias, and to stand in the way of church-censure.' And we cannot consent to expunge, where authorities are so much divided, words whose *insertion* could hardly have occurred. Their design is obvious. The meaning of Christ's 'saving men's *lives*' is defined by the converse of *killing* or *destroying* them; and it is just possible that another reason for the early omission of the words was the perception that they were clean contrary to the ever-advancing doctrine of man's natural possession of an 'indestructible' ψυχὴ life or soul.

Luke xiii. 1-5.—'There were present at that season some that told Him of the Galileans *whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices*. And Jesus answering said unto them, Suppose ye that those Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all *likewise perish*. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent ye shall all *likewise perish*.' ὡσαύτως, ὁμοίως, ἀπολεῖσθε. This cannot signify that they should perish in the same *manner*, through the cruelty of Pilate, or through the fall of towers: therefore it remains only to apply the adverbs of likeness to the doom itself—*literal loss of life, perishing*. If the reference were to this world, the threat was not fulfilled.

Luke xx. 18.—'On whomsoever that stone shall fall, it shall *grind him to powder*.' Was this figure likely to have occurred to any mind in which the dissolution of human nature was not regarded as the punishment of the wicked?

Luke xx. 35.—'They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world *and the resurrection from the dead* neither marry nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more.' In this passage the resurrection from the dead is spoken of as the peculiar privilege of the righteous; notwithstanding the declarations elsewhere given of the resurrection of the unjust. The same apparent restriction of the resurrection occurs in John vi. 54, Phil. iii. 11, 1 Cor. xv. 42; in which last passage, as Locke forcibly proves, the wicked are

passed by, and the righteous alone are spoken of as rising to incorruption and immortality.* How shall we reconcile these seemingly conflicting testimonies? Are we to suppose that our Lord and His apostles intended by their expressions that, compared with the eternal happiness of the saved, the eternal misery of the wicked might be termed no resurrection at all? Rather, do we not detect in their words the doctrine that the resurrection of the wicked will take place only in order that they may undergo the due reward of their deeds in the second death by 'fire'? In this case, no doubt, they may truly be said not to have 'attained to the resurrection from the dead' (ἐξανάστασιν, Phil. iii. 11).

John viii. 34-36.—'Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the slave of sin. And the slave abideth not in the house for ever: but the son abideth ever. If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' The intimation that the slave of sin '*does not abide in the house for ever*,' taken in connection with the passage next to be noticed, seems to point to the interpretation proposed. 'The world passeth away and its passion, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever' (1 John ii. 17).

John viii. 51.—'If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death' (οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ θάνατον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). To which assertion the Pharisees objected, that their pious father Abraham was dead, ἀπέθανε, and the prophets, consequently that His words proved Him 'to have a demon.' They therefore understood His words, literally, to teach that faith in Him would prevent that cessation of life which disbelief would infallibly procure. Neither did He object to their interpretation, *but confirmed it*, by predicating of Himself an existence denoted by a form of speech suitable only to a pre-existent divine nature: 'Before Abraham was I am;' an existence therefore on which, in fact, the life of mankind might depend.

John x. 10, 27.—'The thief cometh not but for to steal, *and to kill, and to destroy:* I am come *that they might have life*, and that they might have it more abundantly.' The opposition in which *killing* and *destruction* are here placed to that *life* which Jesus came to confer, appears to afford ground for the conclusion that since that life was the benefit to be obtained through His mediation, deprivation of life was the doom of those persons who were not saved by His death. The possession of eternal life depends on obedience and faith. 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.'

John xi. 49, 50.—'And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest

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* Mr. Baldwin Brown, in his sermons on *Annihilation*, takes the words '*Neither can they die any more*' as descriptive of *all mankind*. But this is manifestly to force the Scripture. The case put by the Sadducees was the conduct of a *righteous man*. Our Lord's reply corresponded with the question proposed: 'They which shall be *accounted worthy* to obtain that world.'

that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should *die*, ἀποθάνῃ (ch. xviii. 14, ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀπολέσθαι, that one man should *perish*), for the people, and that *the whole nation perish not*, ἀπόληται'. In this unconscious prophecy of Caiaphas the literal death or perishing of one person is placed in opposition to the impending death or perishing of the whole nation: in accordance with Christ's own statement, Luke ix. 56, that '*the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives*, ψυχὰς ἀπολέσαι, *but to save them*.'

Acts iii. 22, 23.—'For Moses truly said unto your fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me. . . . And it shall come to pass that every soul which will not hear that prophet, *shall be destroyed from among the people*,' ἐξολοθρευθήσεται, the same term employed in the Septuagint translation for the menace of *extermination* or *cutting off*.

Acts viii. 20.—'*Then Peter said unto Simon, Thy money perish with thee*;'—literally, thy money be with thee to destruction, τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν. If the term rendered *perish* signifies eternal existence in misery, it is not easy to perceive the force of this curse on the money; but if we understand it in the literal sense, then Simon might perish like his money, and his money like himself. That the word ἀπώλεια, usually translated *perishing* and *perdition*, does really signify the literal death of the wicked, will appear to the reader who remarks how currently it and its derivatives are employed in the New Testament, in cases where modern theologians would hesitate to employ its modern representative. Thus, Matt. xxvii. 20, the chief priests sought *to destroy Jesus*, ἵνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπολέσωσιν.—And Festus applies the same term to the loss of life,—Acts xxv. 16: 'It is not the custom of Romans to deliver any *to die*, etc., εἰς ἀπώλειαν.' If that same word stood for *endless misery*, its use in such cases would have been almost impossible by the apostles in that age.

Acts xx. 26.—'Wherefore I (Paul) take you to record this day that I am pure from the *blood* of all men;' *i.e.*, no one of you will be able to blame me for unfaithfulness if finally lost. But by *blood* a Jew would intend not happiness, but life; whence we infer that their blood, *i.e.*, their loss of life, in eternity, was to be upon their own heads.

Rom. i. 32.—'Who (the Gentiles) knowing the judgment of God, that they which do such things are worthy of *death*, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' If by death eternal misery were intended, this statement would be historically false; for the heathen at large have never known that to be the just judgment of God, δικαίωμα. But if we interpret the passage so as to understand the term death literally, the language of the apostle becomes at once satisfactory. For the heathen knew this. They were 'without hope,' being 'without God in the world.'

Rom. ii. 6, 7.—'God will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory, honour, *and incorruption of nature*, eternal life.' Ch. vi. 23: 'For the wages of sin is

death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' In these passages, *Incorruption* and *Death* are declared to be the respective destinies of the righteous and the wicked: and it is conveyed in the strongest manner, that 'incorruption' is the 'gift of God' to the godly alone.

Rom. viii. 13.—'If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die (*μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν*, translated, John iv. 47, *on the point of death*); but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.' The insertion of a phrase expressly adapted to indicate a speedy dissolution, '*ye are about to die*,' suggests a literal sense for the words that follow, 'ye shall live.'

1 Cor. iii. 14.—'If any man's work *abide* which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss.' This warning, directed against the admission of unholy persons into Christian communion, seems to represent such unsuitable characters as mere 'wood, hay, stubble,' which would not be able to endure or abide the trial by fire at the last great day:—therefore it follows, 'If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy.'

Gal. vi. 8.—'He that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap *corruption*,' *φθοράν*.* The term *corruption*, in Greek and in English, has two significations,—moral depravity, and literal destruction of life. In the present instance, the first of these meanings cannot be intended by the apostle, for it will offer no congruous sense to say, He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap *depravity*. The term, therefore, in this place, signifies *literal death*. Thus the same word is used, Rom. viii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 42-50; Col. ii. 22. See note on 2 Peter ii. 12, p. 384. The whole verse will then present an intelligible statement. 'He that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap *utter death*; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap *life everlasting*.'

1 Tim. vi. 9.—'But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition;' *εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀπώλειαν*. As the Greek language does not afford two stronger expressions than these for denoting the idea of literal death and extinction of being, it requires a large amount of evidence to prove that they were intended by S. Paul to convey the idea of indestructible existence in torment.

Hebrews x. 26-31.—'If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour

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* A stronger form of the same word is employed to denote the chemical breaking up of the frame, *διαφθορά* (Acts xiii. 34). That *φθορὰ* was one of the most usual words to denote corruptibility, or evanescence may be seen in Irenæus; who, in disputing against the Gnostics, constantly uses this word to denote the literal *perishing of souls*. In this sense also it is used by Plato, 400 A.C., and by Athanasius, A.D. 350, covering a space of 750 years. See the citation from Athanasius, in ch. xxvi.

(ἐσθίειν, eat up) the adversary. He that despised Moses' law *died* without mercy under two or three witnesses: *of how much sorer punishment* suppose ye shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith He was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? For we know Him that hath said, Vengeance is mine, I will recompense, saith the Lord. . . . It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God.'

It is evident that this passage is intended to strike an awful alarm into the hearts of those who are disobedient to the call of Christ; and the language is well fitted to excite the utmost apprehensions in the hearts of those who are 'doing despite to the Spirit of grace.' The principle which is established by these verses is, that the *severity* of the punishment which is to follow the rejection of the gospel economy is to be estimated by a consideration of the greater guilt of despising a gospel of mercy, proclaimed by a Divine Mediator, in comparison with the heinousness of despising a divine law, proclaimed by a mortal. Now the usual reply to the inquiry, '*Of how much* sorer punishment suppose ye,' etc.? is,—an infinite, an eternal infliction of suffering.—Without diminishing the *real terror* of the question, it must be suggested that this reply proceeds upon a contemplation solely of the dignities of the persons of Moses and Christ, in which, certainly, there is a boundless difference. But there is one other consideration to be attended to, which will prove the invalidity of the common conclusion. The law of Moses was *the law of God:* and therefore the real comparison to be made is between the guilt of despising the Divine Law and the Divine Gospel: and while, on the one hand, it is evident that the punishment for rejecting the gospel of the Son of God will be *much* more severe than that for despising His law; yet, since, on the other hand, the penalty of *God's law* was a literal, though terrible *death*, it seems to confound all moral sense of proportion to pronounce that the penalty for rejecting the offer of mercy should be *infinitely* more tremendous than *that*, being, in fact, to suffer through endless duration the torment of 'fire.' What is this but to assert that the sanctions of the Divine Justice are infinitely less terrible than the sanctions of the Divine Mercy; or rather that it is an infinitely less terrible thing to affront the majesty of God's righteousness than it is to reject the offers of His love?

2 Peter ii. 12.—'*These, as* (ὡς) *natural brute beasts, made for capture and extinction,* γεγεννημένα εἰς ἅλωσιν καὶ φθοράν, *speak evil of the things which they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their extinction,* ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται.' Evil men did not resemble beasts in evil speaking, but they resemble them in irrationality, and will be like them in their destiny. The beasts are made or born for φθοράν, *extinction*, and wicked men will suffer φθοράν also (Gal. vi); but if this word signified *endless misery*, it could not be said that the 'natural irrational brutes' were 'made' for *that*. This is decisive proof that φθορά stands for *extinction* in the apostolic writings, as it does in the writings of Plato, and in those of Irenæus and Athanasius in the Christian literature.

1 John ii. 17.—'*The world passeth away,* παράγεται, *and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.*' The 'passing away' of the

world, and the 'abiding for ever' of the servants of God, are contrasts which establish the literal interpretation of the subsequent words, 'He that hath not the Son of God hath not the life.'

Jude 5, 7.—'I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterwards *destroyed* them that believed not. . . . . Even as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them in like manner giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth *for an example*, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire' (*πρόκεινται δεῖγμα πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι.*) 'That this is not spoken' (says Whitby) 'of the cities themselves, but of the inhabitants which dwelt in them, is evident; but yet I conceive they are said to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire, not because their souls are at present suffering punishment in hell fire, but because they and their cities perished by that fire from heaven which brought a perpetual, irreparable destruction on them and their cities.' '*Τὸ δεῖγμα, an example*, is to be taken from something visible to, or knowable by, all who were to be terrified by it, especially when it is *an example set forth* or manifested. Now, such was not the punishment of the souls in hell; but nothing was more celebrated among ancient authors than the history of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.' 'The reduction of those cities with their inhabitants to ashes, is mentioned as the thing which placed them as an example of God's vengeance on the ungodly to all future ages; nor could anything be a more fit example of it; for since Peter hath informed us that the heavens and earth which now are, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men, when the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up, what could be a more exact emblem of that day when the elements shall melt into a lake of fire, and the ungodly shall be cast into it? Nor is there anything *more common and familiar in Scripture than to represent a thorough and irreparable vastation, whose effects and signs should be still remaining, by the word αἰώνιος, which we have rendered eternal.* "I will make thee a perpetual desolation" (*αἰώνιον ἔρημον*, Ezek. xxvi. 21), and often elsewhere.'

Rev. ii. 7.—'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.' What was to be the consequence of this to Adam?—'Living for ever' (Gen. iii. 22). What was on the contrary, the opposite consequence of being deprived of the right to the tree of life? Eternal misery?—No: 'returning unto the ground whence he was taken;' 'for dust thou art,' said the Almighty, not an 'Eternal Being,' 'and unto dust shall thou return. So He drove out the man.' Therefore, we argue, all who are not admitted to the tree of life, by the *second* Adam, the Life-giving Spirit, abide in death, the doom of the first, and 'have no life in them.' '*Man that is in honour and understandeth not, is like the beasts which perish*' (Psalm xlix.). '*When the wicked spring as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed for ever*' (Psalm xcii.).

Rev. iii. 5.—'He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white

raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.' This implies that it is there at present; but it refers to one which, by possibility, might not be there some day: consequently to a bad man,—not one whose 'name was written before the foundation of the world,' in the book of life of the 'Lamb which was slain,' which contains the names of the finally saved (Rev. xiii. 8). But the book of life, in which all other names could be, can be no other than the book of the living, or those who *exist;* not the book of those who are 'spiritual' or 'happy,' but of those who are alive. Hence, to be 'blotted from the book of life' is loss of existence; as also to be written in the book of life of the Lamb, is to 'live for ever.'

Rev. xxi. 8.—'All liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.' It cannot be said to be a second *death*, unless it be a doom bearing some likeness to a *first* death. There is no generic likeness whatever between corporeal dissolution, the breaking up of human nature, and the everlasting suffering of a living body and soul: but there is a strong likeness between the mortality of man upon earth, and his second death at the judgment, when 'both body and soul will be destroyed in Gehenna.' The latter may reasonably bear the fearful title of the Second Death; whereas if neither body nor soul is ever to die again, death was the last word that was fitted to express that idea. Our Lord is represented by S. Luke (xvii. 29) as pointing out the result of punishment by 'fire and brimstone,' viz., that the sulphureous rain '*destroyed them all!*' 'Even thus,' He adds, 'shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is revealed.'

NOTE.

I subjoin the following synoptical table of Hebrew verbs used in the Old Testament signifying to *destroy*, with their equivalents in the LXX. and N. T.,—which will form a valuable addition to the extracts from the *Phædon* given in a former page of this chapter. I am indebted for this to Dr. Emmanuel Petavel, whose book, *The Struggle for Eternal Life*, is a condensed summary of critical and theological evidence on the general subject: Kellaway, 1875. This accomplished scholar has also, in the French version of his work, effectually opened the controversy among the churches of continental Europe. —*La Fin du Mal:* Sandoz et Fischbacher, Paris, 1872.

In the Hebrew tongue there are no less than fifty roots, meaning, habitually or occasionally, *to destroy;* most of which are used in the Old Testament to specify the ultimate doom of the wicked. Many of them denote absolute suppression or abolition; some are strictly images, but all point in the same direction. (See Gesenius, Fuerst, etc., and the "English and Hebrew Lexicon" of Selig Newman, on the word *to annihilate.*) In fact, it is certain that the Hebrew language has no stronger terms to express a *ceasing to be*—what we call *annihilation*—than those used respecting the fate of the wicked. The plain teaching of the Old Testament on this subject is endorsed by Jesus and His apostles; its truth is therefore, as it were, riveted. The corresponding

terms of the New Testament are ordinarily borrowed from the Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, and likewise distinctly foretell the extinction of all evil and evil doers. "The majority of these nouns and verbs are used by Plato again and again in the *Phædon*, a dialogue on *Immortality*, expressly for the purpose of conveying the idea of the literal destruction or extinction of the soul. They are precisely the terms generally chosen in the New Testament to denote the punishment of the wicked, with this difference: that Plato says the soul will *not* suffer *θάνατος, ἀπώλεια, ὄλεθρος, φθορά*, that it is *not* destined to *ἀπολέσθαι, καταφθείρεσθαι, ἀποθνήσκειν*; while the New Testament writers declare that wicked men *shall* suffer what is denoted by these terms." We are therefore able to state, concerning the Greek, what we have said concerning the Hebrew, that the authors of the Greek New Testament have used the strongest terms at their command, to assert a total extinction of both evil and evil doers. The verbs *ἐξουδενόω* and *ἐξουθενέω*, which seem more literally to answer to our word "annihilate," are all but exclusively used with the tropical meaning of "to treat with utmost contempt." In the Septuagint, however, they are found with the meaning of "bringing to nought,"—for instance, in Psalm cviii. 14 (numbered cvii. 13 in the Greek); in the Vulgate: "Ad nihilum deducet," "He will reduce to nothingness."

In the following quotations, some Greek words refer exclusively to the Septuagint. With reference to Hebrew verbs, it will be found sufficient for practical purposes to mention the stem word or chief ground form. On account of the many inaccuracies of the usual version, the reader will find it desirable, if possible, to refer to the original texts, in which case the figures within *brackets* will facilitate his research. The quotations within *parentheses*, though not referring to conscious beings, are intended to point out the proper meaning of certain words.

This table, long as it is, might be greatly enlarged. Many *illustrations*, symbolical expressions, and suggestive phrases might also be cited. We trust, however, that, after having gone carefully through the present table, the honest inquirer will find it sufficient proof in support of our statements. It seems to us as if the sacred writers had exhausted their vocabulary in order to convey what is contended for.

To ANATHEMATISE, to devote, to doom to destruction. *See* To CUT OFF.

To ANNIHILATE, to bring to nought. *See also* To DESTROY, To LOSE, To PERISH, etc.—כָּחַד, סָפָה, שָׁבַת, צָמַת, *ἀφανίζω*,* *ἐκλείπω*, Gen. xviii. 23; Deut. xxxii. 26; (Est. ix. 28); Job xxii. 20; Psa. lxxiii. 19; xciv. 23; ci. 8; cxix. 119; Is. lxvi. 17; Zeph. i. 2; עוֹד אֵינָם, *ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς*, Psa. civ. 35; כָּאַיִן וּכְאֶפֶס, *ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται*, Isa. xxix. 20; xli. 11, 12; comp. Rev. xviii. 21; (Matt. vi. 20; Heb. viii. 13); Acts xiii. 41; יהיו כְּלוֹא הָיוּ, *καθὼς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντες*, Obad. 16; תֵּן לְאַיִן Isa. xl. (17) 23; שַׁחַת בְּלִי, the pit of nought, Isa. xxxviii. 17.

To BLOT OUT OF EXISTENCE.—מָחָה, *ἐξαλείφω*, Gen. vi. 7; vii. 4, 23

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* *Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ λόγος συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι.* Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1, 4.

Deut. xxix. 20; Psa. ix. 5 [6]; (li. 9 [11]); lxix. 28 [29]; cix. 13, 14; (Col. ii. 14); Rev. iii. 5; (comp. Luke x. 20; Phil. iv. 3). *Ἀθέτησις*, the effacement or suppression of sin, Heb. ix. 26.

To Break in pieces, to shivers.—פָּתַת, רָעַע, שָׁבַר, דָּכָא, רָצַץ, נָתַץ, נָפַץ, *συνθλάω, συντρίβω, συγκλάω*, Job xxiv. 20; xxxiv. 24; Psa. ii. 9; lxxii. 4; lxxix. 23 [24]; Isa. viii. 15; Matt. xxi. 44; Luke xx. 18; Rev. ii. 27.

To Burn up. *See* To Consume and To Devour.

To Bruise. *See* To Grind to Powder.

To Cast away, off.—נָגַח, *βάλλω ἔξω, ἐκβάλλω*, 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; *εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός*, into the furnace of fire, Matt. xiii. 42, 48, 50; John xii. 31.

To Consume, to devour entirely.—גָּוַע, כָּלָה, כָּמַם, כָּתַת, בָּעַר, בָּלַע, *ἀναλίσκω, καταναλίσκω, κατακαίω, συντελέω, πυρόω*, Job xxiv. 19; Psa. xxxvii. 20; lix. 13 [14]; lxxiii. 19; xcvii. 3; civ. 35; Isa. i. 28, 31; Jer. xxx. 11; Mal. iv. 1 [iii. 19]; Matt. iii. 12; xiii. 30, 40; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Heb. xii. 29; Rev. xviii. 8, *πύρωσις*, burning, 9, 18.

To Corrupt. *See* To Perish.

To Crucify, to kill or *to annihilate*.—*Σταυρόω, συσταυρόω* (Rom. vi. 6; Gal. ii. 20; v. 24; vi. 14).

To Crush. *See also* To Grind to Powder.—דּוּשׁ, *ἐξουδενόω, συντρίβω*, Psa. lx. 12 [14]; cviii. 13 [14], *ad nihilum deducet*, Vulgate—Isa. xiv. 25; Matt. xxi. 44; Luke xx. 18; Rom. xvi. 20.

To Cut in sunder. *See* To Break in Pieces.

To Cut off, down, to suppress.—צָמַת, מוּל, גָּדַע, כָּרַת, כָּחַד, חָרַם, נָזַז, *αἱρέω, ἐξολοθρεύω, ἐκκόπτω, ἐξαιρέω, ἐκκλάω, ἀναθεματίζω*, Gen. ix. 11; Ex. xii. 15, 19; Lev. xxvii. 29; cf. Deut. vii. 25, 26; xiii. 15; xx. 17; Jos. x. 39; Judg. xxi. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 8, 18; (2 Chron. xx. 23); Job xiv. 2 (7); Ps. xxxvii. 9, 38; liv. 5 [7]; lxxiii. 27; lxxv. 10 [11]; Isa. xxix. 20; xxxiv. 2; xlviii. 19; Nah. i. 12, 15; Matt. iii. 10; vii. 19; Luke xiii. 7, 9; John xv. 2; Acts iii. 23; xxiii. 12, 21; Rom. xi. 20, 22, 24; חֵרֶם, *ἀνάθεμα*, devoted, doomed to utter destruction, Lev. xxvii. 28; Josh. vi. 17; Rom. ix. 3.

To Dash in pieces. *See* To Break.

To Destroy. *See also* To Lose.—שָׁמַד, תָּמַם, נָתַץ, צָמַת, חָבַל, אָבַד, *ὄλεθρος*, emphatically used by Plato in order to specify *annihilation, ἀναλίσκω, καθαιρέω, καταργέω, ἐξολοθρεύω, λύω, ἀπόλλυμι*, (Deut. vii. 24); Psa. liv. 5 [7]; lxxiii. 27; xcii. 7 [8]; civ. 35; cxlv. 20; Prov. xiii. 13; (Isa. xlviii. 19); Lam. iii. 22; Zeph. i. 2; Matt. (v. 29, 30); x. 28; xxvii. 20; Rom. vi. 6; vii. 6; 1 Cor. (i. 19, 28; vi. 13; xiii. 8, 10); ii. 6; v. 5; xv. 24, 26; (2 Cor. iii. 7, 14); Gal. v. (11) 15; 1 Thess. v. 3; 2 Thess. i. 9; ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 9; 2 Tim. i. 10 (comp. Rev. xxi. 4, "no more death"); Heb. ii. 14; (James i. 11); 1 John iii. 8. *Abaddon, Apollyon*, the Destroyer, Rev. ix. 11 (cf. John viii. 44).

To Devour, to eat up. *See also* To Swallow up.—אָכַל, *ἐσθίω, κατεσθίω, καταφάγω, συντελέω*, Deut. vii. 16; Isa. i. 20; Hos. xiii. 8; Heb. x. 27; Rev. xi. 5: xx. 9.

To Die, to come to nothing, to cease to be (with regard either to the bodily life alone or to certain activities of the soul, or both to the body and to the soul).—מוּת, גָּוַע, *ἀποθνήσκω, ἀπογίνομαι*. "I must find another argument which will assure me that, when the man dies, the soul *dies* not with him"

(*συναποθνήσκει*).—*Phædo*, xxxviii. Isa. xxii. 13; Zech. xiii. 8; John v. 24; vi. 50; viii. 24: Rom. vii. 6, 10; viii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 32; (Gal. ii. 19); Eph. ii. 1, 5; Phil. ii. 27; 1 Peter ii. 24; מָוֶת, *θάνατος*, death: gradual or complete, apparent or real, proleptic or effective loss of life; absolutely, the extinction either of the bodily life or of the whole human being. Deut. xxx. 15; Rom. vi. 16, 21, 23; vii. 5; James i. 15; v. 20; 1 John iii. 14; Rev. xxi. 8; *ἀπώλεια*, violent death, Acts xxv. 16; *νεκρός*, dead, out of existence (James ii. 17, 20, 26).

To Dissolve. *See* To Lose, To Perish.

To Drown.—שָׁקַע, *βυθίζω*, *ναυαγέω*, Psa. ix. 15 [16]; lxxv. 3; Jer. li. 64; 1 Tim. i. 19; vi. 9; 2 Peter iii. 11, 12.

To Eat up. *See* To Devour.

To Exterminate. *See* To Cut off.

To Extinguish.—דָּעַךְ, כָּבָה, *σβέννυμι*, Job xviii. 5; xxi. 17 Psalm cxviii. 12; Prov. xx. 20; xxiv. 20; Isa. xliii. 17.

To Fall. *See also* Ruin.—נָפַל, *πίπτω*, Psa. xxxvi. 12 [13]; Matt. vii. 27; Luke vi. 49.

To Grind to Powder. *See also* To Break, To Crush.—שָׁחַק, דָּקַק, *λικμάω*, *λεπτύνω*, (2 Kings xxiii. 6); Job xxvii. 21; Psa. xviii. 42 [43]; Dan. ii. 44; Matt. xxi. 44; Luke xx. 18.

To Kill outright, to put to death, to put an end to. The middle voice is used interchangeably with To Die and its derivatives (to put an end to, with reference either to the body or to certain activities of the soul, or both to the body and to the soul).—*See also* To Crucify.—הָרַג, קָטַל, *ἀποκτείνω*, *ἀπόλλυμι*, *θανατόω*, *νεκρόω*, *κατασφάττω*, *ἀναιρέω*, *θύω*, Ps. lxxviii. 31; cxxxix. 19; Dan. vii. 11; Matt. x. 28; xxi. 41; xxii. 7; Mark xii. 9; Luke xix. 27 (comp. xx. 36;) John x. 10; Rom. vii. 11; viii. 13; (Heb. x. 9); 2 Cor. iii. 6; Col. iii. 5; Rev. ii. 23; *ἀνθρωποκτόνος*, homicide, John viii. 44.

Life, Life everlasting, *ζωή*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*; the impenitent sinner shall not see it, have it: John iii. 36; v. 40; Acts xiii. 46; 1 John iii. 15; v. 12.

To Lose Life, to be lost, to cease to exist, to come to an end.—אָבַד, *ἀπόλλυμι*, Abaddon, Apollyon (the destroyer); *ἀπώλεια* (destruction), Ezra vii. 26; Esther viii. 6; Job xx. 7; Psa. ix. 5; xcii. 9 [10]; (cii. 26 [27]); cxlvi. 4; Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. xxvi. 14; xxix. 14; Jer. xlvi. 28; Ezek. xxii. 27; Dan. vii. 11, 26; Matt. (v. 29, 30); vii. 13; Mark iv. 38; (xiv. 4; John vi. 12, 27); xi. 42; xvii. 12; Acts viii. 20; (xxv. 16); Rom. ix. 22, "vessels fitted (*or* vases ready) for destruction"; (1 Cor. xv. 18); Phil. iii. 19; 2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 9; (Heb. i. 11); 2 Peter ii. 1, 3; iii. 7, 16; Rev. xvii. 8, 11.

To Melt away.—מָסַס, *τήκομαι*, *διαλύομαι*, *ἐξουδενοῦμαι*, Psa. lviii. 7 [8]; cxii. 10.

To Overthrow, to overturn.—חָוַס, הָפַךְ, נָתַץ, *καθαιρέω*, *συνταράσσω*, *φθείρω*, Psa. xxviii. 5; lii. 5 [7]; cxliv. 6; Prov. xii. 7; Jer. i. 10; Luke i. 52.

Perdition. *See* To Perish and To Lose.

To Perish, to corrupt, to perish utterly, to putrefy,—שָׁחַת, מָקַק, *φθείρω*, *διαφθείρω*, *διαφθορά*, *καταφθείρω*, *ἀπόλλυμι*, Lev. xxvi. 39; Psa. lv. 23 [24]; (Matt. v. 30); Acts xiii. 34; Gal. vi. 8; 1 Cor. iii. 17; (xv. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 16); 2 Peter i. 4; ii. 12; Rev. xi. 18.

To Quench. *See* To Extinguish.

To Root out.—שֹׁרֵשׁ, נָסַח, *ἐκτίλλω*, *ἐκριζόω*, Psa. lii. 5 [7]; Prov. ii. 22; Jude 12.

Ruin.—שׁוֹאָה, אִיד, *καταστροφή*, *πτῶσις*, *ῥῆγμα*, Job xxi. 17; xxxi. 3; Isa. x. 3; Matt. vii. 27; Luke vi. 49; 2 Cor. x. 8; xiii. 10.

To Shatter. *See* To Break in Pieces.

To Slay. *See* To Kill outright.

To Swallow up.—יָבַשׁ, בָּלַע, *καταπίνω*, Job ii. 3 (Psa. cvii. 27); Isa. xxv. 8; xlii. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 54; 1 Peter v. 8.

To Undo. *See* To Lose Life, To Destroy.

CHAPTER XXV.

EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL SCRIPTURE TEXTS SUPPOSED TO TEACH THE EVERLASTING DURATION OF SIN AND MISERY.

'The evidence accompanying the popular interpretation (of the doctrine of eternal suffering) is by no means to be compared to that which establishes our common Christianity: and therefore the fate of the Christian religion is not to be considered as implicated in the belief or disbelief of the popular doctrine.' —ROBERT HALL, *Works*, v. 529.

IT is well known, notwithstanding the preceding arguments, that there are three or four passages in the reports of Christ's discourses, and two in the Apocalypse, which are considered by many pious and able men to contain statements so precise, distinct, and decisive, in affirmation of the awful doctrine of the eternal suffering of the wicked, as to compel us to affix a corresponding meaning to the whole mass of prophetic and apostolic language, which, it is generally admitted, must otherwise bear the sense which we have imputed to it.

The question is whether these few passages, taken in the popular sense, are to give the law to the interpretation of the general current of Scripture language on future punishment; or whether the plain and natural sense of this general language is to determine the force of the few disputed quotations.

Before proceeding to examine these well-known 'texts,' it is proper to take note of a habit of the mind which is as likely to affect those who are conscientiously opposed to us as ourselves. The eye looks, but it is the mind that sees; and when the mind contemplates phenomena under a preoccupation of thought, it interprets them in the light of its own idea: so that unless that general idea be a right one its view of every phenomenon is in some measure perverted. This is not less true of the study

of Nature than of Scripture. So long as men were convinced that every word of the Bible was a distinct revelation from God, that there was no element of human limitation in its pages, and therefore that its statements on the visible universe were of as much authority as its declarations respecting redemption, they looked upon the heavens not only with the outward eye of sense, but with the inner eye of faith in the Ptolemaic astronomy, which makes the earth a plane, and the centre around which revolve sun, moon, and stars,—a view of matters confirmed to the observer both by his senses and by the 'authority of Holy Writ.'

So long as men thus looked on the earth and heavens, every phenomenon was interpreted in the light of the general theory. And we are now aware how wrongly men *saw* what they so beheld in the creation. The same thing happened with respect to the strata of the crust of the earth. So long as men observed with eyes which were forbidden to see anything in the world beyond the six days' work of Genesis, and a recent creation of all things, they surveyed the mighty congeries of rocks and fossils with an eye as good as blind.

The same law of vision applies to the study of the Bible itself. So long as men read it with minds that recognise in every writer a mechanical instrument through which 'the Holy Spirit' has written a certain number of equally infallible 'texts,' it is impossible they can allow themselves even to see the discrepancies and omissions of a minor sort, which have crept into the writings of some of the holy and honest men who have 'taken in hand' to write for us the history of Redemption and of the Redeemer. It becomes a part of piety not to study phenomena so unedifying, and so fatal to the preconceived theory of what an infallible Bible ought to be.

And so long as men look on the Bible *à priori*, as a series of writings given to a world of 'immortal creatures' to teach them how to escape from eternal misery, and to gain everlasting glory, half its contents will receive a tinge, or an interpretation, corresponding with that theory of Divine Government; which is found not to belong to them, when once the experiment is tried of reading the Bible through on another theory. The effect then produced resembles the sudden flooding with sunshine of a thick

forest formerly suffused with the darkest shades. And many a passage once quoted with sincere reverence as evidence of the eternal duration of sin and misery is seen not only to be capable of, but to demand, a more luminous and hopeful interpretation.

The indefensible method, moreover, of citing the books of the Bible as if some one had beheld an angel inditing them in succession, without consideration of their individual history, of the degree of confidence due to the fulness of each writer's information, of the positive marks of defective knowledge, or misconception in some,—will serve the cause of truth no longer. We may read, for example, with general confidence the gospel of Matthew, —whether a Greek original, as Dr. Roberts maintains, or a translation from the Hebrew, as Dr. Tregelles, after the fathers, affirms, —notwithstanding the omission of one sentence in the middle of Christ's last discourse on Olivet (the same discussion in which later occurs the κόλασιν αἰώνιον of xxv. 46) -an omission supplied by S. Luke (xxi. 24), 'And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles *until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.*' And in consequence of that fault of S. Matthew, or his Greek translator, we shall not unduly question the accuracy of the other reports of Christ's teaching in this Gospel. Nevertheless it is certain that that omission, leaving the discourse to end with the unqualified words, 'Verily I say unto you, *This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled*,' xxiv. 34, has thereby created one of the chief stumbling-blocks to faith in the New Testament,—it being clear that Christ's second advent did *not* occur in 'that generation,' but will take place at the end of those 'times of the Gentiles,' our Lord's reference to which S. Matthew unwittingly omitted, and S. Luke has happily supplied.

I cannot conceal my conviction that the path of duty and of wisdom in dealing with such documents as the gospels demands this practical conclusion :—If they offer to us any statements of Christ's doctrine, by excess or defect conspicuously disagreeing with the facts, or with the plain sense of His teaching as recorded by the same or other historians, resolutely to refuse to allow such exceptional misreports or omissions to interfere with the truth which has been learned by a wider survey of the evidence.

In a large collection of books, the works of authors living in different ages, through fifteen centuries, at different distances from

God, enjoying different measures of that afflatus which sometimes lifted up a prophet to the third heaven, and sometimes only to the first, and sometimes left him to obtain, like S. Luke, a 'perfect understanding' by personal inquiry,—it is vain to anticipate a uniform terminology in doctrine, or an equal comprehension of the truths of redemption. The expectation of reasonable readers must be restricted to ascertaining the *general sense* of the books of Scripture, taken as a whole,—and that general sense lies doubtless on the surface, in words taken in their obvious signification by honest readers.

It forms no part of the present writer's belief that each contribution to the collection which we combine in one volume and call 'the Bible' has been preserved from every tinge of educational thought, from every defect in statement, from every reflection of surrounding opinion or faith. The receiving mind somewhat colours perhaps every communication. There is a certain allowance to be made for every religious as well as astronomical observer's eye. S. Matthew did not altogether see the same Christ with S. John; S. John saw a far diviner Christ than he. Our single hope of true knowledge is by comparison and careful criticism of the whole record.

It is matter of notoriety, moreover, that almost every fact in Christ's life is received by us under a slight fractional difficulty in the evidence arising from the differing statements and silences of the evangelical reporters. The greatest fact of all, the Resurrection of Christ, we believe, not because there exists any single perfectly coherent digest of testimonies concerning it in the New Testament; but because the general result of all the testimonies converges to that centre, and removes the partial difficulty which each narrative taken alone might suggest to the mind.

The same rule applies to doctrine. There is no general dogma of faith deducible from the Bible, which it is not necessary to believe under fractional difficulties of interpretation. If we hold to the Triunity in the Godhead, it is not because that truth is taught at all in the Old Testament, or very systematically even in the New. If we maintain the personal Deity of Christ, it is not because it is easy to understand S. Mark's most exceptional report (xiii. 32) that '*The Son of Man knew not* the hour of His coming.' If we hold to the Pauline statement on Justification, it is not because S. James

has very carefully conformed his elementary *terminology* to that of his brother apostles, or because S. James has spoken even once of the Atonement. If we hold to the doctrine of individual election to salvation, it is not because there is not a whole array of 'texts' which seem strongly to favour the advocates of general redemption; or if we hold to this, it is not because the Calvinists can discover nothing in support of the five points of their theology in the body of the Scripture.

Thus is it also in relation to the subjects which have occupied the present volume. There are a few scattered passages which, taken alone, and much more taken together, may well seem to countenance the established theology. When such expressions, in the favourite style of religious controversialists, are extracted, tabulated, and presented in one view, without respect to masses of different phraseology, they offer the appearance of a battery ready to shatter to atoms the argument developed in these pages. We are not careful to answer such assailants. Each of these 'texts' requires to be examined in its own terms, in its own connection, and in its own place as an extract from a book with a special history.—And all such 'texts' have then to be further tried in the light of the general doctrine of the book in which they occur, and of the whole Bible. And for our own part, we are well resolved that no isolated 'text' of any synoptic gospel shall overthrow our faith in the lessons learned from the massive records of a Revelation extending from one end of man's history to the other, and specially from the writings of those great apostles of Christianity, S. Peter and S. Paul in their letters, and S. John in his gospel and epistles. In those great authentic records of 'the whole truth' promised by the Holy Spirit, there is, at all events, not a trace of any other doctrine except that of Eternal Life in Christ only, and the final destruction of the unsaved,* or of any expression which can with any semblance of reason be perverted into teaching the opposite.

Matthew xxv. 46.

In proceeding to examine the principal passages in the New

* See this, as respects S. Paul, popularly demonstrated in *Pauline Theology*, a small work by Mr. Hastings of Boston, U.S. E. Stock, London.

Testament considered to teach unequivocally the doctrine of endless misery, and therefore to overthrow the fabric of the preceding argument, the first in order is the great text of Matt. xxv. 41, 46: '*Then shall He say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels . . . And these shall go away into everlasting punishment* (εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον), *but the righteous unto life eternal.*'

The first question to be regarded is the Greek text, the second the English version, and the third the signification of the words.

(i.) In respect to the Greek text, there is absolutely no various reading of any account in the most ancient manuscripts; but it must always be remembered that the nearly uniform testimony of antiquity is that the original of Matthew's gospel was in Hebrew, and that it is uncertain how much of authority attaches to any particular expression in the Greek translation. It is this which renders it specially hazardous to build any system of theology on a *single phrase* in the Greek of this gospel. We shall, however, treat this passage on the supposition that the Greek was the original, and that Matthew wrote what we find in these expressions.*

* At the same time the fact deserves to be mentioned not as a basis of argument but as a matter of interest, and those who know the weight assigned by Von Tischendorf to similar examples will be ready to allow it a certain degree of importance, that the two most ancient, and several more modern, manuscripts of the *Italic* Version, or ancient Latin translation of the New Testament, in popular use in Italy, in Spain, and in Africa from the middle of the second century, before Jerome's Vulgate appeared at the end of the fourth, here have distinctly, in verse 46, 'These shall go away *ad ignem æternum*, into the eternal fire,' not *ad supplicium æternum*, into eternal punishment. These MSS. are the codices of Verona and Vercelli, of the old or 'unrevised' text of the fourth century, and were transcribed and edited by Bianchini, librarian of Verona, in 1740. The first sumptuous uncial codex (in the Cathedral library of Verona), in which I have verified this reading by personal examination, belongs to the end of the fourth century; the second, transcribed by the hand of Eusebius, the bishop of Vercelli, also belongs to the fourth century. See Dr. Westcott's exhaustive article on the Latin versions, Smith's Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 1692. The recurrence of the same remarkable reading in two MSS., by different hands, shows that it cannot be attributed to a slip by a single copyist, but was the received reading among the Latin populations.

The Latin populations of Italy, Africa, and Spain, so far as evidence remains to us, from the second century onwards, until the days of Jerome, did not read, 'these shall go away into *everlasting punishment*,' but—*into eternal*

(ii.) The *English* version of the phrase in question requires to be amended in order to bring it into exact correspondence with the original. There is no reason why the αἰώνιον should not be translated by the same word in both members of the clause, and in the same order. The clause will then in every respect answer to the Greek. 'These shall go away to *punishment eternal*, and the righteous to *life eternal*.' The English adjective *everlasting* is a good deal stronger in many cases than the word *eternal*. That which is eternal is not always an everlasting process. Eternal judgment is not everlasting judging, but the eternal effect of a judgment. Eternal redemption is not everlasting redeeming, but an eternal effect of an act of redemption. So an eternal punishment *may be* not everlasting punishing, but the eternal effect of an act of punishment, and we have no right to prejudge this question by an over-forcible rendering of the adjective.

It is easy to distinguish this observation from a criticism designed to make out different senses as to duration in the use of αἰώνιος in the two clauses. Of the ninety widely different subjects to which the Scripture writers apply terms which occasionally take the sense of endlessness, in seventy instances they are confessedly of a limited and temporary nature. This suffices to prove (1) that the *radical* meaning of these words is not endlessness, but a hidden duration, and (2) that the question whether they are to be taken in a limited or unlimited sense depends on the nature of the subject to which they are applied, Unless, therefore, the absolute eternity of misery can be established from extrinsic reasons, such as the immortality of the sinner, or from the nature of the doom threatened involving consciousness, the adjective of duration connected with the sinner's punishment would not alone suffice to prove his endless misery. In fact it is so used only two or three times in the New Testament. There are cases where, as in Rom. xvi. 25, 26, the word is taken in the two different senses, one limited, one infinite, within the same sentence,—'The mystery kept secret in "ancient times" (χρόνοις αἰωνίοις), but now made manifest, according

fire. The difference is, that the one word expresses only the perpetuity of the instrument of destruction, the other denotes a final effect *of some sort* on the subjects of the infliction, without fixing the nature of the effect.

to the commandment of the eternal God' (*αἰωνίου*). But I am not disposed to found an argument on such a basis in the passage before us. The 'punishment,' of whatever nature, is described in the same terms, as the 'life;' and the object of the passage certainly seems to be to convey the idea that the righteous and the wicked here spoken of alike will reach a result which is a final settlement of their destiny.

(iii.) Lastly, the question comes, What did the writer intend by the words 'punishment eternal'? Did he unequivocally intend *everlasting suffering*, or did he intend an awful punishment, positive and privative, extending in its results to eternity, a miserable death, the opposite of the life of the righteous?

No one with the fear of God before his eyes can doubt that the main design of Christ in these closing words of His discourse on the Mount of Olives, as throughout all His teaching, was to raise in the minds of His servants and ministers a soul-terrifying conception as to the future punishment of the persons chiefly aimed at in this final prophecy—the wicked world-rulers and church-governors who should be found in their evil activity when He the Lord should return from heaven to take possession of His kingdom. This discourse (xxiv.-xxv.) does not deal with the judgment *of the dead* (cf. Rev. xx. 5, 12), but with the judgment of the 'nations' found alive at Christ's coming, at the beginning of the Kingdom of God. It represents Christ's dealings with Antichrist and his satellites, and the rebellious nations, at his Second Advent to establish God's kingdom on the earth. The parallel prophecy will be found in Ezekiel's much-neglected description of Jehovah's dealings with the 'sheep and the goats,' chap. xxxiv., when He comes to set up His King, and His kingdom, at the end of the Kingdom of Darkness. The fate of men living at the advent will be determined by their treatment of the 'Israel of God;' without 'dying the common death of men' many of that generation will go at once into life eternal, or into the 'Gehenna of fire.' The angels shall 'gather out of Christ's kingdom all things that do iniquity,' and shall 'cast them into a furnace of fire,' when the Devil and his angels will be 'cast out,' and 'shut up in the abyss' during the thousand years of Christ's reign on earth.

If, then, we can ascertain the doom of those who are cast into the lake of fire at that time, we may learn the nature of the 'punishment eternal' here.

The key to the true interpretation, therefore, is, I believe, with Mr. J. N. Darby, to be found in the collective statements of Scripture respecting that awful 'fire—the œonial or eternal'—'prepared for the Devil and his angels,' reserved also as the special instrument of the judgment for those who have been his agents in church and state, in persecuting God's people and deceiving the nations. Mr. J. N. Darby, in his early days, rightly said :—

'It is commonly supposed that the judgment which is spoken of in this chapter is the last judgment,—the general judgment : this is a mistake. It is the judgment of the nations living upon this earth, and not of the dead. There is no question of the resurrection, but only of the judgment of the Gentiles. What will happen to the Jews is mentioned in chapter xxiv., then what will happen to believers, and then the fate of the Gentiles ; it is the judgment of the living, and not of the dead. We say it is the judgment of the living, because we read, "Before Him shall be gathered all nations ; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." That which has given rise to the supposition that it is the judgment of the dead are these words : "These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal :" but this only means that the judgment of the living will be *final*, like that of the dead. When God judges, whether the dead or the living, His judgment sends the good into life eternal, and the wicked into everlasting punishment. The judgment of the living is as sure as that of the dead.'—*Hopes of the Church*, p. 66, *first edition*.

The leading thought clearly is that there is an unquenchable fire—of whatever nature, prepared as the instrument of judgment for the Devil and his angels—who are to be 'tormented therein,' says S. John, 'for ages of ages' (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων—Rev. xx.) along with 'the beast and the false prophet.' The perpetuity of the fire signifies at least a duration equal to any demand that may be made upon its punitive energies. The fire will not burn itself out, for it represents outwardly the ever burning and consuming fire of God's Holiness.

But the perpetuity of the *fire*, on which Christ dwells with terrible emphasis, while holding out the most awful prospect of irremediable doom to the chief offenders in the universe, does not necessarily imply the eternal duration of an object thrown

into it. Sodom and Gomorrah—*utterly consumed*—are, nevertheless, 'suffering the vengeance of eternal fire' (Jude 7). We are told by S. John that he beheld in vision 'Death and Hades cast into the lake of fire' (Rev. xx. 14). These were figurative personages, who represented the Powers presiding over the Body and the Soul under the reign of death. And when the saints are glorified there will be 'no more death.' Death will be '*abolished*.' Their being 'cast into the lake of fire,' therefore, indicates not their everlasting survival in it, but their absolute destruction. Here, then, we have the answer to the question, What is the meaning of the 'lake of fire'? It is the instrument of destruction, but of 'destruction' under different degrees and durations of 'torment.' The 'beast and the false prophet' are 'cast alive into the lake of fire,' at the beginning of the millennium. This is perhaps (if, as is utterly improbable—see Daniel vii. 11, 26—individual persons are symbolised)* the 'greater damnation' of which Christ speaks, as following upon the inexpiable crime of teaching lies and of governing for devilish ends. But these, too, after their 'many stripes,' after their long agony in 'remembrance' of their sins, are to burn out of being, under the 'consuming fire' of God's wrath. 'Who shall pay the penalty, eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord, when He shall come to be glorified in His saints,'—αἰώνιον ὄλεθρον (2 Thess. i. 8),—ὄλεθρος being with φθορὰ, θάνατος, and ἀπώλεια, the very words chosen by Plato, as well as by the Christian Fathers, to denote the abolition of being *when they desired to express that idea.* The fire of judgment is always a '*consuming* fire.' When a fire burns and its fuel is 'not consumed,' as in the Bush of Horeb (Exod. iii. 3), that effect is mentioned. But 'the chaff' will be 'burned up' with unquenchable fire. 'All the wicked will He destroy.' 'Our God is a *consuming* fire.'

That the 'punishment eternal' is for a man to have his part in 'the lake of fire which is the second death,' and to reach final extinction of life through penal infliction bodily and spiritual, suited to each man's demerits, we see no reason to question. The 'tares will be bound' in different 'bundles to be burned.' Some will be burnt with a less, and some with a far 'greater

* See Pétavel's *Struggle for Eternal Life*, pp. 73-75.

damnation,'*—corresponding to the atrocious crimes of the murderers of a world of souls. This is written on the face of the record of Christ's teaching, and is fitted to 'bring a great fear upon every soul.' For the 'vengeance' will be righteous, and the 'indignation' such as all righteous spirits will approve of; 'I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying Alleluia!' (Rev. xix. 1.)

Such, then, is the interpretation we offer of Matt. xxv. 46,—a text, as it stands in our English Bibles, as well fitted to uphold the traditional belief as Matt. x. 28 is fitted to overthrow it. It proceeds on the recognised principle that each book in the Bible should in the first instance be employed in self-explanation, under its real character as a separate publication.

What then is the general teaching of S. Matthew's gospel on future punishment? It is (ch. iii. 10-12) that 'the chaff shall be *burned up* with unquenchable fire;' that the fruitless tree shall be '*cut down* and cast into the fire;'—that the wicked man shall be 'cast into hell-fire,' into a 'prison,' from which he shall 'not come out till he has paid the uttermost farthing' (v. 26);—that his 'whole body shall be cast into hell, or Gehenna,' a doom from which he is exhorted to escape by rather allowing '*one* of his members to *perish*,' by being 'cut off' (v. 29—the same word

* I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the plentiful evidence of the limited senses of *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος*, on which I build no leading argument. The reader will, however, remember that the very belief of the Jewish nation in Christ depends on their learning to understand the temporary character of those institutions of Moses which were to be '*for ever*;' that the hills which '*stand fast for ever and ever*' are one day to melt away; and that God's grace is said to be given to the Church '*before* eternal ages' (*πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*). The whole of the New Testament, therefore, is a prolonged comment on the limited senses of *αἰώνιος*. Nevertheless it is certainly also used in the sense of time 'hidden,' or indefinitely long, as perhaps in this threatening of torment to the Devil, Rev. xx.; and also in the sense of absolute infinity, as in relation to God, to everlasting redemption, and to the life eternal. In which sense it is taken in any passage must be learned by other methods than etymology. Even a little common sense has its uses in interpreting Scripture. Mr. Clemance, in his book on Future Punishment, has a useful table of the uses of *αἰων*, and its adjectives; Mr. Cox, in his *Salvator Mundi*, a still abler discussion on the same subject; although I cannot think that Christ ever held out to the destined victims of the unquenchable fire what Mr. Cox translates as an 'œonial pruning,' (*κόλασιν αἰώνιον*).

being there used which is elsewhere employed to denote the fate of the 'whole body' in Gehenna).

The traveller in the 'broad road' is threatened with 'destruction' (ἀπώλειαν, a common word for death, see Acts xxv. 16), and loss of 'life' (vii. 13). His doom is likened to the '*great fall of a house* built on sand.' The wicked are said to be 'cast out into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth' (viii. 12). The demons expected to be 'tormented' at a fixed epoch (viii. 29), (also, we read in Mark, to be 'destroyed'). In x. 15 those who reject the Gospel are threatened with a doom less 'tolerable in the day of judgment than that of Sodom;' and at the twenty-eighth verse the disciples themselves are warned to 'fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to *kill the soul*, but rather to fear Him that *is able* to destroy both body and soul in Gehenna.' (A passage in which it is little better than an evasion to say that Christ represents only God's ability to do this, not His intention. In respect to the meaning of ἀπολέσαι, *to destroy life*, in this gospel, we may refer to ii. 13, xxi. 40, 41, xxii. 7, xxvi. 52. The word, indeed, signifies this alone when human life is the object. It never signifies in Greek to *torment only*.) In x. 39, 40, our Lord says that he who 'findeth his life,' by avoiding martyrdom, 'shall destroy it;' that is, he shall *lose hereafter the life he saved here.* In xii. 32 the sin of attributing Christ's miracles to magic is declared unpardonable 'either in this world or in the world to come.' In xiii. 50 the wicked are said to be 'cast into a furnace, where shall be weeping and wailing,' etc. In xvi. 25 the threat of x. 39 is repeated, that 'whosoever shall wish to save his life shall lose or destroy IT.' In xviii. 8 the man who sins is said not to 'enter into life,' but to be 'cast into the eternal fire,' 'into the Gehenna of fire.' In verse 14 the ruin of souls is called 'perishing.' In verse 34 the unforgiving servant is delivered to the 'tormentors.' In verse 44 the stone which falls from heaven 'grinds to powder' its object. In xxii. 13 the man without the wedding garment is 'cast into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth.' In xxiv. 51 the evil servant is '*cut asunder*, and has his portion with the hypocrites, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.' In xxv. 30 the unprofitable servant is 'cast into the outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

These are all the places in which this gospel speaks of future punishment *up to this point*. Then comes the description of judgment at the advent of Christ, when those who had maltreated Christ's poor are represented as the 'goats' on the left hand, and receive their sentence, 'Depart, ye cursed, into the eternal fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' 'And these shall go away to punishment eternal, but the righteous to life eternal.' Applying the orthodox canon of interpretation to these words, we say that the '*punishment eternal*,' if S. Matthew is to be his own commentator, is to be 'cast into the eternal fire' (whether that fire be an objective reality, or only a name for God's justice), fitted therefore to be the instrument of torment, so long as God wills, for all who are cast into it. 'There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth;' the suffering will be, 'intolerable;' the prison one from which there is no escape, the penalty being capital punishment—*death, perishing, destruction of soul and body in Gehenna, loss of life;* words which bear, in Greek *prose*, only one signification—that which is self-evident.

If asked, Would such *eternal destruction* be 'punishment eternal'? we reply, It must be such, if S. Matthew may interpret his own words. S. Paul decides the question affirmatively (2 Thess. i. 9)—'*Who shall suffer punishment*' (pay the penalty), '*eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord*,' ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον.

The punishment of death for sin has a double reference to a life eternal lost by transgression, under the law, and under the gospel. The cutting off of a sinner from the opening prospect of an endless life may truly be called a punishment eternal—for its effects in privation run along the infinite duration of an eternity which, *but for rebellion and unbelief, would have been the scene of an endless glory*. When, therefore, objectors ask—Would a man who has suffered temporal death have suffered 'punishment eternal'? we reply—Certainly not; for it was only a short life which was forfeited here. But as to the world to come, the loss is infinite and eternal, God 'not willing that any should perish,' but opening the gate of immortality to all.

Mark iii. 29.

There are two passages in this gospel which are much relied on in proof of the doctrine of the immortality of the lost. The

first is on the unpardonable sin, Mark iii. 29. The English version is, 'He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.' The Greek Text of Tischendorf is as follows:—οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος—'hath not forgiveness for ever; but is guilty of (chargeable with) *an eternal sin.*'

It is remarkable that in nearly every passage on which it is attempted to found the argument for the eternal misery of the lost, there is a less or greater difficulty in settling the text, or in reaching the conviction that we read as the author wrote. Here some manuscripts read κρίσεως, and some later ones have inserted κολάσεως, but the Vatican and the Sinaitic read as above, ἁμαρτήματος, which is adopted by the latest editors. The evidence, so far as existing manuscripts can guide us, is indeed decisive. The meaning, whether the exact words were spoken by our Lord, or are given in substance by S. Mark after S. Peter, is clear. All other sins can be forgiven and blotted out. This one sin of imputing Christ's miracles to devilish magic is unpardonable, here or hereafter. It is, therefore, an eternal sin—to be punished with its fitting doom in the everlasting fire—with 'many stripes,' and finally with that awful destruction from which there can be no revival. This sin incurs an irreversible sentence. Thus we read in the book of Enoch (Laurence's translation), 'They shall be cast into a judgment of fire; they shall perish in wrath, and by a judgment overpowering them for ever.' 'An everlasting judgment shall be executed, and blasphemers shall be annihilated everywhere' (chs. xc. 13, xcii. 16). The same form of speech is met with in the Talmud and the Rabbins. Prof. Hudson (*Debt and Grace*) quotes the following from Lightfoot (*Centuria Chorog.* c. 15)—'If the King of kings shall be angry with me His wrath is eternal; if He should slay me His slaying is eternal.' 'The wicked shall descend into Gehenna and shall then be judged for ever.' On which Abrabanel remarks, 'Now the greatest retribution in the world to come, and the heaviest punishment, is extermination' (*De Capite Fidei*, c. 24). Maimonides says, 'Heretics have no share in the world to come, but they are cut off, destroyed, and condemned for ever and ever.' [And what Maimonides intended by these words may be seen in the note affixed to the supplement of chapter xvii., in a previous page.]

The wicked man who is raised for eternal judgment is under the wrath of God. He is represented as crushed for ever beneath the weight of the authority which he has defied, and his 'eternal sin' holds him fast in the bands of death. There is no forgiveness for him either under the law or under the Messiah's kingdom, either in this world or in futurity. The 'wrath of God abideth on him,' and its sentence will be executed to 'the uttermost farthing.' He will suffer 'everlasting destruction.'

Mark ix. 44-50.

The passage in Mark ix. 44-50 offers another example of an unfortunate corruption of the text in some passages brought forward in support of the eternal duration of evil. That the suspicion of an early 'pious' improvement of the original in the interest of a more terrific theology is not wholly out of the reckoning appears from the exhibition of a similar honest zeal even in our own translation, which reads thus:—

43. If thine hand offend thee cut it off; it is better for thee to enter into life maimed than, having two hands, to go into hell, into *the fire that never shall be quenched* (εἰς τὸν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον).

44. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

45. And if thy foot offend thee cut it off; it is better for thee to enter halt into life than, having two feet, to be cast into hell, into the fire that *never shall be quenched*.

46. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

47. And if thine eye offend thee pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter into the Kingdom of God with one eye, than, having two eyes, to be cast into hell-fire.

48. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

49. For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.

The original state of the text here seems hopelessly doubtful. Tischendorf omits the repetition of the words in verses 44, 46. Alford thought them emphatic and characteristic, and retained them in his Greek Testament; while marking them as doubtful in his later English version. The 49th verse rests, under any form, only on a mass of contradictory evidence on its two clauses. But it matters not, for no valid argument for immortality in sin and suffering can be drawn hence under any reading. There is

absolutely no excuse for rendering τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον by any stronger words than 'the unquenchable fire,' the phrase being often used to signify only destructive fire.

Such as it is, however, the argument of our opponents is as follows :—The wicked are here said to be cast into the unquenchable fire, called elsewhere the 'everlasting fire,' and that alone shows that they are destined to eternal pain; a conclusion fixed by the sequence, thrice repeated to bring out the terror of the prospect,—'where their worm (their conscience) shall not die, or *cease to be*, and the fire is not quenched.' They are therefore pierced eternally by the tooth of conscience, and tormented for ever by the perpetual fire of God's vengeance. 'For every one shall be salted for the fire,' every victim of divine vengeance shall be miraculously preserved to endure the torments of this avenging flame.

For at least fifteen centuries these words have been employed in sermons and devout writings in the sense now described; and it is not an easy process by which they, or any familiar but misquoted expressions, can be restored to their true interpretation. Nevertheless I submit to the reader the following observations.

(1) The argument for endless sin and sorrow hence derived is based upon that very understanding of the verb *to die*, against which the argument itself is directed. The eternal suffering is supposed to be proved by the words—'their worm dieth *not*.' But *dieth* is here taken in the sense of *ceaseth to be*,—not in the sense of being *miserable* or being *unholy*. 'Their worm ceaseth not to be,' to live, to exist (τελευτᾷ), which is also one of Plato's words for existence coming to an end. Be it observed, then, that when it serves the purpose of the doctrine of eternal misery to prove that the 'worm of conscience will never cease to gnaw,' then the verb *to die* must be taken in its natural and obvious sense of *cease to be*. It is so taken, indeed, as a matter of course, without a word of exhortation to enforce the figurative meaning of being 'miserable.' Thus the defenders of the traditional doctrine adopt or reject this signification at pleasure, but forbid its adoption in any other instance except this, where, with a negative, it furnishes a good argument against the same meaning everywhere else in relation to the death of the sinner. We are at liberty to accept as scriptural a 'worm' which shall *not* 'die,' or cease to be,

provided we understand the worm to be *conscience*,—but not to believe that a sinner shall 'die,' in any other sense than that he shall live in eternal misery. The sense of the verb to die here, however, which is admitted by all, shows what its proper meaning is in relation to other inhabitants of Gehenna; for if a *worm's death* in Gehenna would be its ceasing to exist, the same must be true of the *sinner's*; unless it can be shown that in relation to hell itself the word death has two opposite meanings.

If it be said that in the Greek version here the worm's *death* is represented by τελευτᾷ and not by ἀποθνησκει, it is sufficient to point out that in the Hebrew of Isaiah lxvi. 24, whence the citation comes, the worm's *death* is represented by תָּמוּת, the same verb which describes the *death* of the sinner elsewhere.

(2) The venerable gloss that the 'worm' here is a symbol of the sinner's conscience, like other ancient imaginations of similar value, must give way to opposing evidence. It is indeed a difficult lesson for a Roman Catholic to learn, that those words of Christ to Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church'—inscribed in vast letters around the dome of the great papal Cathedral, and used in controversy for thirteen hundred years,—have no real reference to S. Peter's supposed successors in the see of Rome; yet that and other hard lessons must be learned by students of Scripture. Here the Saviour's words are plainly a citation from the last verse in the prophecies of Isaiah—where the context proves that the 'worm' stands naturally for *putrefaction, the concomitant of death*, and in this case the death of those 'slain by Jehovah.'

The effect of being eaten by worms, in contrast with the eternal life of the saved, as it appeared to Isaiah, may be seen in ch. li. 6-8.*

The sixty-sixth chapter of Isaiah describes the awful scenes of Christ's advent, of which the New Testament version is in Matthew xxiv., xxv. 'For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with

* 'Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die *like an insect*; but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished. Fear ye not the reproach of men, and be not afraid of their revilings. For the moth shall eat them up *like a garment*, and the worm shall eat them *like wool*; but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation.' (From the popular translations of Dr. Boothroyd and Dr. Barnes.)

his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke *with flames of fire.* For *by fire and by sword* will the Lord plead with all flesh, and *the slain of the Lord* shall be many' (verses 15, 16). The following verses describe the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, the restoration and conversion of Israel, and the 'restitution of all things' in the setting up of 'New Heavens and New Earth.' The closing words describe the holy central worship set up at Jerusalem; and the going forth of the worshippers to the scene of that 'supper of the fowls' (Rev. xix. 17-21), to wit,—the masses of the dead who have been slain, like the Assyrian army of Sennacherib, by the hand of God.

The reference to that Assyrian slaughter is still more evident in the Hebrew. 'They shall go forth and look upon the פְּגָרִים *pegarim*—carcases (the same word translated in the history of the Assyrians in 1 Kings xix. 20 'they were all *dead corpses*')—of the men that have transgressed against me—for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be דֵּרָאוֹן *deraon*—an abhorring to all flesh'—the word translated *contempt* in Dan. xii. 2 ('to shame and *everlasting contempt*'), describing the horror excited by the spectacle of the bodies of those who die under the stroke of God. The use of the term *pegarim*, therefore, to describe the condition of these victims of the *worm* and the *fire* decides that the worm does not symbolise conscience, but absolute death. There will appear on the earth, at the beginning, and at the end, of the kingdom of Christ, two fearful scenes of execution of God's enemies,—who will be *slain by Jehovah;* the first scene being the destruction of His assembled foes, of the armies of the kings of the earth, around Jerusalem; the second scene, still more awful, being the more gradual destruction of *all the wicked dead*, raised for judgment, at the end of Christ's reign on earth: when a fearful monument of the effect of sin will be established on this globe (perhaps in that same region), in that 'perpetual fire' into which all shall be cast, 'whose names are not written in the book of life.'

But in either case—the effect will be *death;* the wicked will become *dead corpses*,—than which there is no stronger word to denote the 'destruction of the *soul* or *life* in Gehenna.'

If, then, there be any safety in commenting on verse 49 which follows, 'For every one *shall be salted with fire*,' where the Greek

text is hopelessly uncertain, the meaning may be, that every such sacrifice to the avenging Justice will be, *like* '*Lot's wife*,' 'salted with fire,' preserved as a monument in death of the tremendous results of rebellion against the Omnipotent. '*Remember Lot's wife*,' is one of Christ's momentous warnings to His disciples.

The Apocalypse.

Rev. xiv. 10.—'If any man worship the beast and his image, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God which is poured out without mixture into the cup of His indignation, *and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels* and in the presence of the Lamb, and *the smoke of their torment ascendeth up to ages of ages*, and *they have no rest day nor night who worship the beast and his image.*' Rev. xix. 20.—'These both' (the beast and the false prophet) 'were cast alive *into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.*' Rev. xx. 10.—'And the Devil that deceived them was *cast into the lake of fire and brimstone*, where the beast and the false prophet are, *and they shall be tormented day and night to the ages of ages.*'

The terms of duration here used are those which beyond doubt often signify endless duration. It is also certain that they and their Hebrew parallels are often used to signify long but limited duration, as when the Mosaic institutions are said to be 'for ever' (Deut. xxix. 29)—a word which must be here understood in the limited sense before the Jewish people can be expected to believe in Christianity, which has abolished the law. Dr. Adler recently assailed the gospel on this ground that the Jewish law was in this text said to be לְעוֹלָם, for ever.*

* In his recent brochure on *Future Punishment* the Rev. Clement Clemance, after presenting a carefully drawn table of the limited and unlimited senses of *αἰών* and *αἰωνιος*, and maintaining that it would be unsafe to affirm positively that these words are used in their infinite sense in relation to retribution, since it is the fact that there is no statement which we can discover, either in the Old or New Testament, which refers to evil, that is so strongly worded in its expression of duration as is the phrase in Psalm cxlv. 13 (LXX.), which refers to the kingdom of God,—goes on later to say, 'If we tell the unbeliever that he must accept the doctrine of the absolute unendingness of punishment, we may cause a fatal revolt against Christianity; which fatal revolt will be, I make bold to say, less his fault than ours; or, if we make any such demand

On this series of passages I offer the following observations :—

The Apocalypse, like other books, is best interpreted, first by the rule of its less obscure portions, and next, by careful comparison of the more ancient prophecies on whose pattern it is framed. From other portions of it, and those the least loaded with prophetic symbol, we learn directly, or indirectly, that the doom of wicked men is to be excluded 'from the tree of life' (ii. 7); to lose the 'crown of life' (verse 10); to be 'hurt of the second death' (verse 11); to 'be *killed with death*'* (verse 23, the strongest expression to denote absolute extinction); to be 'broken to shivers as a potter's vessel' (verse 27); to have their 'names blotted from the Book of Life' (iii. 5). Again, at the close of the book, we are told that 'whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life was cast into the lake of fire' (xx. 15). This 'lake of fire' is in the preceding verse called 'the second death.' Into this lake are cast Death and Hades, assuredly not to give the idea that *they* were to exist there for ever, but that they were *put an end to*, so that henceforth there was to be 'no more death.' The 'last enemy is destroyed' or 'done away.'

The description of future punishment as 'the *second* death' determines the question as to the general nature of the penalty. As already remarked, there cannot be a '*second*' of anything unless it be at least of the same genus as the *first*. If we say a second *house*, there must have been a first *house*, and not a first tree. If there be a first and second death, there must be a generic likeness between them. There would be no likeness whatever

upon him, we impose on him *a weight which no human intellect can bear*' (p. 76). Mr. Clemance therefore will admit that until the publication of his work, in which was made known the unfixed meaning of Scripture language on the duration of evil, there was good excuse for those who deviated from the strict doctrine of *endless misery*, in which they had been brought up; since such deviation was an effort to save at once their senses and their faith, and to escape from 'a weight which no human intellect can bear.' And Mr. Clemance on reflection will allow that such an admission is inconsistent with the very severe blame which he lays on us for 'distorting' Scripture, by taking its ordinary language in its obvious sense. Considering the temptation to save our 'intellect,' and considering the words to be interpreted, it appears to us that Mr. Clemance's condemnation is misplaced.

* This is one of the many phrases used in Scripture to denote Future Punishment, which *modern* preachers never dream of employing in 'warning the wicked man.' Why?

between death as threatened to Adam, or death as men suffer it here, and the everlasting torment of a living body and soul united in immortality. Such a doom would not, we may venture to affirm, have been called, by any writer, a second *death*. But there is a strong likeness between the first dissolution of humanity and the second 'destruction of body and soul' in Gehenna hereafter. Such a doom in the lake of fire might well be termed the second death. That which 'the lake of fire,' the instrument of Divine vengeance, effects for 'Death and Hades,' namely, to put an end to them, it will effect on wicked men—it will 'utterly destroy' them,

We conclude, therefore, that the passages in question in Rev. xiv., xix., and xx., delivered in the symbolic language of prophecy, must be interpreted so as to accord with these facts. It is remarkable that the strongholds of the two different theologies treated of in this volume are found in the two works of the Apostle John—the Gospel and the Apocalypse. The question really is, therefore, Shall the Gospel be interpreted by the key of the mystical Apocalypse, or shall the sense of the Apocalypse be fixed by the Gospel? We cannot hesitate long over such alternatives. In the Gospel we have the recorded words of the Lord Jesus, delivered in the calm language of His daily life, and also the latest work of S. John. In the Apocalypse we have in every line the exalted style of parable and allegory, suitable to a mysterious prophecy of things only half revealed. In the Old Testament similar language carries unquestionably the meaning of a temporal destruction, in Isaiah xxxiv. The terrible words cited from Rev. xiv. are allowed by nearly all commentators to predict *earthly and terminable judgments* on the supporters of the Apostasy. Chapters xv. and xvi. announce the execution of these plagues. Chapter xvii. contains the song of triumph over Babylon as actually undergoing destruction, through the burning of her flesh by the 'horns' 'and the beast.' Chapter xviii. continues the strain of triumph, *and here we find word for word the fulfilment in this world* of the threatenings before us. '*How much* she hath lived deliciously *so much torment* and sorrow give her. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, *death*, mourning, and famine, and she shall be utterly burned with fire. And the kings of the earth shall lament for her when they see *the smoke of her burning*

standing afar off for fear of her *torment*, saying, "Alas," etc. 'And the sailors cried when *they saw the smoke of her burning*,' etc. 'And a mighty angel took up a stone and cast it into the sea' (to give an image of something utterly lost out of knowledge), saying, 'Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, *and shall be found no more at all*.' See the precisely similar language respecting Idumea in Isaiah xxxiv. 8-14,—a passage which the reader is invited to consider in detail.* Thus it is that S. John adds of this 'spiritual Sodom,' xix. 1 (as Isaiah of Edom), '*And her smoke went up for ever and ever*.' The whole of the imagery describes destructive punishment on earth at Christ's advent.

Rev. xx. 10.

There remains only to be considered the passage respecting the doom of the 'Devil,' with that of the 'beast and the false prophet.' '*And the Devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and they shall be tormented day and night to the ages of ages*' (καὶ βασανισθήσονται ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Rev. xx. 10).

It is not certain whether 'the beast and the false prophet' are abstract symbols of the 'Fourth Kingdom upon earth,' in its double form of Church and State; or symbols denoting particular classes of persons, whether satanic spirits who inspired that fourth system of government, or human kings and priests who received and acted on such inspiration. It is possible, but not probable, that they represent individual wicked rulers and teachers who will receive a 'greater damnation' (μεῖζον κρῖμα, James iii. 1; περισσότερον κρῖμα, Matt. xxiii. 14). But this is less important to decide than the meaning of the threatening; 'they shall be tormented day and night to the ages of ages.' There can be no doubt that the terms of duration here employed are sometimes used to denote an absolute eternity, as in relation to the nature of Deity. There is as little doubt that they are as frequently used

* 'My sword shall be bathed in heaven, behold it shall come down *upon Idumea*, and upon the people of my curse to judgment.' 'And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land shall become burning pitch. *It shall not be quenched day nor night; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever*, from generation to generation it shall be waste: none shall pass through it for ever and ever' (Isa. xxxiv. 5, 9, 10).

to denote a very limited duration. The alternative meaning must be decided by the nature of the subject, or by other declarations.

Thus the things which were 'revealed to Israel were for them *for ever* to do all the words of that law' (Deut. xxix. 29). In this case *for ever* must be taken in a limited sense (contrary to the teaching of the Rabbins on the eternity of the law), if Israel is ever to submit to Christ. Again God gave the land of Israel to His people 'for ever and ever' (Jer. vii. 7),—ἐξ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος: yet the 'earth and all the works therein are to be burned up.' He set the earth so that 'it should not be removed for ever:' yet it is to 'pass away' (Rev. xxi. 1). The 'everlasting heavens' are to 'perish,' while God 'remaineth' (Psalm cii. 26).

The language here used, then, respecting the doom of the 'Devil, the beast, and the false prophet' in the 'everlasting fire' is consistent, according to the Scripture usage of αἰων either with endless torment or a long but *limited* infliction, of which the date of termination is not revealed. In this sense, as may be seen in the supplement to chapter xvii., a similar phrase is used by the Rabbins of the Gemara (who did not certainly believe in endless suffering), in speaking of future punishment.

In this case, although the terms are clearly designed to denote a most awful infliction of judgment on the chief malefactors in the universe, surely the terms of duration are not designed to reverse the sense of others which declare that, like *Death* and *Hades*, who are cast into the same 'lake of fire,' their '*end* is to be burned up' and abolished. The imagery is taken from the vision of Daniel (vii. 10), in which he sees a 'fiery stream issue from the throne' of God: this very same 'beast,' or fourth empire, is then '*slain*, and his body *destroyed*, and given to the burning flame,'—words whose literal sense is fixed by the contrast of the fate of other 'beasts' whose '*lives were prolonged* for a season and a time.' And it is expressly said Dan. vii. 26 that the action of the flame is 'to consume and to destroy, עַד סוֹפָא to extermination,'—in our version, 'unto the end.'

If, then, the result to the 'beast' of being cast into the lake of fire and brimstone to be 'tormented for ages of ages' is nevertheless that he is 'destroyed,' 'consumed,' 'slain' (Rev. xvii. 8-11)—'He shall ascend out of the abyss, and go into destruction (ἀπώλειαν); if the result to *Death* and *Hades* of being cast into

the same lake is to abolish them, so that there shall be 'no more death,'—so it may be with respect to the other victims of the 'everlasting fire.' For as in the case of 'Babylon' in Rev. xiv., xv., xix., the 'smoke of her torment' 'ascended up for ages and ages,' yet she was 'destroyed,' and 'found no more at all,' so it may be with other beings who are nevertheless said to go away to 'punishment eternal' in the 'everlasting fire.'*

It is from other scriptures that we infer that thus it will be with the Great Enemy of God and man. The 'unclean spirits' expect from Christ 'torment' and 'destruction' (Matt. viii. 29, Mark i. 24—*βασανίσαι, ἀπολέσαι*); and there seems no reason to think that their doom is generically different from that of their leader and lord. His conscious punishment will certainly be vastly greater than theirs, but it can scarcely differ by a whole eternity in duration. 'Torment' and 'destruction' will therefore be his doom. The same conclusion seems derivable from the words of God spoken to our first parents. The seed of the woman is to '*crush*' the 'head' of the serpent—an image vividly denoting the destruction of his life. 'No murderer hath eternal life abiding in him,' and 'the Murderer from the beginning' shall die the murderer's death. 'God shall be all things in all,'—an expression seemingly inconsistent with the eternal survival of any enemy, or any evil. But through what inconceivable agonies of mind and 'spiritual body' that Infernal Origin of all Evil shall reach his final doom no tongue can tell. His judgment will correspond with his crimes; and 'many stripes' and 'great plagues and of long continuance' will doubtless avenge the murder of a world of souls.

I have now considered in detail the principal passages in the New Testament brought forward in support of the opinion of the endless future of evil. The suggestions respecting them must be weighed along with the whole argument of this book. If they are regarded as sufficient, it will be needless to examine minutely more vague examples of flying or traditional criticism. If they are not sufficient, such examination would be useless. It is morally inconceivable, if it had been the intention of Heaven to

* In Rev. ix. 18, 'fire and brimstone' are said to '*kill* the third part of men.'

convey to mankind, speaking so great a variety of languages, into which the Bible must be translated,—the threatening of torment which should be absolutely endless, that such a threatening would be, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, expressed in terms which literally signify something in all languages wholly inconsistent with such a destiny: and that the announcement of the real danger awaiting the world should be dubiously ascertainable only from one passage in a gospel (Matthew), which is probably itself a translation; from another (in a second gospel—Mark), which has reached posterity in a very corrupted form; and lastly from two verses in the latest of the prophecies, where it is difficult to distinguish metaphors from simple terms, and where the terms employed are themselves undoubtedly employed by the Jewish Rabbins, as well as in the Bible, to denote a limited period of duration in punishment. A question so vast as the eternal destiny of the human race cannot be determined on the evidence of a few poetic or prophetic phrases. If the plain sense of the main current of language is not to be taken as decisive in such a case; we despair of learning Divine Truth on any subject from a verbal revelation.*

* I will give two examples of the class of criticisms to which I refer. A learned writer sets forth as the very first 'text' by which he supports the doctrine of eternal suffering the words in S. Jude's epistle, verse 13, '*the blackness of darkness is reserved for them for ever.*' These words, as so quoted, suggest the idea of a *dark prison* in which condemned souls shall wear out eternity. But if we consult the connection, and cite the whole clause, we find it to be, 'These are—*wandering stars*, to whom the mist of darkness for ever is reserved.' This citation, taken by S. Jude from the Book of Enoch, is part of an image of future doom drawn, not from prisoners in a dungeon, but from meteors swiftly extinguished in eternal darkness,—an image, therefore, giving support to the doctrine of extinction, not of endless woe; a doctrine supported by the natural sense of every other expression in the epistle of Jude.

A second writer quotes Rev. xxii. 11. '*He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; he which is filthy, let him be filthy still*,' as implying an eternal course of injustice and impurity. But the parallel passages are in Ezek. iii. 27; xx. 39. '*Go and serve ye every man his idols*,' etc. It is an awful challenge to every man to choose and persevere in whatever course he thinks best, *here and now*, and to take the consequences. In the prophecy of Ezekiel the consequence of such persistent sin is death.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ON THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY SOME FATHERS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH TO THE DOCTRINE OF LIFE IN CHRIST; AND ON THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE PREVAILING OPINION OF MAN'S IMMORTALITY BECAME THE CREED OF CATHOLIC CHRISTENDOM.

SECTION I.

On the Support given by some Fathers of the Primitive Church to the Doctrine of Life in Christ.

Two stringent demands may justly be enforced on those who advocate the general system of doctrine which has now been submitted to the reader. First, it may fairly be required that we should bring forward some extra-scriptural evidence of the recognition of the doctrine of life in Christ only in the ante-Nicene ages of the Church; and, secondly, it may be asked that we should offer some rational and historical account of the sources of the now established belief in the absolute immortality of all men, and the eternity of evil.

This subject has been discussed with so much accuracy and fulness by previous writers, that there is the less need for a large exhibition of the evidence in these pages.

In the early years of the eighteenth century the learned nonjuror *Henry Dodwell* set forth a treatise in which he proved 'from the Scripture and the first fathers that the soul is a principle naturally mortal,' but he unhappily burdened the doctrine of a God-given immortality with the high-church conceit that 'the soul is actually immortalised by the pleasure of God to punishment or to reward, through union with the divine baptismal spirit'—and that led him to the strictly logical result that 'the bishops alone, since the apostles, had this immortalising power'! This strange con-

junction of ideas fixed the destiny of his book to oblivion; but its patristic evidence on the fundamental idea of man's natural mortality was clearly and forcibly set forward. Dodwell was answered with the utmost virulence by Dr. Samuel Clarke, who attempted to show that his extracts were garbled and his argument unsound. This brought out a third writer, who describes himself simply as a '*Presbyter of the Church of England*,' and who was a much more accurate patristic scholar than Clarke; and he, with overwhelming force of citation, vindicated Dodwell's statements on the main question, and proved beyond reasonable denial that the earlier ante-Nicene Fathers knew nothing of the natural immortality of the soul *as an apostolic doctrine*, showing that 'Mr. Clarke hath not one sentence of the Fathers or one text of Scripture on his side.' This rare work is called *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality*, and is a well-stored magazine of evidence on this side of the subject, so far as the historical argument is concerned. The author well affirms,—

'Nothing hath contributed more to the growth of Atheism, Scepticism, Libertinism, Popery, and Sectarianism than our modern method of recommending our most holy religion upon the precarious topics of natural light, and natural religion, which set all mankind upon an equal level with those who urge only arguments from human corrupt nature, which the oracles of God frequently represent under the notion of blindness and darkness and philosophy, which is no better than vain deceit (Col. ii. 8); science falsely so called (1 Tim. vi. 20). And nothing hath given a greater shock to many men of searching and acute parts, and more than ordinary capacities, than the insisting upon and pressing the vulgar topics of the natural immortality, immateriality, and spirituality of the soul, of all which it's so difficult to form any idea, and thus we find too often that by the unsatisfactory management of them they only minister matter of burlesque, buffoonery, scorn, and contempt, for the asserting of which we find our philosophical theologues run down and silenced most shamefully, by even illiterates, and women, very frequently, in conversation.'

In our own age the early opinions have been handled in a careful manner by Prebendary Constable;* and by the Rev. J. M. Denniston in his work on *The Perishing Soul*† (pp. 283-350). Mr. Denniston has treated with honest impartiality the variable doctrine of the first two centuries, specially of Justin Martyr and

* Kellaway, Warwick Lane. Chs. xv., xvi., xvii., of his striking work on Future Punishment.

† Longmans, 1874.

Irenæus, and shown that although they have sometimes spoken the philosophic or popular language, their deliberate and final teaching is strongly in support of the unpopular, but apostolic doctrine, of immortality in Christ only.*

The *Essay on the Duration of Evil*, published anonymously in 1855, and on good grounds attributed to one of the most accomplished nonconformist writers of the present age, contains also a short but vigorous review of the ante-Nicene modes of expression on immortality, deciding that their language is incompatible with the modern faith.

But the most complete view of this subject has been given by the late distinguished Professor Hudson, of Cambridge in America, in his great work entitled *Debt and Grace as related to the Doctrine of a Future Life*. In his eighth chapter he has presented a full history of both Jewish and Christian opinion on the present controversy—and few will, after careful study of his pages, persevere in regarding the modern doctrine of the Church as a representation of its faith in those earlier times.

Referring for fuller information to these writers, I shall now present the principal examples of a scriptural mode of expression on the subject of Immortality in Christ, which I have found in the Fathers.

Ignatius, martyred probably A.D. 115.

In the Epistle to Polycarp he says: 'Watch, be vigilant as God's athlete. The reward is incorruption, and life eternal.' 'The bread of God is the body of Christ, and His blood is love incorruptible and perpetual life' (Ephesians, c. 7). He speaks of Christ as 'our inseparable life' (Eph. c. 3), who 'breathes the breath of immortality into his church' (c. 17). 'The bread which is the medicine of immortality, an antidote that we should not die, but live for ever, is Jesus Christ' (c. 20). 'But if as some (the Docetæ), who are atheists, that is to say unbelievers, pretend, He only seemed to suffer, *they themselves only seeming to exist* (εἶναι), why then do I?' etc. (Trall. 10).

Justin Martyr, A.D. 135, bred as a philosopher, several times

* Mr. Bodfield Hooper's misrepresentation of the doctrine of Irenæus deserves a harsher name than I shall give to it.

speaks the language of the schools on the eternity of evil and misery, in his *Apologies* to the Emperors,—except in one passage (No. II. c. 7), where he says, 'God delays the breaking up and dissolution of the world so that evil angels and demons and men may cease to be (μηκέτι ὦ ισ), for the sake of Christians who are in His mind the final cause of nature.' But in the Dialogue with *Trypho*, the Pharisaic Jew, he brings in an aged Christian, who is represented as having taught him the truth respecting the middle quality of souls. After a discussion on the soul's pre-existence and eternity, he represents this aged Christian as saying,—

'But if the world was created, it must follow that souls were created also, and that there was a time when they were not.

'*Justin.* This has the appearance of truth.

'*C.* Therefore they are not immortal.

'*J.* No, they are not, seeing it is evident the world was created.

'*C.* However, I do not say that all souls will die, for that indeed will be good news for the wicked.

'What then? Why, that the souls of the righteous remain in some better place, but the evil in a worse, waiting till the time of Judgment. And so the former, being worthy to appear before God, shall not die any more, and the latter shall be punished *so long as it shall please God that they exist and be punished.*' On this Justin remarks, 'God alone is uncreated and incorruptible; but all things beside Him are created and perishable. For this reason *souls both die and are punished.*' 'For it cannot live of itself, as God does. But as the personal man does not always exist, and body and soul are not ever conjoined, but whenever this harmony may be dissolved the soul leaves the body and the man is no more; so likewise whenever it is necessary that the soul should no longer be (εἶναι), the vital spirit leaves it, and the soul is no more, but itself returns whence it was taken' (cc. 4-6).

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 202. His view of the nature and destiny of the soul is most deliberately expressed in the following passage of his Second Book *against Heresies* (c. 34). Irenæus was the disciple of Polycarp the martyr, who in turn was the scholar of the apostle John. His testimony, therefore, almost touches the fountain of truth, and is of transcendent importance.

Not only does Irenæus briefly affirm in the remaining Greek fragment of the fifth book (c. 2) that it is 'from God's Majesty, not from our own nature, that we receive the gift of enduring for ever,' τὴν εἰς ἀεὶ παραμονήν;—but in the place above referred to he speaks at large thus:—

'If any should assert that those souls which a little while since began to exist cannot hold out for many ages, but must be supposed unborn that they may be immortal, or that if they had a beginning by generation they must die with the body, let them understand that it is only God the Lord of all things who, without beginning or ending, is truly and always the same, without any shadow of change. But all things that are from Him, whatever things are made, have their beginning by generation, and in this respect are inferior to Him who made them, because they are not unbegotten; but they continue their existence and are extended to the length of ages according to the will and pleasure of God the Creator, just as it was by His gift that they had their being at first, and by His gift likewise that they now exist. For as the heavens above us, the firmament, the sun, the moon, and stars, and all their ornaments, were created, whereas before they were not, and continue for many ages according to His will; so if any one thinks the same with respect to souls and spirits, or all things created, he will not be mistaken, since all things that were made had a beginning of their making, but continue their existence so long as it is the will of God they should be and continue. The prophetic Spirit bears witness to all this, saying, "He commanded, and they were created; He hath also established them for ever and ever" (Psalm cxlviii. 5). And as to the salvation of man he saith, "He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him length of days for ever and ever" (Psalm xxi. 4). The prophetic Spirit speaks of Him as the Father of all, granting perseverance of being to all eternity unto those who are saved. *For life is not from us ourselves, or from our nature, but it is given or bestowed according to the grace of God;* and therefore he who preserves this gift of life and returns thanks to Him who bestows it, he shall receive "length of days" for ever and ever. But he who rejects it, and proves unthankful to his Maker for creating him, and will not know Him who bestows it, *he deprives himself of the gift of duration to all eternity.* And therefore the Lord speaks thus of such unthankful persons: If you have not been "faithful in that which is least, who will commit much to you?" intimating thereby unto us, that they who are unthankful to Him with respect to this short transitory life, which is His gift—the effect of His bounty—*shall be most justly deprived of length of days for ever and ever.** For as the animal body is not life itself, but

* 'Testatur pro suis sententiis etiam propheticus spiritus, dicens "*quoniam ipse dixit et facta sunt*" (Psalm cxlviii. 6), et iterum de salvando homine sic ait, "*vitam petiit à te, et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in sæculum sæculi*" (Psalm xxi.), tanquam Patre omnium donante, et in sæculum sæculi, perseverantiam in his qui salvi fiunt. Non enim ex nobis, neque EX NOSTRA NATURA VITA EST; SED SECUNDUM GRATIAM DEI DATUR. Et ideo qui servaverit datum vitæ, et gratias egerit ei qui præstitit, accipiet et in sæculum sæculi longitudinem dierum. Qui autem abjecerit eam et ingratus extiterit Factori, ob hoc quod factus est, et non cognoverit Eum qui præstat, ipse se privat in sæculum sæculi perseverantiâ. Et ideo Dominus dicebat ingratis existentibus in eum, "*Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit eum?*" Significans nobis quoniam qui in modicâ temporali vitâ ingrati extiterunt Ei, qui eam præstitit, juste non percipient ab eo in sæculum sæculi longitudinem dierum.'

partakes of life, so likewise the soul itself is not life, but receives the life bestowed upon it by God; whence is said, "The first man became a living soul," teaching us to distinguish between the soul and the life of the soul. Souls therefore receive their life and their perpetual duration as a donation from God continuing in being from non-existence because God wills them to exist and to subsist.' 'For the substance of life comes by partaking of God, and to partake of God is to know God and enjoy His goodness. Men, therefore, will see God that they may live, being made immortal by the vision, and attaining unto God.'

Again, in lib. iii. 18, 19, Irenæus writes:—

'Therefore, as I have already said, He caused man (human nature) to cleave to and to become one with God. For unless man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished. And again, unless it had been God who had freely given salvation, we could never have possessed it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could never have become a partaker of incorruptibility, for it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and men, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and to present man to God, while He revealed God to man.

'For in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son that fellowship which refers to Himself, unless His Word, having been made flesh, had entered into communion with us? Wherefore also He passed through every stage of life, restoring to all communion with God.

'For as by the disobedience of the one man, who was originally moulded from virgin soil, the many were made sinners, and forfeited life; so was it necessary that, by the obedience of one man, who was originally born from a virgin, many should be justified and receive salvation. Thus, then, was the word of God made man, as also Moses says: "God, true are His works." But if, not having been made flesh, He did appear as if flesh, His work was not a true one. But what He did appear, that He also was: God recapitulated in Himself in the ancient formation of man, that he might kill sin, deprive death of its power, and vivify man: and therefore His works are true.

'But again, those who assert that he was simply a mere man, begotten by Joseph, remaining in the bondage of the old disobedience, are in a state of death; having been not as yet joined to the Word of God the Father, nor receiving liberty through the Son, as He does Himself declare. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." But being ignorant of Him who from the Virgin is Emmanuel, they are deprived of His gift which is eternal life; and not receiving the incorruptible Word, they remain in mortal flesh, and are debtors to death, not obtaining the antidote of life. To whom the Word says, mentioning His own gift of grace, "I said ye are all the sons of the Highest, and gods; but ye shall die like men." He speaks undoubtedly these words to those who have not received the gift of adoption, but who despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defraud human nature

of promotion into God, and prove themselves ungrateful to the Word of God, who became flesh for them. For it was for this end that the Word of God was made man, and He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the Son of God. For by no other means could we have attained to incorruptibility and immortality, unless we had been united to incorruptibility and immortality. But how could we be joined to incorruptibility and immortality, unless, first, incorruptibility and immortality had become that which we also are, so that the corruptible might be swallowed up by the incorruptibility, and the mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons?'

And again, ch. iii. 20: 'This was done that man should not suppose that the incorruptibility which belongs to God is his own naturally, and also by not holding the truth, should boast with empty pride as if he were naturally like to God. *For Satan thus rendered man more ungrateful to his Creator, obscured the love which God had towards men, and blinded his mind not to perceive what is worthy of God, and comparing himself and judging himself equal with God.* This, therefore, was the object of God's longsuffering, that man passing through all things, and acquiring the knowledge of discipline, then attaining the resurrection from the dead, and learning from experience what is the source of his salvation, may always live in a state of gratitude to the Lord, having obtained from Him the gift of incorruptibility that He might love Him the more, and that he may know himself how frail and mortal he is; while he also understands God, that He is Immortal and Powerful to such a degree as to *confer Immortality upon what is mortal, and eternity upon what is temporary.*' [Clark's Library of Ante-Nicene 'Fathers.' Dr. Roberts' version.]

Theophilus of Antioch states the doctrine thus: 'Some will ask, was Adam by nature mortal? By no means. Immortal? Not thus, either. What then—nothing at all? I answer neither mortal, nor immortal; for if the Creator had made him from the first immortal, He would have made him a god. If mortal, then God would appear as the author of death. He made him, then, capable of becoming either; so that by keeping the commands of God he might attain immortality as his reward, and become divine. But if he should turn to mortal things and disobey God, he would be himself the author of his own death. For God made man free and with power of self-control.' (*Ad Autolychum*, ii. c. 37.)

And again at the close of the third century, in the second book of a treatise devoted to the demonstration of the truth of Christianity against the errors of the Gentiles,—a work of the nature

of Paley's 'Evidences' for the African churches, (so vigorously written as to have survived, even in orthodox hands, until our own time, contrary to the rule that the Church has generally preserved the record only of triumphant opinions),—*Arnobius* thus delivers the Christian doctrine. After enlarging at great length in this book on the 'error,' as he terms it, 'of the doctrine of the soul's natural immortality,' he breaks out into the following apostrophe to the heathen philosophers :—

'Will you lay aside your habitual arrogance, O Men, who claim God as your Father, and maintain that you are immortal, just as He is? Will you inquire, examine, search, what you are yourselves, whose you are, of what parentage you are supposed to be, what you do in the world, in what way you are born, how you leap into life? Will you, laying aside all partiality, consider, in the silence of your thoughts, that we are creatures either quite like the rest, or separated by no great difference?' a fact which Arnobius then proceeds to illustrate with great vivacity (ii. 16). 'Your interests are in jeopardy,—the salvation, I mean, of your souls; and unless you give yourselves to know the Supreme God, a miserable death awaits you, not bringing sudden abolition, but destroying by the bitterness of its grievous and protracted punishment. None but Almighty God can preserve souls, nor is there any one besides who can give them length of days, and grant to them a spirit which shall never die, except He who alone is immortal and everlasting, and restricted by no limit of time' (ch. 62). 'For souls are of a middle or intermediate quality, *as has been learned from Christ's teaching*, and they are such that they may on the one hand perish, if they have not known God, and on the other hand be delivered from death, if they have given heed to His threatenings and proffered favours. And to make manifest what is unknown, this is man's real death—*this which leaves nothing behind* [hæc nihil residuum faciens]. For that which is seen by the eyes is only a separation of soul from body, not the last end of abolition: this, I say, is man's real death, when souls which know not God shall be consumed in protracted torment with raging fire into which certain fiercely cruel beings shall cast them, who were unknown to the world [of heathens] before Christ, and brought to light only by His wisdom' (ch. 14).*

Lastly, *Athanasius* (who died in 373) speaks thus of the result of the Fall of Man, in his treatise on the *Incarnation of the Word.*† After asserting that God created the substance as well as the form of the world by His living Word, he continues :—

* This accords with a striking passage in the Ebionite *Clementine Homilies*, iii. cap. 6. 'But as I said, at an appointed time, a fifth part being punished with eternal fire shall be consumed. *For they cannot endure for ever who have been impious against the one God.*'

† Cologne edition, 1686, vol. i., p. 56.

'For God is good, the fountain of goodness; and a good Being is envious of nothing. Whence, envying existence to none, from non-existence He produced all things by His own Word, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amongst which things before all others on earth He visited with mercy the race of man. And seeing that they, according to the condition of their own nature, were not sufficient to endure for ever (*διαμένειν ἀεί*), bestowing His grace upon them in addition, He did not simply create the human race, as He did all the irrational animals upon earth, but He formed them according to His own Image, bestowing on them also the endowment of His own Reason; so that, as it were, possessing certain shadows of the Logos and becoming rational, they might be able to continue (*διαμένειν*) in blessedness, living the true life of saints in Paradise. But seeing again the free-will of mankind, able to go in two opposite directions, He made more secure to them the grace bestowed, both by His precepts and by their position in Eden. He introduced them, therefore, into His own Paradise, and prescribed them a law so that if they should preserve His favour and continue in piety they might possess this life in Paradise, without sorrow or pain or care, in addition to the promise of immortality in the heavens; but if they disobeyed or became rebellious, that they might know that they would undergo the destruction in death which was according to their nature (*ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐν θανάτῳ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰν ὑπομένειν*), and no longer live in the Paradise, but outside Paradise afterwards dying, remain in death and in destruction (*φθορᾷ*). For this the Scripture signifies from the mouth of God. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." For what else can this signify than this,—that not only they should die, but in the destruction of death remain (*ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾷ διαμένειν*)?

'But perhaps thou wilt wonder when my subject is the Incarnation of the Word that we are now speaking of the beginning of mankind; but this is not foreign to the object of the discourse. For it is necessary that, speaking of the manifestation of the Saviour, we should also speak concerning the beginning of mankind; in order that you may know that our sin became the occasion of His descent, and that our transgression called out the philanthropy of the Logos, that He should come down and appear as the Lord among men. For we have become the cause of the Incarnation; and it was for our salvation that He showed His love to man by assuming a human body and appearing in the flesh.

'Thus, therefore, God made man, and desired him to continue in incorruption (*ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ μένειν*). But men, making light of and rebelling against the knowledge of God, thinking out and inventing evil for themselves, came under the before-threatened condemnation of death, and afterwards continued no longer as they were created, but according to their reasonings were destroyed (*διεφθείροντο*). Thus Death reigning held them fast. For the transgression o the command brought them back to their natural condition. So that even as when not existing they had been created (*οὐκ ὄντες γεγόνασιν*) so also they should undergo *destruction of being in the course of time* (*οὕτως δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι φθορὰν ὑπομείνωσι τῷ χρόνῳ*). And justly. For if possessing the nature of not being once (*φύσιν ἔχοντες τὸ μὴ εἶναι*) by the presence and philanthropy of the Logos they were called into existence,—it was right that men, being emptied

of the knowledge of God, and turning to the things that are not (for evil things are things that are not, but good things really are, since they proceed from the really existing God), *should be emptied also of eternal existence* (κενωθῆναι δὲ τοῦ εἶναι ἀεὶ), and this is for them, being dissolved, to remain in death and destruction (φθορᾷ). For man is according to nature mortal, as a being who has been made out of things that are not. But on account of his likeness to God he could by piety ward off his natural mortality and remain indestructible if he retained the knowledge of God, or lose his incorruptibility if he lost his life in God.'

Athanasius then proceeds to describe the object of the Incarnation of the Logos, which was, he says, to save man from relapsing into nothingness, and to endow him with immortality in the renewed Image of God,—'so that as by transgression they had been born for mortality (φθορὰν), by repentance they might again come to incorruption. For this cause that incorporeal and incorruptible Word of God came down to our abode, and took our nature upon Him, in order that by death He might abolish death, and give to man the hope of life eternal.'

Notwithstanding this sound basis of faith, it must not, however, be supposed that Athanasius attributed immortality to the saved alone, for, like Dr. Watts and some other modern writers, he inconsistently taught, at least in the case of rejectors of Christ, 'that God would *immortalise* the wicked for an "eternal death" of conscious suffering.'*

Section II.

On the process by which the prevailing opinion on Man's Immortality became the Creed of Catholic Christendom.

The question now to be considered is of momentous interest in relation to this discussion. 'If the doctrine of man's immortality, now, and for more than fourteen hundred years past, the

* The seemingly self-contradictory doctrine of Athanasius is well discussed and accounted for in the work above referred to, *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality*, 1708. A curious illustration of the fact that the belief in Conditional Immortality lingered in the churches sporadically for several centuries after the time of Athanasius, is given by Canon Swainson in his learned history of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, p. 250. At the third council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, under the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, at the eleventh session, a synodical letter of twenty-one pages in length from

established faith of Christendom, be, as you think, a direful delusion, and in its consequences a curse to the Church and the world,—when did this false belief, sanctioned by so many myriads of the wisest men, originate, and by what steps did it take possession of the mind of Christianised mankind?'

The answer to this inquiry demands several preliminary observations.

(1) It is necessary to admit, in all its force, the antecedent improbability, according to the natural course of thought, of the speedy and general obscuration of the great light of truth kindled by God for the salvation of the world. The mind, left to its own auguries of the probable future of early Christianity, would unquestionably have foretold the universal diffusion and solid establishment of apostolic doctrine. If heresies and errors arose, they would doubtless be swept away before the triumph of truth. An infallible and triumphant Popedom, or an infallible and triumphant Church, are the expressions of all that seems at first view probable in the history of a Divine Revelation.

But the true philosophy in religion, as in other sciences, is founded on induction of facts. It consisted with the Divine wisdom to permit first of all of the corruption of patriarchal theology into pantheism and world-wide idolatry. The worship of false gods, and the adoration of images, representing grotesque phantasies of the imagination, has been the religion of Asia, of Europe, and Africa, almost since the beginning of their settlement. When Moses had been commissioned to found a new theocratic institution, apostasy commenced very soon after his death. The history of Israel is the history of a series of reforms following on a series of apostasies to idolatry, ending with a final subsidence of nearly all the ablest minds into Pharisaic superstition, or the materialism of the Sadducees.

Sophronius, who had been patriarch of Jerusalem in the beginning of the century, was read, in which, after reciting his faith in the Trinity, he proceeds to speak of the Incarnation; next of the errors of Nestorius and Apollinaris; and ends by declaring the true faith to be that 'men's souls have not a natural immortality; it is the gift of God that they receive the grant of immortality and incorruptibility.'

The preceding history of the world, therefore, did not throw so encouraging a light *a priori* on the future of Christianity as might be at first supposed. On the contrary, to any one who sincerely believed in the combined action of a corrupt humanity, and of a host of infernal spirits still battling against God, the probability of an uncorrupted Christianity was reduced to a shadowy expectation. The experience of past ages would render it the most wonderful of all miracles, if Christianity escaped the universal tendency to perversion.

But we are not left to hesitate between such conflicting probabilities. The ancient prophets foretold a general apostasy from the faith of Christ (Dan.* vii., xi.). Christ and His apostles stedfastly enforced on their disciples the same lamentable prediction. Every one of the apostles left the world warning the churches of some Power of Darkness which was soon to arise, and to found its throne in Christendom on the basis of a widely corrupted doctrine. The elements of disorder were, they affirmed, in action already. '*The mystery*, or secret doctrine, *of lawlessness doth already work*' (2 Thess. ii.). '*There shall be false prophets, and many shall follow their pernicious ways*'(2 Peter ii.). '*The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, and shall turn away their ears from the truth, and will turn*

* I venture to quote this book as Daniel's, because the modern objections have been effectively answered by Dr. Pusey in his learned work on this prophet, and by Mr. Birks in his best work, *The Elements of Prophecy*. In the same manner we adhere in the following pages to the ancient interpretation of these and other predictions respecting the rise and domination of an evil spiritual and temporal power at Rome, lamenting only that the theologians of the Anglican branch, assisted by some extreme and less learned sects of 'Plymouth Brethren,' have laboured so hard of late years to shake the faith of Protestants in that well-established application of the prophecies. Modern Rome is grateful to the English and the Germans who have striven to prove that she is not the *Babylon* of the Apocalypse. But the Italian people seem to be unaffected by these arguments. As soon as they become Reformed, they apply with immense vigour this weapon with which the Scripture supplies them, rivalling the German and old English Reformers themselves in the zeal with which they hold up the mirror of the Book of Revelation before the bedizened face of the 'Mother of Harlots,' and Mistress of all Churches. The writings of Bishop Wordsworth are also to be commended as efficient replies to the modern Anglican doctrine on the Apocalypse.

aside unto fables' (2 Tim. iv. 3). *'Of your own selves shall men arise, speaking corrupt things'* (Acts xx. 30).

The errors of this apostasy had their origin, not in the Eternal City, but in the human heart. The evil principles which were to lay the foundation for the throne of the great Antichrist were all at work in the first stage of Christianity. Human nature was commencing then the process of degradation, through which the spiritual would become materialised, and the divine be transmuted into the diabolical. The spirit of self-glorification and formality, the spirit of a false mystical philosophy, the ambitious and greedy sacerdotal spirit, had already revealed themselves in the churches —and these, coalescing with the remainders of paganism, established the reign of the powers of darkness. Christianity descended from the spiritual region into the region of material forms. Instead of churches of living stones, there were 'churches' of dead stones, and of marble. Instead of regeneration by the truth and the Spirit, men were offered baptismal regeneration. For eating and drinking by faith the body and blood of Christ, there was substituted the gross dogma of transubstantiation. Instead of faith, there was the endless repetition of an incredible 'creed,' in a foreign tongue; instead of spiritual discipline, oppressive ecclesiastical courts; instead of a royal priesthood of God's elect, a hierarchy, whose alleged succession from the apostles consisted in an unbroken series of laying on of hands. In place of the beautiful garments of Christian piety, this priesthood was arrayed in purple and gold; and 'fine linen' literally became the 'righteousness of saints.' Instead of Christ's Gospel, there was ecclesiastical law; money effected the work of grace, and church decoration shone in the room of holiness. Music filled the place of moral harmony, and compensated for the absence of 'melody in the heart unto the Lord.' Finally, a visible Antichrist and his satellites usurped the honours due to the 'High Priest of our Profession,' and pretended to regulate the destinies of souls departed in that region whose keys are possessed by the Invisible Potentate alone.

Dr. J. H. Newman excellently described it a very few years before he seceded, in these words:—

'The spirit of old Rome has risen in its former place, and has evidenced its identity by its works. It has possessed the Church there planted, as an Evil

Spirit might seize the demoniacs of primitive times, and makes her speak words which are not her own. In the corrupt papal system we have the very cruelty, the craft, and the ambition of the Republic; its cruelty in its unsparing sacrifice of the happiness and virtue of individuals to a phantom of public expediency, in its forced celibacy within, and its persecutions without; its craft in its falsehoods, its deceitful deeds, and lying words; and its grasping ambition in the very structure of its policy, in its assumption of universal dominion; old Rome is still alive; nowhere have its eagles lighted, but it still claims the sovereignty under another pretence.'—Archbishop Whately's *Cautions for the Times*, p. 240.

Thus was 'that Wicked One revealed, the Son of Perdition,' who is characterised, in the prophecies, by his intelligence, audacity, and political power in connection with the Roman Empire; by his blasphemies against Supreme Goodness, Holiness, and Authority; by his long persecutions against 'the saints of the Most High;' by his bold alteration of Divine Institutions; by his assumption of the right to legislate in opposition to the distinct decrees of the Deity; by his profane reception of honours due to Heaven alone, as he 'sitteth in the temple of God;' by his disregard of the gods of his Pagan forefathers, and of the conjugal instincts of humanity; by his boundless self-exaltation, yet 'voluntary humility in the worshipping of angels,' and 'honouring of a foreign deity,' with the magnificence of a 'gay religion full of pomp and gold.'

More than twelve hundred years have now passed since the days of Boniface, and 'the horns,' or civil Powers, have at length begun, according to the prediction, to 'hate the Whore'; but those baleful eyes of the Man of Sin still fascinate the nations with their soul-consuming beams. That forehead, beaten by the storms of centuries, and scarred with the lightnings that have impatiently hovered over it for ages, still lifts its presumptuous front aloft above the world's mightiest thrones. That voice of the pontifical Magician, as of subterranean thunder, still overawes adoring millions, still sends up to heaven its 'blasphemies against the God of gods': and the tyrant will 'prosper until the indignation' against Israel be accomplished (Dan. xi. 36).

But 'the adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall He thunder upon them.' Of this Man of Sin,'—'the son of perdition,'—the perpetual holder of the title

and apostolate of Judas, who 'betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss,—it is foretold, that the Lord shall 'consume him with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy him by the brightness of His coming.' 'And if any man shall worship the Beast or his Image, or receive his mark on his forehead or on his hand, he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb.'

The history of the ante-Nicene ages, notwithstanding their heroic character, offers a convincing comment on the truth of the apostolic predictions. We may not consult as a final authority the post-apostolic Church on the interpretation of the holy writings. Holding these writings in our own hands, we can understand for ourselves, at least as well as they, what Christ and the apostles taught. And they taught something exceedingly different from the larger part of ante-Nicene Christianity. We harbour no irreverent design of questioning the illustrious virtue of that age of martyrdom; but it is patent to students of Scripture that the men of those centuries were better trained athletes in fasting, and in dying for Christ, than they were in maintaining while alive the evangelic doctrine against corruption. Let any one peruse S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans or the circular epistle inscribed to the 'Ephesians,' or the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews, and then, if competently informed in the Christian literature of the three centuries following, tell us how often we shall find a page of similar doctrine on the Atonement, or on Justification in Christ, or on the way of a sinful man's 'access with boldness unto the holiest by the blood of Jesus;' or a page of similarly devout and loving meditation on the characteristics of *family* piety? In reading the ante-Nicene Fathers you feel as if you were breathing an atmosphere very different from that of the New Testament. Compare again S. John's Gospel, or Epistles, or S. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, with the fierce ascetic diatribes of Tertullian, the incredible futility of much that remains even of Justin, the lame interpretations of Origen and Clement.*

* 'Origen neglects and despises for the most part the outward letter; and in this devious path displays the most ingenious strokes of fancy, though always at the expense of truth, whose Divine simplicity is scarcely discernible through the cobweb veil of allegory.'—MOSHEIM, *Eccl. Hist.* cent. iii. ch. 3.

The truth unhappily is, that these saintly men had either forgotten, or never learned, some of the principal peculiarities of Christ's religion, and were driving hard along the road of a falsely philosophic and thence ascetic superstition. If, then, the earliest ages, in their best remains, offer so meagre a representation of the apostolic gospel in its faith, joy, and love, why shall we doubt the possibility of a rapid oblivion of other closely connected 'peculiarities' of the faith of Jesus Christ, specially those which were the most characteristic of it?

(2) The opinion widely prevails that any considerable alteration of belief in the ante-Nicene churches was not possible within the time specified in this hypothesis. The idea is that each church founded by the apostles was a fortress of the truth, fixed on an independent basis; so that corruption in one particular article of faith or practice would be resisted by the general conformity to apostolic rule, and thus that a vast number of separate associations would be engaged in handing down the apostolic deposit.

This opinion, so natural in its auguries, proceeds on inattention to the facts of religious history. Even in the lifetime of the apostles, each church was prevented from lapsing into apostasy only by the watchful care of the founders. All the churches of Galatia had apparently abandoned true Christianity within a short space from their foundation; they had received 'another gospel.' The Corinthians had allowed the entrance even of Sadducean disbelievers in a future state and a resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. xv. 12). Nearly all the apostolic epistles are warnings against prevailing errors.

The apocalyptic addresses of Christ to the 'Seven Churches of Asia' indicate, in the majority, exposure to influences which were well-nigh fatal to their faith.

Every century of Christian history teaches the lesson that not only are separate communities subject to rapid changes of belief and feeling, through the influence of leading minds; but that currents of thought sweep, like pestilential gales, over wide areas of Christendom, poisoning the ideas of men in millions, in a comparatively small number of years. Let any one review the history of English religious thought during the present century, or even during the last twenty-five years. Who that lived in 1850 could

have believed that English opinion would have developed so rapidly in the opposite directions of superstition and scepticism, under the disastrous influence of a few distinguished writers? The past ages are full of similar examples. Within forty years the Nonconformist martyr-churches of the Restoration were sunk into the apathy and scepticism of the reign of Queen Anne. Within a generation from Luther's age the Protestant churches of central Europe had relapsed into Socinianism, when the fervour of the Reformation died away. Why, then, doubt that, if any strong and steady influence was at work to corrupt apostolic Christianity in the department of belief relating to immortality, nothing short of a miracle could hinder the victory of such an assailing force? Not only was a general corruption of doctrine possible: it was certain, except under one condition—that the reverent study of the New Testament Scriptures should become the absorbing interest of the best intellect of every sacred society in Christendom, and that the churches should burn with a flaming zeal of adhesion to apostolic teaching and example, which would effectually dispel the danger from corrupted Judaism, from Greek and Oriental philosophy, and from popular paganism. It is notorious that this condition did not exist.

The teachers of the first century complied imperfectly with S. Paul's command to 'commit the things which he had taught to faithful men who should be able to teach others also.' The bishops of the churches of the second century sprang mostly from the schools of Rabbinical Judaism, and from the schools of heathen 'science falsely so called,' or from no schools at all. Their training in the science of exposition had been neglected in youth, and had not been attended to in riper age. Books were rare and expensive, colleges were few and heathenish in taste, and the feeling soon extended itself everywhere that apostolic Christianity was a religion so much opposed to *all* men's natural ideas that it was hopeless to convince the philosophers of Greece and Rome, or the educated men who governed the empire, unless at least some compromise were allowed with notions more attractive and popular. The church was in no humour to '*become a fool, in order to be wise.*' To the Jews, in no good sense, the Christian teachers became Jews, to the Greeks they became Greeks, to gain them both.

We discern the influence of similar motives at work around us in the present age. The last lesson that Christians learn is the strength of 'the weakness of God'—the saving power of that doctrine which men count 'foolishness'—the irresistible moral force that dwells in unadulterated Christianity. *All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*, has been the tempter's seductive proposal in every age. The Church of the second century accepted the offer which her Lord had declined. She 'showed her treasures to the ambassadors from Babylon,' and learned their speech; she 'went down to Egypt for help,' and 'leaned not on the Lord of Hosts;' she 'trafficked with Javan,' and 'committed fornication with Tyre and Sidon;' she received her doctrine from the ascetic heathenism of the Athenian and Alexandrian philosophies, rather than from the 'unlearned' but inspired apostles of the Incarnate Word.

And thus it came to pass that every convert from Judaism brought with him into the Church some remnant of the 'oral law;' the Pharisee-Rabbins of that day, on embracing Christianity, too often 'betrayed the Son of man with a kiss.' They came not to learn of the Word of Life, but to teach Christianity to sanction a qualified Judaism. The Greek and Asiatic philosophers naturally imitated so respectable an example. They certainly believed in Christ, but many of the ablest of them believed, as Simon Magus did, with a view to power and profit; and the last thing they would submit to do was to adopt the 'degrading' dogma of man's dependence for immortal life on 'Jesus of Nazareth.'

Accordingly every year of growing apostasy witnessed the decline of the primitive peculiarity which attributed our life eternal to the Incarnation. The religion of Redemption, in the person of Christ and His apostles, had descended into a world where some doctrine of man's natural immortality, and generally of his pre-existence, was the established opinion of nearly all who had any belief on the subject of a future state.* Christ

* It may be objected that such a preoccupation of the mind of man must be regarded as a divinely-inspired preparation for the gospel. In some sense doubtless every natural tendency of man's thoughts in religion, whether good or bad, is such a preparation, and, as has been pointed out in chapter viii., there are certain elements in the popular belief in immortality which *practically*

Himself had shed around, in the darkness which that 'article of natural religion' inevitably causes on the side of penalty, a great light for a little time, by proposing Himself to the Palestinian Rabbins as the true fountain of Eternal Life for man. His faithful apostle John had continued that testimony, (along with Paul, 'the chosen vessel,') for the space of seventy years after the ascension. But no sooner were these bright 'lamps' extinguished than the all-surrounding influence of 'natural' psychology closed in upon the Church, and effectually shrouded the main truth of Christianity from its disciples. Here and there some earnest teacher, faithful to the Scripture, faithful to tradition, faithful to a sounder philosophy, resisted the growing opinion, and boldly testified, as we have seen, against the error which is the germ of nearly all heresies; here and there a puzzled bishop or apologist, though holding 'philosophic' language at one time, on other occasions taught the special doctrine of Christianity; but the resistance soon began to die away; and by the time that Jerome and Augustine arose, those intolerant doctors of the demonolatrous 'apostasy,' as Mr. Isaac Taylor has truly described them, several generations of Christians had lived beneath the terrific superstitions that overshadow mankind under the assertion of native immortality, and the denial of God's grace in the gift of life eternal.

Beliefs in which illimitable terror predominates have the advantage of confirming their own sway when once established, by the doom which they hold out even of hostile thought. Ungodly men, and many not ungodly, sincerely think anything infinitely horrible is so much more probable than the opposite, that the path of terror in religion is easy. After the publication of Augustine's predestinarian theology, Christendom sank para-

served the ends of religion. But in no sense can it be admitted that Christianity has been anticipated by natural theology, or can be limited by its supposed conclusions. Its central doctrine of salvation by the Incarnation and Sacrifice of the Son of God is wholly foreign to the 'wisdom of this world'; and its contradiction of the popular faith in man's native immortality, while attributing man's immortal life to Christ, is only another example of the general rule that its revelations transcend every anticipation of nature. 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, *neither have entered into the heart of man*, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him,'— a passage which S. Paul specially applies to the revelation of the gospel theology.

lysed on the fiery shores of his eternal hell; the gloomy priesthood ruled the new Gothic world, and the doctrines of Purgatory and Mariolatry were invented as necessary reliefs for souls maddened with fear of eternal torments. There were always 'Scripture texts' enough at hand, duly wrested, to support this or any other delusion, and they were diligently used during the following centuries of Christianity, and quoted as defiantly of the main drift of the Bible as they are to-day.

Such we believe to be the history of doctrine in relation to Immortality. Natural immortality is the first article of 'natural religion' to religious men who have not learned of Christ; as the Ptolemaic astronomy founded on sense-perceptions precedes the Newtonian. In every age since the first, Christ witnesses as the 'Life of the world' against this pretension to native perpetuity of being, and for the most part witnesses in vain. The multitudes of learned men who have in every country taught the man-deifying dogma of natural immortality exercise a far greater authority than He. Athens still rules more powerfully over men's minds than Nazareth. Christ is the 'Rejected of men,' especially of philosophers; but nevertheless He is the Life of the world, and if men live without Him, He declares that they will die eternally.

In accounting, therefore, for the rise and establishment of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in Christendom, with its logical consequence of the doctrine of endless misery, we have not far to seek for sufficient causes. It was not Platonism alone that operated in this direction. All the special influences of Eastern and Western thought were vigorously at work from the very beginning of the gospel to contravene the chief peculiarity of the Christian Revelation,—its declaration that immortality is the gift of God, through the Incarnation, to regenerate men alone. Against this humbling 'form of doctrine' all the authority of the loftiest speculation of both Europe and Asia was arrayed with overshadowing influence. Never had such a notion been heard of, from the Pillars of Hercules to the farthest East, as the dependence of mankind for eternal life on a Jewish artisan who claimed to be 'God manifest in the flesh'! All the old religions of the world were against it—all the old philosophies. It was the last lesson which even the faithful disciples of Christ would

consent to learn. From the time when He proclaimed it in the synagogue of Capernaum (John vi.) 'many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him, saying, Who can hear it?' The mass of Jewish and Grecian converts, in proportion to their 'culture,' insisted on retaining their old ideas when they entered the Church,*—and it required nothing less than a thorough acquaintance with the course of written revelation to enable a teacher to stand up in any locality against the popular opinion. The doctrine of immortality in Christ was doubtless as unacceptable to the majority of Christian scholars and thinkers then as it is now; hence the true cause for wonder is, not that, long before the end of the second century, Tertullian could teach the doctrine of endless misery in the language of a fiend,† but that so late as the third and fourth centuries we should find numerous indications of the partial survival of the apostolic and unpopular contradiction of it.

For then as now the leaders of thought were possessed with the opinion that the common people must be partially deceived in order to be restrained. If modern Europe, both scientific and theological, is honeycombed with secret beliefs, so also was ancient Christendom. The most alarming theology was naturally esteemed the safest for the multitude.

Original Christianity, a revelation of truth and grace, was designed for sincere Christians only. A little later a Christianity was required for influencing the miscellaneous multitudes of the Empire. For them, since they were inaccessible to rational and spiritual motives, magical sacraments, church ceremonial, and terrific dogma, formed the three necessary elements of 'religion.' The strongest of such elements, that of terror, was at hand in the popular notion of the soul's immortality and its consequences. Not many would look very closely into the Christian standards, and thus a 'pious fraud' would, in the judgment of the few who examined the question at all, seem to be justified by the necessity of the times. This would be but to pursue the path of 'prudence'

* See Stanley's *Essays on the Apostolical Age.*

† 'How shall I admire, how rejoice, when I behold so many proud monarchs liquefying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled for the Christians, so many tragedians more tuneful in the expression of their own sufferings,' etc.—*De Spectaculis*, c. 30.

trodden by them in other departments, and by so many thousands of silent divines in later generations. For one teacher of Christianity who will independently examine his doctrines singly and collectively by the standard of the apostolic writings, there are at least hundreds who will humbly subscribe in early life an unquestioning assent to whatever is proposed to them as the condition of the priesthood or ministry, when sanctioned by the Church,—and scores in our own time who will deny the authority of the apostles altogether.

There is no reason to think that the governing influences of life were more favourable to independent study and courageous avowal in the third century than in the nineteenth. Any mysterious or terrific dogma once asserted by half a dozen eminent preachers, scholars, and martyrs, was certain of a long career of dominion over the masses of mankind, for there is no influence to which men yield so easily as to unreasoning fear. In this case, not half a dozen, but the whole body of Jewish converts from Pharisaic teaching, the Oriental luminaries, and the entire army of Greek converts from the Alexandrian and Athenian philosophies, supported on all sides the hell-passion of such a man as Tertullian whose devoutly ferocious disposition offered a fitting engine for the fresh propagation of the dogma in the Latin-speaking world.

And this takes no account of that which ought not to be forgotten in describing the genesis of the opinion—the action of 'seducing spirits and the teaching of demons speaking lies in hypocrisy,' which may nevertheless be believed to have been concerned in re-establishing that primeval philosophy whispered in the ear of Eve, '*Ye shall not surely die!*' If a few energetic preachers, in our own generation, reckless in uncritical assertion, ruthless in their treatment of opponents, and moderately well convinced of the truth of the tremendous doctrine they have espoused, are able to persuade so many modern multitudes of its truth, with the printed Bible under their eyes, it is easy to understand that the few scattered protests of the Ante-Nicene ages were feebly matched against the influnce of numberless Christian teachers, maddened by the cruelty of the Roman Emperors, and thirsting for some vengeful threatening of hell-torment which might perchance scare the heathen into silence or submission. But the Roman cruelty we believe was stimulated by the 'Christian' threatenings, and both parties alike were ignorant of the truth of God.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE ULTIMATE SALVATION OF ALL MEN, COMMONLY CALLED UNIVERSALISM.

'And by Him *all that believe* are justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses. Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets: Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish' (*ἀφανίσθητε.*)—Acts xiii. 39-41.

The modifications of opinion on the subject of future retribution, both in the earlier and later ages of Christianity, have been determined in quality by their point of departure. Psychology has deeply influenced the history of interpretation, more deeply than is often allowed. The schools which have held as the result of inquiry, or accepted with unquestioning faith, the everlasting duration of the soul, have been compelled to deal with the language of the Bible on future punishment under the difficult conditions imposed by that unbiblical preconception. And it is hard to say to which of the two parties who are agreed on their psychology, but differ in their theological views, we owe the more signal illustration of the fact that no words can bind a man who approaches Revelation with the main articles of his creed already settled on a philosophical basis. Even divine words are but air against the *Sit pro ratione voluntas.*

The array of believers in the immortality of the soul is divided into two wings; the first comprising those who maintain the eternity of sin and misery, as the necessary result of the eternity of the sinner; the second those who maintain that the Divine Goodness will eventually recover all immortal beings from sin—and its direful consequences in hell.*

* The Rev. J. Baldwin Brown's theory of future punishment is based upon he assumption of natural immortality, and combines the faults of both Ortho-

Each of these theological parties has operated upon the biblical language in a manner which seems to enforce the rule of interpretation advocated by us. To each party the primary truth—that which must on no account be sacrificed, and which must give the law to the meaning of all judicial words used by prophets and apostles—is the absolute eternity of the soul of Man. No interpretation which contradicts that first truth must be admitted. Not the plainest and most obvious sense of words must be permitted to stand before this supreme necessity of vindicating the divine dignity of man in one portion of his nature as an indestructible being. If the Bible seem to assert a psychology of its own, if it seem to present a whole forest of arguments opposing the idea of the actual eternity of all men, then this 'postulate of all religion' must pass like a fiery flame and burn for itself a way through all that forest of opposing language.

But there are two directions in which this flame may travel; so that there are two roads between which the philosophic traveller may choose. The large majority of divines, holding to man's immortality, have felt themselves compelled to assert, since the days of the Pharisees and early Greek Christianity, that the threatenings of *death* and *destruction*, of *perishing* and *extermination* (*karat*), stand for the endless misery of souls that cannot die;—and with respect to the declarations of Scripture that Christ came to give eternal *life*, that these stand for the idea, that He came to give 'spiritual life'—holiness and divine happiness—to souls already immortal.

This conclusion, however, has not satisfied the Universalists from the days of Origen down to the present time. Endowed

doxy and Universalism. He seems to admit of the eternal suffering of a sinner, if his 'free-will' hold out against God for ever. In that case his *destruction* will signify his endless misery. But Mr. Brown is hopeful of the conversion of all sinful beings in hell, and then their *destruction* will signify the 'destruction of their sins.' The outlines of this theory were also contained in a paper by Lord Lyttelton in the *Contemporary Review*, in 1871. Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Brown seem to attribute to free-will and the 'fire of hell' the regenerating power which the New Testament always ascribes to divine grace and the truth of the gospel. Mr. Cox's *Salvator Mundi* follows on the same track. But his work is distinguished by a remarkably light estimate of the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin.' One might really suppose, in reading it, that the Bible was chiefly written to give obstinate sinners a cheerful view of their future state.

perhaps with a livelier imagination than their opponents, they have better apprehended the meaning of *everlasting suffering;* and, like the majority of men who allow themselves earnestly to meditate upon that appalling prospect as applied to actually existing human beings, and their own relations, they have found the inevitable results to be—approaching madness,—or total unbelief,—or some modification of the orthodox faith. Under the condition of maintaining the psychological doctrine of man's immortality, and much more when to that was added the doctrine of moral necessity, but one modification was possible—that of asserting the final salvation of all mankind.

But this involved the difficult task of dealing with the language of Scripture. How shall this be reconciled with the speculation of universal restitution? The answer was not long delayed in the fertile mind of Origen. The orthodox party had set a bold example of manipulating the words of the New Testament. If one party thinks itself entitled to explain *death* by misery, and *destruction* by an immortality of sin, in order to maintain the soul's immortality, surely the other may claim equal right to operate for theological reasons upon the same terms; and declare that the death of the sinner signifies only the *death of his sin*, the destruction of the wicked, *the destruction only of their wickedness*; thus opening the door to faith in an all-reconciling mercy, supposed to be explicitly announced in certain passages of the sacred volume. Such has been the basis of Universalist interpretation for sixteen centuries, and as long as it endures such must be the method to which it resorts in vindication of its leading principles.

It is probable that neither Origen nor his followers would have imagined so considerable a violence to the language of the Scripture threatening, unless they had been possessed with an antecedent faith in the incorruptibility of the soul. If a reader has once accepted the coherent biblical theory elicited by allowing the death threatened to Adam to stand for impending extinction, and the life which is conferred in Christ to stand for restored immortality, restricted to men who choose God for their portion, the temptation to deal violently with the mass of biblical language is at once removed. But so long as men think all souls immortal, and are oppressed with the horror of the dogma of endless misery thence arising, the temptation to wrest

the terms of Scripture into the sense of universal salvation is almost irresistible.

In briefly reviewing the arguments by which Universalism is supported, we shall pass by those which may be classified as moral, and confine attention to critical considerations. The moral argument for Universal Salvation is, as we have seen, founded on the assumption of man's natural immortality. It is taken as proved that men must live for ever, and then it is argued with different degrees of confidence to be contradictory to what is known of Divine Justice and Mercy that they should suffer for ever: whence it follows, more or less certainly, that Divine Wisdom will restore them to blessedness again. It is evident that this argument proceeds on a psychological assumption of man's eternal duration of being. That stiff-necked assumption we can neither allow nor argue upon. Its removal from the field of view leaves no moral difficulty to be solved by the violent hypothesis of universalism. Universalism has no *locus standi* in dogmatics until it has established its psychological postulate: and this is precisely the work which its psychologers steadfastly decline to undertake. The natural eternity of all souls is more conveniently asserted and assumed than demonstrated, and hence the pernicious custom of taking for granted a principle which underlies the entire fabric of interpretation. Those who admit that that ground has been undermined by the preceding argument will concede that the Universalists may justly be required to provide some new point of departure. It cannot be permitted to confound survival of the soul with its eternity.

The critical or biblical arguments for the salvation of all men are found in three series of scriptural expressions, (1) those which declare the character of God, (2) those which assert the merciful provision of God for the salvation of the whole race of mankind, (3) those which are used directly in announcing the penalty of sin.

(1) The final salvation of all men is deduced from the revealed character of God, as the Father of all mankind. The 'fatherhood of God' is defined to be a principle in the Divine Mind which will compel the Divine Will to reach and to rescue every one of His sons. Without relying on single phrases to prove their

case, the moderate Universalists would affirm that the general tone of Revelation supports the belief that God's 'tender mercies are over all His works,' and that 'His mercy endureth for ever,'—reaches, therefore, into the eternity down which the sinful soul is rushing. No created being can cut himself off from relationship to the Eternal Love, and that Love will not disown the relation of sonship which has once existed. It is, therefore, held to be *infinitely* incredible that God will inflict eternal misery upon any creature, and equally incredible that the Father of all will, with His own hand, slay any of His sons, or extinguish their existence. The Divine Nature is declared to be the grand argument for the final restitution of all lapsed creatures.

A thoughtful observer of the world will, perhaps, admit that more certainty is attainable respecting some things which Divine Goodness will *not* do, than as to what it *will* do in the way of positive benefaction. We may securely decide, for example, that if there be a God of justice in any sense in which we can understand that term, He will not allow those who have died in childhood to suffer in hell for ever; but it is not so easy to deduce from the divine goodness that it will immortalise every sinful man to eternal joy.

The sources of our knowledge respecting God are—our own nature, the world around us, and the Mosaic and Christian revelations. Now in each of these departments of study there are, it must be admitted, indications of character in the Creator which reveal something very different from mere indiscriminate kindness. Goodness, real but limited, is indeed manifested on all sides, but equally certain it is that beneath nature and providence there is also a severity which clearly contemplates other ends besides the enjoyment of creatures,—a fixed will to uphold law at all risks, and to carry out plans at great cost of suffering and life to sentient beings.

Mr. John Stuart Mill was so much impressed with the severe and awful element in Nature that he doubted whether the Cause of the Universe was as 'good' as is commonly represented. The forces of the Kosmos, as he has shown in a memorable passage in his essay on *Nature* (p. 28), operate inexorably; and if free agents become entangled, through their own lack of care or knowledge, in that terrible machinery, no cries of drowning, or agonising, or

lacerated, or dying persons avail to deliver them from destruction. Much, too, of the mental and bodily misery inflicted on men in the course of Providence bears the aspect of being, not disciplinary, but terribly punitive,—and that in a measure which holds out little hope of different treatment beyond. On the ground of nature, apart from revelation, it is exceedingly difficult, as Socrates found it, to make out any evidence of a better state for the generality of souls departed, in case of survival. Nor is this to be wondered at, when it is remembered that outward nature reveals God acting by law alone, of which, we are now divinely taught, that the law, 'working wrath,' cannot save. However great the Divine Goodness, it has at least been limited in this world sufficiently to allow the major part of mankind to reap the consequences of perverse free-will under terrible issues of life and death.

If we turn to the Scriptures, assuredly the modern confident affirmations of the *infinite* tenderness of God towards all creatures, good and bad, seem to obtain slight confirmation from either history or doctrine. The Bible resembles a vast ocean of truth,—and, like the ocean, it offers at one time a boundless expanse of calm and sunshine; depths of redeeming mercy overarched by azure heights of love;—at another time it is covered with blackness and darkness, the heavens above are red with the fiery storms of Divine indignation, when God 'thundereth marvellously with His voice,' denouncing judgment upon the rebellious. Every reader can verify for himself this twofold impression made by the records of revelation. If words possess a fixed meaning, and have been employed in their ordinary sense by the succession of prophets and apostles, and by the Son of God Himself, I think we do not gather that the object was to make us believe that God's nature is such as to *compel* Him to save all alike at last. The bright current of the divine promises to penitent men is not more visible to the eye, than the fiery stream of curses which rolls its awful tide into the abyss of perdition, carrying upon its waves all obstinately rebellious beings whether diabolical or human. Mankind can scarcely have been mistaken at least in gathering both from Nature and from Revelation the conviction that there is some attribute of God far different from mere

Fatherly Compassion and Goodness, concerned in dealing with obstinate offenders. 'Our God is a consuming fire' can scarcely signify that the Divine Love is determined on saving desperate malefactors.

The revealed character of God, then, to whatever side we look, does not seem to be more favourable to the expectation of Universal Salvation than the Divine Character as shadowed forth by nature. The biblical doctrine concerning Divine Benignity seems to be that there is no limit to God's mercy towards the obedient; that He will be compassionate towards young children and ignorant offenders; but that there is 'merciless judgment' for fallen angels, and for men who 'set themselves' against Omnipotence.

(2) Let us now turn to the general declarations of Divine Compassion towards men, on which some rely to prove that eventually all will arrive in heaven. The following are the chief:—

John iii. 17.—'God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that *the world* through Him might be saved.'

John i. 29.—Christ was 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of *the world*.' (See also John iv. 42, 1 John iv. 14, 'Saviour of the world,' ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου).

John xii. 32.—'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw *all men* unto myself.'

Rom. v. 15, 18.—'If through the offence of one the many be dead (οἱ πολλοὶ), much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace hath abounded unto *the many* (τοὺς πολλούς). Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon *all men* to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon *all men* unto justification of life.'

1 Cor. 15, 28.—'When all things are subjected to Him (to Christ), then also shall the Son be subjected unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.' The subjection of Christ to God is filial, therefore it is argued the subjection of all things to Christ at last will be filial.

Ephesians i. 10.—'That in the dispensation of the fulness of time He might gather together in one *all things* in the Christ, *both which are in the heavens and which are on earth*, even in Him.'

Phil. ii. 9, 10.—'God hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of the heavenly, and the earthly, *and the subterranean* (καὶ καταχθονίων), and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'

Col. i. 19.—'Having made peace through the blood of Christ by Him to reconcile all this unto Himself, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven.'

1 Tim. ii. 4.—'This is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who

willeth (*θέλει*) all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth;' again, verse 6, 'Christ gave Himself a ransom for all, to be testified in the destined times.'

1 Tim. iv. 10.—'We trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men (*σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων*), specially of the believing.'

Titus ii. 11.—'For the grace of God salutary or saving to all men (*ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν*) hath appeared.'

1 John ii. 2.—'And He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world (*περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*).'

1 Cor. xv. 22.—'As in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive.'

2 Cor. v. 19.—'God was in Christ reconciling *the world* unto Himself.'

Rev. iv. 13.—'Every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth (*ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς*), and such as are in the sea, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.'

Such are the general declarations of divine love and compassion towards all mankind, and of the final victory of Divine Sovereignty over all opposition, on which Origen and his fellow-believers in every generation have depended for convincing themselves that hell itself is a school of discipline for salvation, and that the destruction of the wicked signifies ultimately the destruction of their sin.

We humbly and thankfully accept, in the full breadth of their meaning, all these declarations of the apostles of Christ, and of Christ Himself, to the effect that God has so loved *the world* as to give His only-begotten Son, that '*whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but should have everlasting life.*' The foundation of the gospel is laid in a divine benignity towards mankind, which embraces in its purpose the whole human race. '*God willeth not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.*'

In the same spirit we accept with confidence the declarations of apostolic men that the issue of all the divine dealings in mercy and judgment will be to 'reconcile all things to God in earth and in heaven,' by converting all salvable beings to obedience, and by reducing to destruction, and 'dashing to pieces' every adversary who refuses to 'bend the knee,'—so that God 'shall be all in all.' And we perceive in these testimonies of the sacred Word, on the one hand, the most certain evidence that evil cannot be eternal, and, on the other, that the notion of a limited *intention* in the

application of the gospel, is of all figments in theology the most baseless and dishonouring to God.

But to cite these Scriptures in evidence of the final salvation of all men is (according to our understanding) to violate the laws of criticism on which we depend for all our knowledge of the 'mind of Christ.' For the limitation of those declarations to the idea of God's merciful intention towards all, and to the final victory of divine power and wisdom in the salvation of some and the destruction of some, seems to be required by the whole body of apostolic and prophetic testimony.

The reasons of this persuasion are threefold, derived (1) from the quality of the terms generally employed to denote future punishment; (2) from the adjectives of duration several times affixed to these terms; (3) from the very nature and conditions of redemptive action and of probation as unfolded in the Scripture.

(1) The general terms employed to denote future punishment compel the interpretation of the above-cited passages in the sense by us maintained. The plain meaning of the terms carries with it such an *extermination* of the wicked as leaves no room for a restitution. They are to die, to perish, to pass away, to vanish, to be destroyed for ever, utterly to perish, to be consumed, to be burnt up like chaff, to be blotted from the book of life, not to see life, to be destroyed body and soul in Gehenna, to die the second death, to be 'ground to powder,' 'broken to shivers,' 'dashed in pieces,'—such expressions in Greek being exactly represented by the force of these English words corresponding to them. Surely these are not the words which would naturally occur to a writer desiring to convey the idea of universal salvation. They seem expressly chosen to shut the door against hope. They convey the idea, not of the destruction of sin, but of the sinner; not of the purging away of wickedness, but of the utter death of the wicked man. The violence of the proposed interpretation is as conspicuous as that which finds in *death* the threatening of a miserable eternity. It is indeed the one violence which has led to and supported the other.

On the other hand, if it had been the intention of the prophets and apostles to teach what has been taught in these pages, that

man apart from God perishes for ever, it could have been taught in no other words than those which have actually been chosen.

(2) Relying upon the general system of doctrine which compels this conclusion, we are led to rely also upon the soundness of the ancient argument against Origen's opinion; that the adjectives of duration affixed in several parts of Scripture to the threatenings of destruction exclude the hope of any reversal of the doom by restoration to heaven. Admitting all that can fairly and reasonably be advanced respecting the limited senses of αἰώνιος *everlasting*, in certain connections, it must be maintained that its connection with the threat of ὄλεθρος, or *extermination*, by S. Paul (2 Thess. i. 9), is designed to exclude the last ray of hope from the view of men in regarding the doom of the sinners there referred to. The 'punishment' of whatever nature is '*eternal*,' the destruction is '*everlasting*,' the perishing is '*for ever*,' the 'judgment' is 'eternal,' the blackness of darkness is for eternity (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). 'They shall not inherit the kingdom of God.'*

(3) But more than all we are settled in this persuasion by the nature of the Redemption which the Bible makes known. So long as mankind is contemplated in the character of immortals, Universalist doctrine marches forward with flying banners and hopeful prognostics. But the Scripture, whether taken as a scientific statement, or as a popular revelation, places man before God in judgment on a different ground.

Man, according to the Bible, is not unconditionally immortal by nature and destiny. He was created from the dust of the earth, and called *Earth-born*, or Man of dust, on the day of his making. The thinking power may, if God will, survive, in a maimed, imperfect state, but it alone is not the Man. Man at his creation was of earth (χοϊκὸς), and perishable. God placed him in paradise on trial for eternal life. In that trial he failed, and by sin brought upon himself the sentence of extermination. Under this sentence, as has been shown, lies the race of mankind while under the law. 'THE LETTER KILLETH.' We owe to the Incarnation our hope of immortality, and the application of that grace is by the transforming power of the Holy Spirit in regenera-

* Matt. xxv. 46; 2 Thess. i. 9; Heb. vi. 2; Jude 13.

tion and resurrection. There is no other power which can effect the needed change. There is no known tendency in sin, or in suffering, whether on earth or in hell, to regenerate, or glorify, or immortalize a dying sinner; while there is a known tendency in both to break up the very being of the offender. We are distinctly taught that those who are not born again 'cannot inherit incorruption.' Those who are not born twice will die twice. We must be 'born again,' or die the 'second death.' This 'second death' is never set forth as a sacrament of immortality. The tree of life does not grow beside 'the lake of fire.' It grows beside the river of life in paradise alone, and the gate of paradise is 'kept' by Omnipotence against the entrance of the condemned. 'Then shall the King say unto those on his left hand, I know you not whence ye are. Depart, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' 'There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall *devour* (eat up) the adversary' (ἐσθίειν, Heb. x. 27).

It is, indeed, a heart-rending conclusion to arrive at, but we see no possibility of 'breaking the Scripture.' As a theory to be established by criticism, Universalism is based on special pleading; while as a delusive prospect to be set before mankind it is likely, as recent American experience has shown, to ruin innumerable souls, who will neglect the 'day' of salvation, for the 'fool's tomorrow,' which never arrives. Again the writer keenly feels the pain occasioned by uttering so earnest a protest against the doctrine of many able and otherwise admirable writers: but conscience is forbidden to use smoother language when convinced that a divine truth is at stake of limitless importance. The doctrine of the salvation of all extends on every side. It is gradually eating out the 'fear of God' in the heart of the modern Church. Multitudes of the ministers of the gospel cherish it in secret, with more or less of assent, whose ministry suffers in fervency accordingly, the sense of an infinite danger being lost. Yet they are for some reason afraid to proclaim it. Why afraid? Is it not that they suspect that the common sense of serious Christians will explode their opinion as contrary to Scripture? The minds of such good men, honestly unable to sustain the burden of the

dogma of endless torments, and knowing no other refuge, have fled to the doctrine of the salvation of all men, quoting the Poet Laureate's agreeable reveries when Holy Scripture fails them.

Such secret Universalism correctly judges that the common people will not receive the doctrine as Scriptural, for it can be extracted from the Bible only by a system of interpretation which would be rejected in any court of law. It is as if there were an Act of Parliament partitioning certain lands between a thousand of the people; commencing with a general statement of goodwill towards the whole company so designated for endowment, and with an expression of the desire and intention of the Queen and Parliament for an equal division between all the thousand; but distinctly providing, in words repeated again and again, that if any of the beneficiaries should commit robbery or murder, or disobey the Commissioners appointed to divide the land, they should on conviction be put to death, and so be shut out and cut off for ever from their portion of the grant. What should we think of an advocate employed by such criminals if he rested his plea, in an action against the Commissioners, upon the clearly comprehensive language of the general terms of the Act, which expressed the intention of an equal distribution, and professed an equal benevolence in Parliament towards every member of the thousand? If he were to found an argument on the fact that the Queen loves all her subjects equally, and therefore doubtless intended good and bad alike to share in the distribution, judges and juries would make short work with such a plea. They would point to the oft-recurring qualifying proviso, and to the evidence of the criminality of the offenders; and they would dismiss the plaintiffs to a criminal court with a deserved rebuke for their presumption.

The plaintiff's advocate here represents the Universalist theory. It takes the expressions of God's love to mankind, of His gracious intentions towards all men in Christ, and boldly brings these declarations to neutralise the proviso, repeated hundreds of times in the Deed of Redemption, that all rebellious persons shall *die, perish, and be destroyed for ever.*

There is not, I think, a more pernicious example of violence offered to sacred language in the history of the world. If the threatenings of death, destruction of body and soul in hell,

really signify only 'the destruction of sin,' or a suffering from which sinners will all escape into heaven at last, it seems useless to concern ourselves longer with sacred books which do not mean what they say. But let those who revere the Scripture record, consider the two oaths of God in respect of Palestine. He 'sware by Himself' to give that land to Abraham and *to his seed* for ever. He also 'sware by Himself,' four hundred years afterwards (Numb. xiv.), *that none of the generation who had seen His work in Egypt should enter the land.* The one oath qualified and explained the other. There was nothing in the shape of mercy concealed behind that second oath of exclusion. 'Their carcases fell in the wilderness.' 'As I live'—was no *brutum fulmen.* Similarly there is a distinct threatening of 'death,' of 'destruction for ever,' to all who, hearing the gospel, neglect or reject it. Surely any tampering with this threat must be injurious to the influence of religion among men. It not only encourages vain hope in careless souls, and leads them to waste the *present hour*, but it strikes at the root of faith in the veracity of the Almighty. 'I sware in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest' (Psalm xcv. 11).

If it be said that this objection is founded on the diminution in the minds of wicked men of the fear of a suffering which is sooner or later to come to an end, and therefore tells with equal force against the doctrine maintained in these pages, we reply that there is a boundless difference between the moral effect of a threatening of penal suffering terminating in glory everlasting, and that of a threatening of capital punishment, especially when it is made certain that the latter will be speedily executed in the 'miserable destruction' of 'both the body and soul in hell.' In the one case men are tempted to look beyond the suffering to the release, and the subsequent endless glory. In the other they 'shudder' at the prospect of a doom alleviated by no hope of redemption, and overwhelming the soul by the fear of absolute extermination under the blows of an Almighty hand. The Universalist is always tempted, even when thinking of judgment to come, to dwell upon the final deliverance; while the teacher of the remediless award is armed with a 'weapon mighty through God' to make even a Felix 'tremble.'

May we not rightly cite in this connection the awe-striking

warning of the prophet, '*Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you; who make you vain; they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord. They say still unto them that despise me, The Lord hath said, Ye shall have peace, and they say unto every one that walketh in the imagination of his own heart, No evil shall come upon you*' (Jer. xxiii. 17). 'With lies ye have strengthened the hands of the wicked, *that he should not return from his wickedness, by promising him life*' (Ezek. xiii. 22).

At great cost of feeling I must, in view of these fallacious consolations offered to impenitence, profess the persuasion that much of the religious teaching of the last few years has proceeded from a gradually-declining sense of sin in its evil, and in its deserts; as that again has proceeded from a declining sense of the justice of God. This is but to repeat the lesson of history, that ages of brilliant external civilisation, and of physical luxury and comfort, have ever been ages of epicurean theologising. Amidst plenty of corn and wine, amidst the illusions of art and beauty, men lose the sense of 'the sinfulness of sin,' of the righteousness and severity of God, and of the terribleness of the world of doom beyond. So is it to-day. 'Men heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears.' They will 'not endure sound doctrine.' Hell itself must become a school of glory; heaven the final refuge of a world of unfortunates, who really had almost every excuse for their villainies and crimes. Between the fall of Adam —and the force of circumstances—and the cheapness of vicious indulgences,—and the bias of heredity—and the difficulty of knowing whom to believe—Jesus or Mohammed, Paul or Rousseau, John or Voltaire—a hopeful case must be made out for every man; and if God Himself should 'judge the world in righteousness,' He must unsay all the ancient threats of exclusion from future blessedness; and, after some fatherly chastisement of 'dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and lovers and makers of lies,' must receive them with open arms to paradise. This is certainly the tone of much of the most fashionable preaching of our time, both in and out of the National Church. Never has this tone taken possession of the Church, but some epoch of judgment has vindicated the reality of the

government of Him 'whose eet are like fine brass burning in a furnace.' Oh for the awful voice of some Savonarola to thunder to-day over the heads of the ungodly millions of Europe, and awaken them to the realities of judgment to come; to turn their attention away from the 'prophets who prophesy smooth things' to the true sayings of God. 'The judge standeth before the door,' and here are the very signs of His approach—men saying, Peace and safety!—all right, and all for the best, in both worlds—when 'sudden destruction is coming, and *there shall be no remedy.*'

I wonder what the recent preachers of this 'gospel of love' would have said if they had stood on high with Abraham, and seen through the gloom the rain of burning sulphur descending on Sodom and Gomorrah, inflicting remediless destruction on those unclean sinners against their own souls? Would they have ventured on these bold philippics against the Power that herein 'confessed the failure of His earthly providence,' so that He 'could do nothing else than kill off' all that lived in the cities of the plain? Yet Christ declares that even these Sodomites are to suffer *again* in the resurrection of judgment, though not so grievously as the men at Capernaum and Chorazin, who beheld and rejected the Light of the World. I wonder what they would have said of the uniformly fatherly and purgatorial action of Divine judgment, if they had been present in Pharaoh's Court, when, in the name of the Almighty Lord of Nature, insulted and denied by ages of Egyptian idolatry and philosophy falsely so called, Moses, with uplifted rod, stood forth and said, from the mouth of God:—'Now will I stretch out My hand that I may smite thee, and thy people, with pestilence, and *thou shalt be cut off from the earth.* And in very deed for this cause have I made thee stand, for to show in thee My power, and that My name may be declared throughout all the earth' (Exod. ix. 16). If Jannes or Jambres had essayed similar comments, they would soon have shrunk from the conflict, and their 'folly would have been made manifest to all men.' There are circumstances in which it is good for the world that God's messengers should be armed with a forehead of adamant, like Jeremiah, when the object is to warn men as with the trump of God against approaching doom; when the sense of Heaven's government has well-nigh died out under the soporifics and enchantments of so evil a time; and when men and women

will say and do the utmost wickedness, in assurance of being fortified at last in death by all the rites of the Catholic Church or by all the deadlier consolations of a Protestant scepticism. 'Awake to righteousness and sin not, for some have not the knowledge of God!'

We read in the Gospels of some unblessed spirits—the demons who spake through the possessed—who anticipate, at a 'time' yet future, 'torment,' and 'destruction,' and who prayed Christ not to send them down 'to the abyss.' Let any one reflect on that indication of the unseen world of judgment, and surely they will think twice before they encourage men to regard the invisible realms as a region into which fools may safely rush in hope of salvation. The very grace of the Gospel presupposes a 'wrath to come,' and that indignation is spoken of also for those who reject the Gospel, as 'the wrath of the Lamb.'

It is the burden of the Lord, and we feel our own unfitness to use the language of exhortation to our readers; but if of late it was a good work to delve for seven days through the darkness and to cleave the rocks, to save those imprisoned Welsh miners from death in time, it seems to us as if it were for infinitely a nobler end to struggle through the long years of this fearful contention with Universalism, in the endeavour to reach mankind sitting in death-shade, with the true doctrine of Life Eternal; for 'he that hath the Son hath the life, and he that hath not the Son *hath not the life*,' but shall 'utterly perish.'

BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE BEARINGS OF THE DOCTRINE OF LIFE IN CHRIST ON THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF MANKIND.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF THIS THEODICY ON THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

MR. ISAAC TAYLOR, in one of his latest works, *Wesley and Methodism*, has the following somewhat enigmatic and prophetic passage, in which he foretells a re-examination of the doctrine of human destiny, which will bring new power to the Church of the future.

'When once this weighty question of the after-life has been opened, a controversy will ensue, in the progress of which it will be discovered that with unobservant eyes, we and our predecessors have been so walking up and down and running hither and thither, among dim notices and indications of the future destinies of the human family, as to have failed to gather up or to regard much that has lain upon the pages of the Bible, open and free to our use. Those who, through the course of years, have been used to read the Scriptures unshackled by systems, and bound to no conventional modes of belief must have felt an impatience in waiting—not for the arrival of a new revelation from heaven, but of an ample and unfettered interpretation of that which has so long been in our hands.

'Thus the future Methodism, as we assume, will feel the need of and will acquire for itself, under pressure of the most urgent motives, an incontrovertible exposition of the Scripture doctrine of the future administration of justice; but then it will not make this acquisition as if it could be held as an insulated dogma; for whatever is further ascertained on this ground will come to stand in its true relationship to much beside, which, in the course of the same argument, will have started to view, as the genuine sense of the inspired books. The doctrine of future punishment, as a belief drawn from Scripture, and so drawn as to dissipate prevalent illusions, and to spread on all sides a salutary and effective alarm—such a belief will take its place in the midst of an expanded prospect of the compass and intention of the Christian system.

'So it will be with the future Methodism; and although it will rest itself upon a laboriously obtained belief concerning the "wrath to come"—a belief that will heave the human mind with a deep, convulsive dread,—yet, and notwithstanding this preliminary, the renovation which we look for will come in

as the splendour of day comes in the tropics—it will be a sudden brightness that makes all things glad!'—(pp. 289, 290.)*

In the foregoing pages we have presumed, in accordance with this prediction, to discuss, as others have done, the doctrine of human immortality as taught in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, having first ascertained that on the basis of science the question of future life admits of no hopeful solution. Physical nature points us to the earth for our original, and to the grave for our possible, nay, our probable, end. But the Immortality revealed by the gospel is its most signal peculiarity. It is set forth as derived, not from Adam, but from Christ, not from earth, but from heaven. It includes body and soul, it is conditional upon union with God in regeneration, it is denied to the persistently wicked. The wicked *will perish*, they will *not live for ever*, they will be *destroyed body and soul in hell.*

Section I.

In this section I purpose to consider the influence of these ideas, regarded as a coherent manifestation of the Divine Character and Government, upon the Christian life; specially in respect to the maintenance of that sense of the reality of revelation, and of faith in it, out of which a holy life must spring. A belief which is a 'make-believe' can affect life only superficially. The conviction which is to govern conduct in a world of strong temptation must be thorough and profound.

The custom which too often prevails both among Christians

* In a letter which I received in 1871 from the late Rev. Isaac Jennings, of Oakham, a learned contributor to Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia*, he says that he was well acquainted with Mr. Isaac Taylor, and can testify positively that he 'differed most decidedly from the popular opinion, and did not believe in the immortality of the soul. I remember once putting the question to him in the company of Professor Fraser, "Do you not think that the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul is a delusion?" He replied most distinctly, "I do;" Professor Fraser expressing also his assent. I know from intimations he gave in various conversations that he did not believe in eternal torment; and I think that as far back as the time when he wrote *Saturday Evening* he was of the same mind on the subject. I know also that Mr. Taylor held that in the invisible world a remedial process will go on, or goes on now, in the case of all those who have lived and died *without hearing the Gospel*.'

and sceptics, of representing Faith and Reason as opposites, is unbiblical and pernicious. In the Scriptures, Faith is never opposed to reason, but always to sight. If faith is contrary to reason, faith is irrational. But right faith is the exercise of purified reason, using that word to denote both the intellectual and moral faculties of man. It was to this Conscience or moral faculty that the apostles appealed in commending original Christianity to the world; '*commending ourselves to every man's conscience* (συνείδησιν) *in the sight of God*' (2 Cor. iv. 2). The proper basis of faith is in the intellectual and moral convictions of mankind; but in proportion as Christianity is corrupted it retreats from that basis to build a credulous assent on antiquated custom, or on the authority of the uninstructed multitude. It may be added that in proportion as faith blindly seeks to build on these foundations it loses its control over the understanding and the will, and practical morality is distorted or forgotten, until at length Loyola's doctrine of the soul's subjection to the will of the priest, like a dead body (*perinde ac cadaver*), is reckoned the height of virtue.

We find no indication in the apostolic writings that Christianity at its promulgation caused a shock to the general conscience of mankind. It opposed the world's foolish and degenerate cults, it denounced vile social customs, it made all things new; but we find no record in the Apologies that it was rejected because it was *morally* incredible, because the God whom it revealed was a Being in character unintelligible, or detestable to the moral faculty. This cause for rejecting Christianity is peculiar to the later ages of the gospel. There is no trace, in the hostile manifestations with which the gospel was encountered at first, of that profound moral loathing which has been felt for it by many able modern infidels, who nevertheless admire what is good, just, generous, and compassionate in their fellow-creatures who are Christians.

Nor is it sceptics alone who have found themselves unable to appreciate or admire the moral element in modern Christianity, considered as a supposed revelation of the Divine Character. Popular Christianity can scarcely be said, even by its professional advocates, to take a very firm hold on the moral sentiments of its adherents, to commend itself in its highest doctrines to the hearty assent of conscience, or to awaken the free, graceful, and loyal

emotions of the soul. The general truth of the gospel is received, and the faith of it operates (through the secret and merciful aid of heaven) in an admirable degree to the production of holy lives; but what is called the 'scheme of salvation' as a whole, is seen by the common mind covered with a kind of indistinct haze or glare, which takes it out of the range of topics adapted for the ordinary exercise of thought and reflection. A not uncommon feeling is that the less attention it receives, the better for a man's belief in it; since 'the faith' is of such a quality that reasoning upon it,—*that is, using the moral faculty,*—is likely to lead to unsettlement. Thinking on the 'articles of religion' comes to be regarded as a dangerous employment, and inquiring into them is confounded with scepticism. Thus the pride of Ignorance reproves what is termed the pride of reason, and a spurious humility keeps watch over the spiritual slumber of the popular understanding.

Nor is this indisposition to think upon many of the articles of modern faith wholly inexcusable. A vigorous application of the moral sense to some well-established dogmas usually ends in unbelief, unless the inquirer is happy enough to find a spiritual clue to guide him out of the labyrinth of his difficulties.

That every unregenerate being, who, having been born in sin, has died in sin, is destined to an endless existence in some degree of misery of body or mind, or both—an existence, the duration of which would be *only commencing* when it had lasted through a number of millenniums denoted by lines of figures as numerous as the vibrating beams of light which extend from all the suns and stars of the firmament into the infinite darkness—even if these innumerable lines of figures should be multiplied into each other,—this is a proposition which requires for its support something more solid than two or three disputed texts out of the English version of Matthew's and Mark's gospels, and which nothing short of absolute demonstration ought to persuade any man to embrace as from God. The more one knows of revelation as a whole, the actual history of the human race, and of the character of God, as made known in the world that now is, and in the Bible, the greater is the difficulty in believing in this Augustinian doctrine of hell as Scriptural, and the deeper conviction that the Deus of

Augustine was, after all, only a fusion of the two eternal powers of good and evil of his earlier Manichean heresy.

Under the strictly orthodox representation of the action of Deity in redemption, we can scarcely wonder at the vacant stare of village labourers, or Sunday-school catechumens, or skilled artificers, or even at the honest confession of the author of *The Limits of Religious Thought*, who maintains that the moral character of Deity in Christianity is practically *unintelligible* by the human conscience. We can hardly wonder at the indignant repulse given by the astonished Indian idolater, when we inform him in one breath of the reputed constitution of law which the Gospel came into the world to replace, and of that constitution of grace which it came to establish instead. Nor is it enough to declare that a lack of assent to the theory promulgated is due to the absence of illuminating grace, since it is not the office of the Holy Spirit to quench the moral understanding of man; and large numbers of persons who afford decisive evidence of enjoying the teaching of that Holy Spirit experience as much difficulty in the reception of that theory as the artisan, the philosopher, or the subtle Hindoo. Indeed the Christians of modern times do not believe even Protestant Christianity in their inmost souls nearly so deeply as is supposed. They are afflicted at times with more serious doubts and difficulties than they care or dare to express; and so far from possessing intelligible conceptions of the moral character of God, which lead to hearty rejoicing, victorious faith, or triumphant song, the result produced is generally little more than passive submission to church authority, or the verbal ascription of praises to Heaven, as possessing attributes of 'goodness' and 'justice,'—which are nevertheless felt to be enveloped in impenetrable mystery. Modern church psalmody, however beautiful to the ear in its instrumental element, expresses with the *voice* little of that genuine melody of the heart which comes with intense conviction and joy.

Is not the theology in which Christendom has been fixed for ages answerable for the loose hold of the moral faculty on Revelation? Consider what that theology lays down as its 'scheme of salvation.'

It commences with the statement that Adam was created immortal, as God Himself—with respect to his soul, but as to his

body, susceptible of death; (2) that he was placed in Paradise, on trial for everlasting life, under the menace of *death;* while notwithstanding, irrespectively of the tree of Life, the chief part of his nature was already incapable of extinction;—that the privilege held out to him really was, therefore, to escape death of the body alone in the literal sense of the threatening, and death of the soul only in a metaphorical signification of the term; (3) that, failing in his probation, he brought upon himself death of the body, and eternal misery of the soul; and upon his posterity, according to one account, simply temporal death (which system of interpretation does not render any very lucid explanation of the natural state and legal prospects of the souls of the posterity);—according to another account, more ancient and orthodox, and held by all the great historical churches, both temporal death and eternal misery of the soul; (4) that, therefore, all mankind are born, *before they have sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression,* justly liable to everlasting misery, whether through imputation, or through the possession of a nature necessarily corrupt in all its developments; (5) that Christ came into the world to bear the curse of the law, which was *death*—a curse which signified eternal misery in the instance of mankind, but was taken to mean 'death of the cross' only, in the person of the Saviour; (6) that in consequence of this literal death of Christ, death in all the figurative senses has been removed from the believer, and his physical death shall be abolished by resurrection; (7) that although the Mosaic law 'entered that the offence might abound,' it made no mention of eternal misery, while nevertheless Christ's death delivers us from that legal curse of which no mention is made; (8) that while the penalty for despising the law of Moses was literal 'death under two or three witnesses,' the penalty of despising a system of mercy shall be *infinitely* more tremendous than that, being to suffer misery throughout endless duration; the punishment for rejecting the divine mercy being, therefore, infinitely more terrible than that for rejecting the divine justice; and, lastly, (9) that although the greater part of mankind have been altogther deprived, under divine providence, of the means of grace, they have been placed on the same awful probation, unknown to themselves, for an eternal existence in happiness or in misery; the *redemption* by Christ having added this incalculable burden to the original curse

on Adam, that their *bodies* shall be raised *from the dead* to die a second *death*, which signifies living for ever in torment.

There are some robust theological minds for whom a horror of great darkness and difficulty, such as is shed around by this system of thought and speech, offers a strong tragic attraction; but to ordinary people this 'system' is full of incoherency, and reaches the conscience as little as the reason. So far as it wins compulsory assent, through the pressure of the external evidence of Christianity, supposed to support it, or in consequence of that internal evidence, of which no perversion can wholly deprive the gospel of Christ, it causes in young and meditative spirits an internal agony of doubt and despair such as is seldom forgotten, even after years of mature insensibility and decorous conformity.

Full many an elder Christian of our times, if he were to recount his youthful experiences of faith, might set them forth in some such terms as these:—'Yes, I remember well and bitterly my own early days, when, first starting into life, I earnestly desired to search after my Maker, and to love Him with all my heart and all my understanding. But the more I tried to approach Him, the more He escaped me. His was a "justice" which I could not appreciate. It was a "love" which was altogether different from my own—an incomprehensible mystery. We are all immortals, I was told, all fallen in Adam, all doomed for sin to everlasting woe; and some have been chosen to be saved from this horror, and some not; and the rest are to "conflict and wrestle for ever with the flames of this eternal fire."* It was a long-continued moral agony. The only repose I had in my religion depended on quenching thought. If I thought, I must doubt; I might even become wholly infidel. And so I held on to Christ, as it were, with a finger or two; but my soul for years was filled with anguish and difficulty, deepening as I passed along, from which I was often sorely tempted to find relief in a total relapse into scepticism. In the fierce conflict with passion to which I was exposed, I needed a religion which I could believe with heart and mind; but I found mine to fail me intellectually when I required it most; for it confounded all at once reason, conscience, and affection, and half paralysed my soul under its burden of infinite

* Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the hand of an angry God.*

terror. I could not comfort myself, if others could, by the thought that I was one of the elect, dwelling in light, while that great darkness was spread around me. That would have been to content myself with living on the Fortunate Isles, while surrounded behind and before by nations tossing on the surges of a boundless fiery ocean. I found little in the higher doctrines of my faith to exalt my apprehensions of divine goodness and righteousness, or adapted to encourage a cheerful confidence in that Power on which rest the foundations of the universe. For if there are some masterful spirits who can stand upon the edge of the precipice, observing—without any recoil—the millions falling in one broad unbroken stream into the fiery surges below, there,

> "Thick as leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallombrosa,"

to remain in torment for ever—I was one of those, the majority of Christian spectators—who find repose for their minds alone in the feminine sleights of forgetting or overlaying the daily remembrance of the terrible fact,—that they live in a world, the certain destiny of whose dense unevangelised population—after every deduction for lunatics, idiots, and children dying in infancy—is of a character to fill the creation with everlasting dismay, and to draw from all ranks of being a shout of congratulation for those on whom the blessing of insanity or the hand of the infanticide fell. But oh, what a remedy was *not thinking*, for such a calamity, —when every weekly advance of the globe along the track of its marvellous orbit witnessed, as I thought, the departure perhaps of a hundred thousand fresh victims of Satan to the dolours of that endless infernal career!'

The enfeebled state of mind produced by such impressions in youth or age is that which prepares a deep foundation for sacerdotal superstition,—the curse of Christendom. It is vain to deny that the honest belief of misery to last through eternity upon all the unsaved—as long as the Necessary Being shall endure—also endangers the faith of every thoughtful Christian who accepts it. So long as men do not think of it, it is comparatively harmless. As spoken of in a vague, indefinite way by preachers, who do not labour to bring out the idea of ETERNITY, it even serves (as a true

doctrine of terror would serve) to arouse the careless to repentance. And in this way it has actually been used for many ages as the engine of alarm in the conversion of most of those who have turned to a life of religion—just as the partial truth in Roman errors for ages served to save truth-seeking souls. The mischief commences only when men, as in our day, trained by science to larger conceptions, think earnestly of it. The beginning of reflection upon the doctrine of literally *ever lasting* suffering is the beginning of agonising scepticism; and serious doubt of any fundamental doctrine loosens our hold on all the rest. Accordingly beneath the faith of most thoughtful Christians lies a hidden substratum of involuntary unbelief, which breaks out now and then in a kind of volcanic eruption and earthquake. Hence good men become fearful of inquiry. They inwardly dread losing hold on Christianity altogether if they begin to meddle with these 'mysteries.' Their remedy for scepticism is, not to think,—or to surrender themselves, bound hand and foot, to a priesthood.

But the remedy is worse than the disease. There is no *true* doctrine which will not bear thinking of. Every truth is revealed for the purpose of being thought upon, and commends itself to good men the more they think of it and compare it with Scripture and experience. Every divine revelation encourages thought by unveiling the character of God Most High. But this doctrine hardens the heart, paralyses the reason, and delivers up especially the female mind to the direction of clerical corporations, who impose their authority on terror-stricken souls. What else is this Vaticanism, which sits like a nightmare on the breast of slumbering Christendom, but the perfection of unreason and spiritual selfishness, the result of an overpowering fear of an eternal hell? Well sing the angels in the Apocalypse at the downfall of 'Babylon,' if by Babylon be symbolised that religion which is the work of theologians to whom 'the heart of a Husband and a Father is,' in the language of Sir James Stephen, 'an inscrutable mystery;' and who, by an enforced celibacy, have cut off the teachers of the people, as well as the masters of the confessional, from personal experience in those two chief revelations of God's loving Nature to mankind.

Now we venture to propose it as a positive gain to practical

trust in God, to discover in the Scripture a doctrine on Immortality which occasions far fewer moral difficulties, and appeals to none but noble motives. It is simply an immeasurable gain to the practical influence of faith over our lives to possess a doctrine which is not incredible by the moral faculty. Irreligion and the attractions of sinful pleasure take hold of the minds of men by the handles of so many passions and faculties, by the enchantments of art and fancy, by the customs of society, by the ties and the sympathies of nature, that it is impossible for Christianity to fix too firm a grasp on the convictions of the intellect and conscience, and on the affections of the heart. No intensity of faith is excessive. Yet few things are more wonderful than the slight degree to which modern character is usually influenced by the 'indwelling of God's Spirit.' Seldom does a person of unsteady will become in religion a man of fixed resolution, or a man of stern temper one of tenderness and grace. The action of religion is limited by the faith of the Church, and when the special truths of the gospel do not take a firm hold upon men's convictions, the effects proper to those truths are not produced on character. For the Spirit acts by the truth and grace of the gospel, and great transformations are wrought only in an age of profound conviction. When strong faith vanishes, distinctness of type in moral development vanishes with it.

For whenever religious preaching becomes chiefly hortatory or sentimental, the people are easily carried away by new forms of influence, which leave but faint relics of true Christian character behind. Doctrinal preaching of the right sort is essential to stability. But this needs not be dry. If we have no pictures we may at least attain interesting ideas, the intellect and imagination supplementing the lack of ceremonial. Popular Protestantism seems to be strikingly deficient in both logical instruction and a warm poetic environment. Both the intellect and the imagination are torpid, and require the awakening of a new inspiration in faith. They require a morally credible Christianity, which may enable men to 'love God with all their understanding,' as well as 'with all their heart.'

One effect of such a revolution would be to reform and sanctify the gladness of Christians. Under the appalling shadow of the Augustinian Deity, the spirit of innocent gaiety has been greatly

paralysed. Under the Old Testament the music and dancing were all done in Jehovah's presence, as beneath spring sunbeams. So it will be again, when men have learned to take their pleasures lawfully in God, and to believe that He is really so loving as to delight in their gladness. At present these pleasures are too frequently stolen, the idea of Augustine's Manichæan God being inconsistent, when His character is realized, with vivid delight under His eye. A true theology will teach men to include the whole of life in their religion, as a spectre-ridden asceticism never can.

The view of the Divine Government presented by the doctrine of Life in Christ alone, carries with it this advantage, that the more you dwell upon it, the more it appears to be the truth, and the more clear becomes the vision of Eternal Righteousness and Love. Conscience assures us that God its Maker must be righteous; and Nature teaches that to break His laws will bring destruction to the offender. The doctrine that the very object of the Incarnation is to immortalise mankind, furnishes the vertebral column, so to speak, on which the fabric of a coherent theology can be built. There is no truth with which this does not seem to agree. There is no aspect of revelation which does not both give and receive fresh strength in this relationship. If another figure is allowable, it is the golden key which enters without violence into all the wards of that great lock which God has fastened upon the 'everlasting doors,' and admits us to adore the harmonious mysteries.

The doctrine that our eternal life is in the Christ will, as the experience of many now attests, corroborate that faith which 'conquers the world'—a faith which, rooted in stable conviction, will not forsake men in difficulties, will seem not less true when beset with temptation than when the heart is 'lifted up in the ways of the Lord;' not less true when we look upon the thoughtless crowds of great cities, or the brazen face of apostate Christendom, than when we muse in secret, or gaze on the sweet countenance of Nature.

It is a faith as strong for work as for consolation, and which will not break down in the crisis of its application. Such is the horror arising from the prevalent creed, that it is seldom applied

either to living multitudes, or dead relations. A hopeful case is made out for almost every one who dies, in direct opposition to Christ's words that 'destruction' is certain for all except those who 'hear His sayings and do them.' The effect moreover of the existing opinion is to lower the standard of morality to zero; since the hell believed in is thought too dreadful for all except gigantic offenders. Thus Christ's words on 'wrestling to enter into life' become practically inoperative. The masses harden themselves in wickedness, and Christians deliberately set aside their Lord's lesson on the 'fewness' of the saved. The effect of true doctrine will be to strengthen the moral testimony. When men believe in a terrible but credible perdition they will allow the limitation of the offer of eternal life. They will admit of their plain sense being attached to Christ's awful threatenings to *all*, whether clergy or laity, who 'make a lie,' or 'resist the truth,' or 'corrupt the word of God,' or 'hold a form of godliness, while denying the power thereof.'

Section II.

We have spoken hitherto of the effect of this dogmatic reformation on the personal faith of Christians, as opposed to secret scepticism which shakes their purposes and embitters their existence. We have now to consider its bearings on the coherency of theology, considered as a truth to be 'loved with all the understanding.'

Christianity being like nature, a system or part of a system, proceeded from the all-perfect Intelligence, and is addressed as the wisdom of God to the understanding of the 'perfect' (τέλειοι, established believers). The Church is expected to study and receive 'the whole truth' (John xvi. 13). But we are witnessing the breaking up, through the action of external and internal forces, of the mediæval and patristic theologies. Multitudes also are abandoning, at the same time, under the Broad Church guidance, their faith in Christ as the Incarnate Word, in Christ as God's Sacrifice for sinners, in Christ as the Righteousness of the unjust, in Christ as the Sender of the Holy Spirit, in Christ as the Resurrection of the dead,—in a word Evangelical Christianity is being abandoned in detail; and, as a consequence, the apostolic

writings, which teach it, are being abandoned as an authority in doctrine. We think we have herein set forth the immediate cause of this catastrophe, and the divine remedy. If men can be persuaded to cast aside the unscientific contention for natural immortality, with its inference of everlasting misery as 'the curse of the law,' and to adopt the simplest sense of Scripture language on *life* and *death*,—the coherent evangelical system, as taught by the apostles and prophets, becomes again defensible, victorious, intelligible, and self-consistent. The doctrine of Immortality through the Incarnation will prove itself a veritable 'flaming sword,' not to shut but to keep open 'the way of the Tree of Life,' and an effectual weapon against those modern delusions which would close it; whose pretended 'breadth' consists substantially in narrowing the revealed thoughts of the Infinite Being down to the dimensions of naturalistic fancy.

The hypothesis of man's native immortality is indeed the fulcrum on which Unitarianism and Universalism place their lever for the overthrow of biblical Christianity. Restore the primitive truth on the nature of man, the original sin, the mediation of Christ, and the consequences of unbelief to the wicked—and the evangelical theology will certainly vanquish its opponents, both as an argument to be sustained, and as a system to govern the convictions of men. For in fact the main position here defended, if successfully established, is nothing less than a physical and metaphysical demonstration of the truth of evangelical Christianity. At one and the same time it turns the position of the adversary, and shivers his only effectual weapon of attack.*

Unhappily, however, up to the present time, the chief hindrance to the propagation of these ideas in England has proceeded from the less instructed representatives of that evangelical theology. The modern advocacy of the doctrine of immortality in Christ has been assailed by them with persistent rebuke during the space of a whole generation (specially by the laymen of the party), as teaching a doctrine that 'lowers men's views of the Atonement of Christ, and of the Evil of Sin, which required that atonement for its expiation.' This objection demands careful study.

It is held that so stupendous a measure as the Incarnation of

* By the evangelical theology here is of course intended that glorious truth of Christ which is common to all the best schools both of Europe and America.

Deity implies a danger to man of corresponding magnitude; in other words, that God would not have found it worth while to give His Son to die for man unless the end had been to redeem him from eternal misery.

In reply we submit (1) that the only source of our knowledge on this subject is the apostolic revelation, and there we are distinctly taught, not that Christ saves us by His Atonement from eternal misery, but from death; and (2) that this view of the work of our Saviour is fitted to draw forth the utmost gratitude and affection to Him for ever, and more fitted to do so than the opposite representation.

1. The only source of our knowledge of the *effect* of the Incarnation is in those Scriptures which teach us the *fact* of the Incarnation. Unless the apostles declare that the death of Christ saves us from eternal misery, no man 'glorifies God' by asserting that it does so. Now the Bible in no place declares this—from Genesis to the Apocalypse. S. Peter bids us 'speak as the oracles of God.' Solomon says, 'Add thou not unto His word, lest thou be found a liar.' Additions to Scripture have wrought even more evil than subtractions. What the Scripture affirms is, that Christ came to redeem us 'from the curse of the law,' which was death. 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die.' The Second Man came to undo the work of the first Adam.

Adam brought death into the world by sin, and the curse of death descended on his posterity. It is said that curse signified three things—dissolution of the body, alienation of the soul from God (spiritual death), and eternal misery. We reply, This is your gloss, not Scripture. But observe, we pray you, how you deal with this curse of death. In respect to Adam you say death signifies dissolution of the body. For the finally lost you say it means ever-during torment of a living body.

Again, the elder Protestants, following the mediæval theology, taught that the triple death, which descended on Adam for his sin, descended upon all his posterity, even on infants. So taught Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Cranmer, Hooper, Jewel. It was the foundation of orthodox theology. But this represented infants as liable to *eternal misery* through Adam's sin before they had sinned themselves—a truly horrible conclusion. Hence the invention of

their baptismal regeneration, which saves them from original sin, and its curse of eternal misery. But our modern divines have determined that this triple death did not descend to the posterity, and it is now held that infants are not born in a state of damnation, but of salvation. Now, it is easy to see that this laxity in the treatment of the word death proves that there is no real authority for the doctrine that death signifies eternal misery. If it is maintained that death, as it descended upon infants born of Adam, does not signify eternal misery, we maintain, as the result of this admission, either that it did not signify eternal misery in the case of Adam himself, or, if it did, that it signifies the same thing in the case of his infant posterity, which you deny;—and thus the opponent's mouth is shut with a stopper of his own invention, unless it is decided that assertion shall stand in the place of argument, when of course the discussion is ended.

Now what do the apostles teach? Christ died to redeem us from *death*. You affirm that infants are born now not liable to eternal misery. From what, then, does Christ redeem *them?* Apparently it is admitted that He does not redeem them from eternal misery. If they die in infancy they are redeemed by grace, but from what?—only from spiritual death—a spiritual death not deserving eternal misery? Therefore in heaven, according to you, say we, there will be two classes of sinners—some saved by Christ's Incarnation from spiritual death only; some saved from eternal misery incurred by their own actual sins. To save infants, then, the Incarnation was not necessary; for you hold that God would not have given His Son to die for mankind unless it were to save them from eternal woe. It was a measure 'too great for the occasion,' and only demanded for the salvation of accountable sinners from endless misery. We see to what contradiction men are led by abandoning the rule that death for man means loss of life in every case—the destruction of the compound nature consisting of body and soul—a definition which will cover under every variety in the mode or speed of infliction, every case in which death has occurred, or will occur.*

* The over-zealous interpretation of the Scripture-doctrine on the hereditary curse has in our day operated to procure its total rejection. Nevertheless the Scripture accords with Nature most completely in its assertion of the law of

But to encounter the objection directly—is it so mean an object for the Son of God to propose to Himself to save men from death, so as to 'give unto His sheep Eternal Life'? Consider the elements of the case. There is, first, deliverance from the greater part of the penalty incurred—namely the second death. The death men die here is for Adam's sin; the second death is for their own. There is a 'wrath to come,' from which Jesus 'delivers' men who have sinned. Consider, then, what is the meaning of 'many stripes'—of the 'due reward of our deeds'—of the 'great plagues and of long continuance,' incurred under the law by the sins of men. Is it nothing to owe to Christ the remission of all that dreadful debt of woe?

Again, there is 'death,' the wages, 'the end of these things.' Take it to signify destruction of life—a final cessation of conscious existence. Then consider that Christ, by His incarnation and atonement, 'makes an end of sin,' 'abolishes death,' 'gives eternal life.' Can I say this gift is small and mean? 'How much less than to be Divine is it to be Immortal!' exclaims Mr. Isaac Taylor. Is it no great thing to escape from being blotted out of the universe, to owe to my Saviour my very being, my very existence, to owe it to Him that I shall live for ever—not in the old animal life, but in His Divine and Spiritual life—through eternity? Who will tell us that this leads to lower views of the Atonement? Rather, it ennobles and glorifies our thoughts of the Reconciliation on every side.

Next, these truths afford us at least a glimpse of the reason of

Heredity. M. Ribot, in his learned and useful work on this subject, cites a passage even from Plutarch, which might check the boldness of some of the modern antagonists of the truth. In his essay on the *Delays of the Divine Justice*, after an argument showing that the Family and the State form a true organism, Plutarch declares that 'the fact that divine vengeance falls on a state or a city long after the death of the guilty, has nothing in it contrary to reason. Beings produced by generation are not like products of art. What is generated comes from the very substance of the progenitors. The children of vicious men and women are derived from the very essence of their parents. That which was dominant in the parents, which lived and was nurtured, which thought and spake, is precisely what they have given to their sons. It must not seem strange therefore that there exists a sort of occult identity capable of justly subjecting the second to the consequences attending the actions of the first.'—*Ribot on Heredity* (King and Co.), p. 376.

the Incarnation. It was the incarnation of the LIFE. Christ is the Life of God incarnate in humanity. Wherefore this marvellous procedure? Was it not that man, condemned by the law, must die beyond redemption under the law; that Creation contains no force, no power, which, even under the law of continuity in endless development, can save him? None but the Power which is above nature can deliver him, and even that Power only by a direct assumption of the human nature into union with the Uncreated Life—so as to make of God and Man one Christ in one Person for ever. Hence the union of the Logos and Life with man in Jesus Christ—who becomes a fountain of Immortality to believers, who will 'reign in life' supernaturally by Jesus Christ, throughout eternity, in the glory of the Father. These are not lower views of the Atonement, but such as open vistas of glory on every side.

Again,—do we not gain also under these views, I will not say a full understanding, but a glimpse of the reason, not only of the incarnation, but of the death of Christ, and of the cause of His resurrection? If the curse of the law were eternal misery, and Christ as our representative bore the curse of the law, why did He not suffer eternal misery? The answer has usually been that the suffering of death was rendered sufficient and compensatory by the indwelling of the Godhead. That is not said by the apostles. What is said by them is that by sin came *death*, that Christ *died* for our sins, and has thereby abolished *death* and brought in life eternal.

But it will be said, According to you, the curse of the law was death without hope of revival—death for ever. The Christ, however, rose again. He did not, therefore, undergo the curse of the law. Is not the true answer here, as has been already argued, that if Christ had been only a man (supposing on that condition He could have been a propitiation of our sins by His death), He could not have risen from the dead? It is not in right of His destroyed humanity, 'the temple,' that He was raised again, but through His Deity. He was 'proved to be the Son of God by His resurrection from the dead.' Here again there comes into view the Deity of Christ as the essential condition of His redemptive work. The Atonement was the act and suffering of God. It was Christ's Deity which imparted its value to the sac rifice of His

life-blood. It was His Deity to which we owe His resurrection and our own. So much do the Unitarians misunderstand Christianity. This is not to encourage lower views of the Incarnation, to represent it as the essential condition of man's salvation.*

Secondly, and this time not to defend but to assail,—If, as was taught aforetime, the curse which had descended upon us from Adam was eternal misery, *the atonement of Christ was not so much an act of grace as of equity.* If, on the other hand, the curse was death, the redemption is, as the New Testament asserts, an act of Divine beneficence. By how much grace is more glorious than equity, by so much more does that view of Christ's work 'glorify' Him which represents it as the restoration, by free gift, of immortal life to the world, which has lost it in Adam, than that which declares that He came to deliver men from the penalty of an eternal misery, incurred through no fault of their own—brought upon them by the combined action of an Ancestor whom they did not commission to act for them, and an evil Spirit who warred against them in prospect before they had any being.

Let any one consider the proposition that the fall of Adam brought upon himself, for 'one offence,' an eternity of sufferings—and brought this same penalty upon us, his posterity—whether by

* The doctrine that the essence of the Atonement lies in its being a voluntary suffering of God from the sin of the creature, and not the suffering of an innocent creature from the righteous God, has been argued in the nineteenth chapter. An objection often made to this representation requires notice in this place. It is said, If Christ's suffering were the suffering of God, how could He have given utterance to the cry, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' 'How could God forsake Himself?'—I believe that the true answer to this question is found in accepting as apostolic the ante-Nicene doctrine of the real distinction between the Persons of the Godhead, which the exceeding zeal of the post-Nicene ages for a metaphysical idea of Divine Unity in Substance has led men to under-estimate. The Divine Word was sufficiently distinct from the Father to 'empty Himself,' and to lay aside the 'form of God' (Phil. ii. 9), and therefore was sufficiently distinct to become the subject of suffering by the hiding of the Father's face in the Agony of the Passion. But we ought not to think that the Father of Heaven Himself suffered less in thus being 'pleased to bruise' the Holy One for our redemption. The apostolic writings seem to lay far greater stress on the real distinction in the Persons of the Godhead than on any idea of consubstantial Unity; though this also is tenable under ante-Nicene modes of stating this transcendent mystery.

gratuitous imputation of guilt in which we had no share,—or by the inevitable consequence and operation of a corrupt nature transmitted to us,—or by the unasked possession of immortality either in the half or the whole of our nature,—and then say whether the provision of some such method as the gospel does not appear to be demanded by rigid justice. Had it pleased the Almighty Power to bring such a race into existence under the circumstances supposed, the heirs of damnation to an eternal misery which they had themselves done nothing to deserve—the bestowment of redemption, and of the opportunity of salvation from the direful doom, would assume an aspect of simple righteousness; and the withholding of such salvation would have been to lay open the Divine Government to the darkest imputations of wrong and cruelty from all minds constituted like our own. And that is what every unsophisticated person thinks of the 'scheme of redemption' according to the old Calvinistic representation, as soon as they hear of it.

If any one of us had the power of forming a race of *immortal* creatures, whom we should deliberately bring into being under a law of damnation to eternal misery, without redemption, we should know what to think, and to say, of such an omnipotent fiend in human form. If He, who kindles the 'furnace' of hell-fire in defence of that law which is fulfilled in *love*, should have thus deliberately brought an entire race into an immortal existence in which there was *no escape* from eternal woe either through free-will or redemption, unquestionably those voices must have been struck dumb which proclaim that the 'whole earth is full of His glory.' Whatever might have been the expense at which deliverance must be effected, so far as we are capable of applying the moral judgment which is oftentimes appealed to by Christ as a correct rule of decision, because of divine implantation, the deliverance of them was demanded by that common justice, the absence of which is the definition of a tyranny as distinct from a legal government. Grace could have had no share whatever in the work of salvation. It was only an equitable procedure.

Yet it is a fact that the apostles represent the gospel as displaying the 'riches of God's forbearance,' the 'glory of His grace.' Whence we conclude that the sin of Adam could not have procured for his posterity the consequences usually alleged.

But those views of the ruin and redemption of man, for which we have contended, and which rest on the simpler rendering of the gospel, answer to the height and depth and length of the apostolic declarations. If man was not created absolutely immortal—if Adam by his sin lost the prospect of immortality and glory both for himself and his descendants—if the redemption which is in Christ Jesus be regarded as the free gift of righteousness and of life eternal to all repenting sinners in a world which has forfeited its life for ever—then, indeed, the gospel shines forth in an effulgence of grace fitted to inspire wonder, adoration, and endless thanksgiving, at once in the race whom He saves from dying, and who had no claim to be made immortal, and in all other intelligent beings.

Under this view the Person of the Saviour becomes radiant with a light 'above the brightness of the sun' as the Author and Giver of Immortality, and attracts towards Himself the tide of human affection through time and eternity. Under this view it is the glory of God which 'appears in the face of Jesus Christ;' and we are not summoned to render homage to the Son for rescuing us from an original constitution of things which invests the character of the Father with the blackest mystery and gloom. Under this view a Christian finds himself to be related to his Redeemer by even closer than moral ties. He is Christ's, not merely by salvation from the penal consequences of his own immortality, but by re-creation. He is indebted to Him not merely for pardon, but for eternal existence itself; not merely for peace, and joy, and glory, but for the possibility of being at all. Under this view the Church is indeed the Bride of the Lamb, the offspring of His own vitality, the Eve of the second Adam; a member of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones; one Spirit with the Life-giver, living by His very life-blood: and there appears a fresh reason for yielding ourselves unto Him as 'alive from the dead, and our members as instruments of righteousness to God.' 'We thus judge that if one died for all, then all died; and that He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him that died for them and rose again.' Our language will be that of S. Paul—'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the

Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me' (Gal. iii. 20).

I do not 'frustrate the grace of God,' on the one hand, by an exaggerated representation of the original Curse which converts that grace into a mere act of justice; nor, on the other, by claiming as a natural possession the immortality which is a free gift of spontaneous mercy through that Divine Redeemer—THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE—to 'the son of man, who is a worm.'

'Human nature lives in the person of Christ in heaven; the Divine Nature lives in Christians on earth. He has thus taken possession of both heaven and earth already, although the time has not yet come for all nations to know that He has been chosen of the Father to universal sovereignty. He is on the right hand of God, the Head and Representative of His people; they, on the earth, are the representatives of His life before the world. Virtually, they are in heaven where He is, for God sees them in Him; virtually, He is on the earth where His people are, for men see Him in them.'*

SECTION III.

We have now lastly to consider with attention an objection insisted on by certain able opponents of the hypothesis of 'conditional immortality.' It is said that the habit of thought, which this will engender in the minds of Christians, who believe themselves to have become immortal beings in a world of dying creatures, will be in antagonism with the catholic spirit of Christ Himself, who embraced the whole of humanity in His heart, and taught us to 'honour all men.' We are charged with introducing a doctrine of caste into religious life, which ought to be rejected with abhorrence. Mr. Baldwin Brown says,—

'In place of a great human family of sorrow, struggle, and aspiration, amidst which, as the brother of the poorest and the saddest, the Saviour moved, they give us a few godlike, lofty forms,—or say that they give us, men complain that they cannot see them,—endowed with a nature that cannot perish, and like unto the angels, moving about as the Brahmins of creation, amidst innumerable creatures who look like them, speak like them, love like them, but

* Dr. Leask on *Christ living in His people*.—'The Rainbow,' 1875.

are perishing pariahs born from the dust. To me this is simply a horrible picture of the great world of men.'

In commenting upon this allegation, it must be admitted that the 'form of doctrine' here maintained can claim no exception to the general rule, that truth held by evil or even by weak men will turn to evil and vanity. Christians who are disposed to dwell in a pretentious spirit upon their 'privileges' are very likely to look complacently upon their own immortality, in contrast with the perishable nature of their unsaved neighbours. But this sin is not justly chargeable upon the doctrine. There are few things of which professed followers of Christ do not by turns become vain. Some glory in their supposed election to salvation—some in their church orthodoxy or high respectability of ritual—some even in their broad philosophical views—so much more spiritual than those of the weaker brethren who are in bondage to New Testament literalism—some even in their simple style of writing, as contrasted with the magniloquence of inferior authors.

If there are any, then, who have thus spoken or written in a lofty strain in past time of the high place and destiny of regenerate men, 'despising others,' on them be the blame, not on the truth of God. Truth should neither be abandoned nor misrepresented, in consequence of its perversions, or because of the sins and imperfections of its advocates. In the writings of the apostles we find the clearest assertion not only of Christ's 'brotherhood with the poorest and the saddest,' but also of the infinite difference between the natures and destinies of once-born and twice-born men. Christ Himself is foremost in teaching the necessity of spiritual regeneration in order to salvation (John iii.). And the general drift of apostolic doctrine goes to show that this regeneration unto life may be known now, by the signs of faith, hope, and love. Surely no valid objection can be raised against such teaching, on the ground that it 'gives us a few godlike lofty forms' of Brahmins, amidst 'innumerable creatures who look like them, speak like them, but are perishing pariahs.' The answer would be ready that the ascension of the soul into spiritual union with God *does* produce a deep change of nature in each genuinely Christian character. And if some weaker or self-deceived Christians, instead of bearing their honours meekly, flaunted their dignity as

'the sons of God' in the face of the world, looking down upon 'the publicans afar off,' no serious thinker would dream of abandoning the doctrine of regeneration, because of the sins of its advocates.

We ask for equal justice to be rendered to humble and holy maintainers of the present doctrine, supposed to be also apostolic, that spiritual regeneration carries with it the hope of immortality, through the indwelling of the Eternal Spirit. After many years' observation of its effects on character I feel bound to represent that such transcendent hopes do not naturally lead to the tempers which are described in the passage above cited. On the contrary *he that hath this hope in him purifieth himself;* the only certain sign of possessing life eternal is love—a love which 'vaunteth not itself, doth not behave itself unseemly.'

As to the absolute 'fewness' of the supposed possessors of immortality, this is an invention of the contrary part. It is firmly believed by us that the 'little flock,' which includes all who have 'some good thing in their hearts towards the Lord of hosts,' will nevertheless prove to be a 'multitude that no man can number,' and that the finally lost will consist, not of the '*poor and sad, who gathered round Christ as their brother,*' but of the haughty and deliberate assertors of their own 'free-will' against the authority of Heaven. The final awards of life or destruction will turn upon that deepest of all differences—the difference between *righteousness* and *wickedness*, a difference established and brought out by God's dealings with each human soul, either here or hereafter. *Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked.* If it be maintained that Christians ought still to wish for fellowship, and express sympathy, with the obstinately rebellious, we have no common basis of further argument. Such pernicious sentimentalism was unknown to Christ and the apostles.

The New Testament does not teach the survival of the *strongest*, but the survival of the *fittest;* and these are they who, 'labouring and heavy laden,' embracing righteousness, and trusting in and taking hold of the Redeeming Love, 'look for the mercy of God to eternal life.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF LIFE AND DEATH ETERNAL ON THE HOPES AND FEARS OF UNGODLY MEN.

Οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. 'Ye judge yourselves unworthy of the eternal life.'—ACTS xiii. 46.

THE weightiest objection to the acceptance of the doctrine that Immortality is the privilege of those alone who choose the right for ever, is its supposed pernicious influence upon the masses of mankind. It is said, by many of its opponents, that the doctrine of the 'annihilation of the wicked,' as they persistently describe it, is of boundlessly mischievous character; lowering by infinity the general estimate of the evil of sin, and of its consequences; removing therefore the chief restraint that rests upon the wills of presumptuous sinners, by assuring them of the 'trifling results' in punishment which will follow even upon the most stupendous transgressions. It is alleged that, however harmless may be its influence on those who are already Christian believers, its effect on the world at large will be immensely disastrous. It will degrade the whole conception of human life, by reducing human nature to the level of the animal races as to mortality, and will sweep away the two chief articles of natural religion, the stepping-stones of thought for faith in Revelation, namely, man's belief in his own spiritual being and relationship with a spiritual and eternal world, and therefore his belief in a spiritual and eternal God. It will aid all the existing materialism which speculates at present on the dependence of mind on brain, and thence will lead logically to a denial of the being of mind where brain does not exist; even in Deity. In the thick darkness of the Atheism which this doctrine will shed over the earth, all murderous and

suicidal passions will hold sway, and the glory of man will be lost in a hell-smoke of infidelity.

It must, at the commencement of this chapter, be admitted that the present argument, if sustained, will result in nothing less than a redistribution of the pressure of the motives of hope and fear in the sphere of religion; and therefore will operate a revolution of the most momentous character, defensible only on the ground of Divine Authority clearly demonstrated, and solidly established. Next it must be admitted, with deep concern, that even under the wisest and most God-fearing management of this reformation in public thought on the sanctions and results of divine government among men, much more under the unwise management of it, there is reason to fear that some danger may occur at first in any community where these ideas are suddenly published.* The revulsion against the almost maddening strain of the old theology is often so violent that some untrained minds are likely to be led to views of sin and its punishment at least as dangerous as those against which this movement is a reaction.

And I would earnestly conjure all into whose hands these pages may fall, and who may be convinced by these arguments, to guard their minds against this danger of reaction which always attends the first stage of theological change; and not less to guard all whom they influence against the delusive notion that the removal of the prospect of endless misery renders the eternal judgment of 'a sinner' one to be contemplated otherwise than with overwhelming horror. Under no truly divine method of explaining Christianity can it be made to appear other than transcendent wickedness wilfully to break the laws of Almighty

* This danger is greatly augmented by the conduct of the advocates of the prevailing doctrine when they represent to the public that our object is to prove that there is 'no hell' for the wicked. The former editor of the *Morning Advertiser* has distinguished himself during the last few years by the zealous adoption of these tactics. The evil wrought on the minds of sinful men by such representations is unquestionably great, but we justly disclaim the responsibility for it. If any vicious and sinful men have come to think that there is 'no hell,' this issue has been reached chiefly through the teaching of those who first proclaimed to them an incredible and unbiblical threatening, and then, when rebuked, turned round and dishonestly described us as teaching tha there is no punishment whatsoever.

God. It is not indeed a sound argument to assert that sin is an infinite evil, because committed against an Infinite Power and Holiness; for the finite nature of the sinner determines the quality of the action rather than the infinite quality of the Being offended against;—but under the category of finite sins there may be, and there are, offences and courses of offence of a dye so deep that no infliction less than eternal destruction can form a fitting expression of their criminality. And as soon as the public mind has rallied from the early shock of these ideas on the God-given immortality, the first vision which will be seen in the future will be that of a Hell so real, so near, and so tremendous, than men will feel as if they had never believed in or dreaded future punishment before.

If there are those also who, while professing to be fellow-labourers in this enterprise, yet allow the public to think that they have discovered the nullity of our Saviour's awful warnings of woe in the 'furnace of fire'—or who destroy their effect by making them the subject of controversy in a spirit of vain jangling, they must bear the burden of their own immense responsibility. For ourselves, we abjure companionship in such advocacy, and with all our strength warn the offenders of their own danger, as perhaps among the foremost objects of the 'wrath of God.' If any of our contemporaries seek to defend themselves in making light of the threats of positive infliction hereafter, behind the lying refuge of biblical 'texts' and 'passages,' we declare for ourselves that we have found in the New Testament no single page which leads us to think otherwise of 'judgment to come,' 'the resurrection of damnation,' than as a prospect before which all rejecters of Christ may well 'tremble.' 'The demons also believe, and shudder' (φρίσσουσι) (James ii. 19).*

No doctrine alone, and as an abstraction, will produce saving effects on mankind. A good effect depends on the mode and spirit of its presentation. If the doctrine of eternal life through Christ, and of the miserable destruction of the wicked in hell, be

* It is needless to disclaim kindred with American 'Christadelphianism,' which has perverted some of the truths here defended by conjoining them with a materialistic type of Unitarianism. There never yet was any truth set forth which did not suffer from some of its professed friends more than from all its enemies.

proclaimed in a simply dogmatic temper or disputatious tone, it is as little likely to move or appal a sinful person as any other dogma similarly set forth. Truths are often lost to the world through lack of the fitting heralds to publish them. Men who do not fear God, or who do not believe in the righteousness of future vengeance, cannot fittingly speak in Heaven's name to the nations. For if anything moral be true in Divine Revelation, it must be that wilful liars, murderers, drunkards, fornicators, thieves, men-stealers, literary corrupters of Christian truth, dishonest tradesmen, hypocritical priesthoods, instigators of war, and cruel oppressors, shall *suffer in hell* the 'due reward of their deeds,'—'shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone' (Rev. xxi. 8).

But now, in the fear of that Tribunal to which we all are hastening, I submit the following considerations in reply to the objections proposed.

I observe, at the outset, that it is an exceedingly mischievous and delusive method of procedure, in determining the meaning of the records of Revelation—a method condemned by all past experience—to permit of speculation on the supposed *influence* of facts and doctrines, before deciding on their existence in the Bible. To permit such a method is fatal to faith in Revelation altogether. Nearly all the prepossessions of mankind derived from uninspired philosophy are hostile to the actual declarations of Christianity. 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,' says S. Paul, 'the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. But God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit.' 'The world by wisdom knew' neither God nor human nature. Our first business, then, is interpretation and induction, not prophecy. The foremost question is, Are the prophets and apostles of Christ clear and unanimous on these topics? We judge that they are; but we think that we can show that none of the anticipated evil consequences of teaching this truth will occur.

For first of all, the doctrine of immortality by reconstruction and resurrection meets, *on its own ground*, all the many-sided materialism existing in the world, and enables it to believe in God and a gospel of Salvation. The ordinary preacher of to-day

feels that, with his gospel, he can do nothing for materialists. He must have a metaphysical battle with them first, and compel them to change their ideas on human nature, before he can persuade them to believe in Christ. Now that was not Apostolic Christianity; nor is it ours. The apostles evidently went forth with a Message which could save without delay Epicurean Materialists and Sadducees, without insisting first on a psychological conversion to faith in man's natural immortality and possession of a 'never-dying soul.'

This is precisely our position. Those who hold this doctrine are not necessarily materialists. I myself am strenuously opposed to that form of opinion. But the 'Gospel which we preach' is adapted to meet, on their own grounds—materialists of every type, with a moral certainty of a glorious result as to multitudes of them. Materialism is a creed which comprises many different ranks of capacity and respectability. There are the bad kinds of materialists, who have resolved that they are only a superior sort of organized animal matter, in order to give an air of philosophy to their much worse that brutal excesses. But there are also many far better types of materialism. You have the scientific materialists who are not atheists; such as some of our noblest men of research and discovery; and these maintain a conception of Matter as the effect of Energy so exalted as to include within its possible combinations any degree of created intelligence, without resorting to the hypothesis of a second substance such as Mind or Soul. With these thinkers Matter seems only another name for something like Spirit, so pure and so transcendent are their conceptions of its nature. Some of the most distinguished philosophers of past and present ages have adhered to this line of thought, without surrendering their faith in God as the Supreme and Everlasting Energy and Life of this universe. Of this opinion was Milton himself, as is proved both by the explicit argument of his book on the 'Christian Doctrine,' and by the following lines from the fifth book of the 'Paradise Lost':—

> 'To whom the wingèd hierarch replied:
> Oh, Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to Him return,
> If not depraved from good, created all
> Such to perfection; *one first matter all*

Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that live, of life.
But more refined, more spirituous and pure,
As nearer to Him placed, or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assigned,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind.'—Bk. v.

Of the same opinion still are not a few of the ablest thinkers in all parts of the world to-day,—theists they are, notwithstanding. Then next, there are the materialistic scientific and literary men, who are really Atheists also, but rather preferring to be called Agnostics than Atheists; and some of them of a character so noble, so pure, so lovely, so sorrowfully sinking into the last and deepest abysses of doubt, that Religious Faith, instead of anathematising, must stretch forth a most loving hand to help their sinking souls before they die.

Now the doctrine of life in Christ is a form of Christianity which is specially adapted to take hold of men who are thus convinced of the materiality of mind. It would be a poor thing if the Gospel had no word for those who were Sadducees, as well as for the Pharisees, if it could do naught to save men who are philosophical materialists; especially when we consider how tough and difficult an argument is required even from such men as Doctors Balfour Stewart, Tait, and Martineau, to beat out of their delusions a Mill, a Spencer, and a Tyndal. But we find it to be a matter of simple experience, that men of all intellectual grades, who, for one reason or another, have become theoretical materialists, and who, if abandoned to the influence of that philosophy alone, would be compelled to surrender all expectation of a future state for man, are drawn to faith in a future state, and faith in God as the Saviour in Christ, and faith in immortality by Resurrection; so that numbers of these are being trained for the kingdom of heaven in a life truly spiritual. Christ, who is the Word made flesh, exerts a power which lifts them up to God, with a hope full of immortality.

Among these certainly must be reckoned the multitudes of Christian believers who have received the Gospel of Christ on out theological representation of it, but on a philosophical basis of

materialism. Apart from Christianity, they would be materialists without a future. But see the effect of the teaching of Life by Christ and by Resurrection. These men, in masses, have become Christians. These Christian brethren have no faith in man's possession of a 'soul' or 'spirit,' in the popular sense of the words. But they love life in its highest form, in God's likeness, and long for life eternal, and they have believed in Christ to salvation. Him they regard as the resurrection, and embrace Him with all their hearts. There are not a few prominent examples of such believers, led by the Spirit of God to Christ as the Life-Giver.

It has simply saved these men, as it is saving similar materialistic thinkers every day, who find this form of Christianity precisely adapted to meet their needs. And when I consider the difficulty and the complexity of the psychological argument for a survival of the spirit, I am the less desirous of resting all the hopes of the world on such an obscure foundation; and tenaciously hold with Mr. Constable that the main object of faith is Resurrection by the power of Christ, reconstruction of the whole humanity by the Omnipotence of God. This is a basis of hope common to men of all opinions as to the nature of the thinking substance, and which invites alike the trust of spiritualists and materialists. Neither does it require much experience to show that not a few of these 'materialistic' believers in Christ are among the most 'spiritual' persons living on the earth—men of the purest lives, of the firmest faith in things unseen and eternal, of dauntless purpose, of heroic self-sacrifice, of devoted love to their Saviour, and of the tenderest sympathy to mankind. They live with Christ now, they think that in death their whole being will dissolve, but that Christ, whose members they are, is coming quickly 'to create them anew, to immortalise and glorify them,' and that they will have no sense of the interval between death and resurrection. I ask if this can be called a brutalising result of the Doctrine of Conditional Immortality. The wide diffusion in this day of scientific and semi-scientific materialism cannot be prevented; there are millions who, led on by Spencer and Maudsley, will not listen to the old doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, and the more you preach it to them the more fiercely they revolt, and point to the phenomena of cerebral formation and

cerebral decay; but to us the extension of these ideas, however lamentable, is not so fatal a hindrance as it is to the advocates of natural immortality. We can preach a credible Christianity, and a present salvation to all materialists, high and low, by preaching to them Jesus and the Resurrection. *To this they will listen.* Their faith becomes an antidote to their philosophy, and they will, perhaps, some day learn to think differently on the one question which still divides us.

2. But we have a second answer to the charge of materialistic tendencies, which goes deeper into the real causes of materialism. A perfectly logical materialism which, denying a spiritual basis of mind in man, denies it also in the universe, and enforces the result in a speculative positivism and atheism, may under certain circumstances become a real danger to society. It may corrupt the tone of popular feeling as to the moral dignity of man, and of popular faith as to his relations with an Unseen Deity. It is not we who have produced it.

But how may it best be encountered and overcome? My answer is, *not* by any simply metaphysical or philosophical process,—*not* by a psychology which may be riddled by the objections of Mr. Herbert Spencer, or made to look doubtful even by Mr. Holyoake. It cannot be checked by discourses on the immortality of the soul, nor even by the additional bribe to faith of a promise of universal discipline and salvation. No; the true remedy for a *debasing* materialism (for I will not admit that Milton's materialism was debasing) is to be found in the moral rather than in the intellectual realms of thought. It will be found, not in a contrary theory as to the substratum of mind, or as to the eternity of the thinking power, but in the preaching of a credible judgment to come, and of the grace of God in the salvation purchased by Christ.

If you wish to overcome the evil types of atheistic materialism, you must awaken conscience, rather than entangle the intellect in doubtful disputations.

Men's philosophies spring from a great depth within them, from their spiritual states. Bid them, then, listen to the awful voice within, the utterance of a Will above the will, which persists in

denouncing wrong and sin, and inspires an expectation of judgment. The liar, the thief, the fornicator, the adulterer, the murderer, knows in himself, when once awakened to solemn thought, that it is not incredible that there are consequences beyond—and consequences of the most tremendous character. These may be by survival or by the resurrection of damnation. Whatever makes these consequences appear credible, near, and certain, tends to awaken such reflections. Whatever removes the fear which an evil conscience inspires, whether it be an infinity of threatening, which generates unbelief, or the bold assurance of a general delivery from perdition at last, is so much gain for materialism. Whatever confirms the voice of the inward witness, and points to the 'great white throne' of judgment, as the needle to the pole-star, is so much gain for a spiritual view of life and its belongings.

But this is not the complete answer. Christ is in every sense the Light of the world. His special message is not that of Terror, but of Mercy. Proclaim that mercy. Preach the Gospel to every creature. Bring near, with a heart that feels it, the love of God to sinners. Set before them Christ 'openly crucified for them,' 'bearing their offences, carrying their sorrows;' declare to the penitent the remission of their sins—and you will wield against the bad sorts of materialism the most powerful weapon in the world.

The true antidote to materialism is not found in a bold ignoring of facts as to the generation of human nature, or as to its structure and functions; much less in setting up a metaphysic which confounds survival with eternal duration, and even maintains survival of the soul by arguments which revolt the judgment of many of the foremost philosophers of the age. The true remedy is to overthrow materialism by 'saving' materialists, and this is precisely what the doctrine of Redemption to Immortality by Resurrection especially enables us to do. It presents Christianity to man's conscience, judgment, and affection, disentangled from theories which dissipate its force by awakening scepticism rather than faith in the hearers.

I.

But now to sum up on the positive side:—So far is it from being true that, in relinquishing the ancient tenets of immortality and *eternal* suffering, we endanger the hold of religion on the fears of ungodly men, and banish a wholesome dread of God's judgments from His own servants—that on the contrary it will be found, under every spiritual and pathetic presentation of the doctrine of life only in Christ, there is a large gain on the side even of a useful fear. The eternal hells of all religions are dreadful to hear of at first; but there is this hindrance to their operation on the mind as a converting motive—that they are not believed in by men whom you most desire to alarm. The ordinary Hindoo or Mohammedan believes as little in his eternal hell as the English quick-witted artisan or man of science. There is this circumstance attending the preaching of such a prospect—that the more earnestly it is studied the less it is believed in whether by clown or philosopher, wise or unwise. The general alienation from Christianity, of the scientific, literary, and labouring classes of Europe, so far as it is speculative, is the final result of a scepticism which began with a denial of the endless torment of the lost. There can be no surer indication of the deep popular disbelief than this—that the habitual language of profane cursing and swearing, which nominally is derived from the orthodox doctrine of damnation, runs from the lips of the utterers without the faintest sign of faith in the reality of what they imprecate on each other's heads.* Much, indeed, that they hear from the most modern enlightenment concerning the everlasting destiny of wicked men, is well fitted to 'alleviate' the terror. 'In bodily, awful, intolerable torture,' says Mr. F. W. Robertson (*Sermons*, i. 133), 'we believe no longer. At the idea of a bodily hell we have learned to smile.' In order to maintain the eternity of hell, hell has been robbed of its real and appreciable terrors. But it is only thus that the eternity of it can be maintained in the present day. Meantime the Christ of the Bible unveils a future, with a 'furnace of fire,' at which no man should 'smile.'

* I recently heard a London carman in a raging passion consigning to 'damnation' his stubborn team of horses.

The author of the *Victory of Divine Goodness* teaches in effect that hell is eternal, but the mistake has been in supposing it to be a 'place of torment.' According to him, it seems to be rather an inferior Paradise in Gehenna for the solace of the damned.

It is not an awful severity in the judgment denounced which occasions unbelief, for both nature and Scripture show that God is as really a Destroying Power as He is Light and Love; but it is the *infinity* of the threatening which has rendered it powerless to produce fear. The intellect and the moral judgment are set against the menace which ought to carry both in one combined force to operate on the will.* There are many who have been accustomed to wield the common dogma as an instrument of immense power over the imaginations of debased sinners, and who are capable of no other spiritual action, who will at once declare 'that Satan rejoices over the proposed change in the

* At present the common doctrine seems to the coarser working people, when they think at all, too horrible to be true; just as a wicked navigator recently said to a city missionary, who was urging him to repent, as he sat in the mud over his midday dinner—'But do you really think, master, that God Almighty will put me in fire for ever and ever, after putting me in this here muck all my lifetime?' And not thinking this to be true, they lose the restraining influence of all the threatenings in the Bible, and drink, and drink —to perdition. M. Karr rightly says, 'Exaggerations of doctrine are like those barriers that are too lofty for horses to leap, and which they quietly pass under.' As for the large majority of irreligious educated men throughout Europe, and the multitude of well-instructed artisans, they have thrown off religious faith altogether, and specially faith in hell, alleging the incredibility of this very dogma. Whatever you exaggerate you weaken.

The progress of drunkenness in England requires for its repression not merely the advocacy of total abstinence, but Christ's distinct threatening of the 'furnace of fire' to all those who defy God by practising, or abetting with their capital, habits of intoxication. If all the preachers of God's Word believed in that 'Gehenna' of which Christ speaks, and would firmly present the credible but overwhelming prospect of the spiritual and physical Hell of Revelation before the people, it is probable that multitudes would dash from their lips the cup which to many is nothing less than the 'cup of devils,' and perhaps frighten out of their gainful occupations some of those 'religious' distillers and brewers who are among the chief causes of national ruin, and at the same time the chief lay supporters of so many perversions of Christian doctrine. But alas! not one preacher in a hundred speaks of this 'Gehenna of Fire' as if he believed in it. Yet Christ, who did preach it, was to the full as compassionate as the enlightened scholars who teach the common people that 'torment' is 'largely figurative.'

Church's faith.' The idea is that headstrong sinners, both men and women, deeply committed to a life of vice and crime, will be sure to say, 'Oh, there is to be an end to hell-torments, is there? Very well, we are glad to hear it; and we will, therefore, persist in our enjoyments, and risk the consequences.' But the persons who put this speech into the mouths of reprobates forget that those profligates have enjoyed the full restraining advantage of the threatening of everlasting woe, with scarce an interruption during all their lifetime, and that even this has not deterred them from their dreadful career. They are already as wicked as they can be, and cannot be made *worse* by the modification of a threatening which they have utterly disbelieved in and defied. It is even possible that some alteration in the way of presenting God's justice and love to them may work for the better, and diminish their blasphemies.

What is needed to arouse such profligates to reflection,—and still more to alarm those numerous Men of Education whom the divine revelation distinctly threatens with the greater 'judgment,' but who never associate the idea of perdition with their own destiny,—I refer to the teaching and ruling class,—the unfaithful Ministers of Religion, the Traffickers in souls—and many corrupt Men of Literature and Art, who pervert to meanest or vilest uses heaven's divinest gifts—the Statesmen, who defy in legislation and government the plainest laws of morals,—all at present encased like leviathan in impenetrable armour,—to make them 'tremble' at 'judgment to come,' and to bring them to repentance,—is the proclamation of a future remediless punishment, which carries its own credentials along with it; and while shaking the souls of sinners, even the most intelligent, as at a fiery 'handwriting on the wall,' with a deep, convulsive dread, shall leave no valid ground for moral speculations on its injustice and improbability.

Such is, I submit, the doctrine of Judgment as here set forth. It will not, indeed, form a Dantesque subject for hard and unreal pulpit rhetoric; but it fulfils those conditions of credibility, crushing terribleness, nearness, and finality, which are necessary to move the souls which *can* be moved by terror at all. The history of modern reforms in the criminal law demonstrates how much greater a deterring power is possessed by certainty and nearness than by disproportionate and indefinite or dubious terribleness, in

a threat. And men who can be morally 'moved with fear' will more certainly be reached by the warning of an irremediable wrath to come,—which is nothing less than the consuming fire of Deity, visiting with destruction its implacable adversaries, and 'so repaying the sinner to his face,'—than by any unauthorised representations.

I venture, then, to set it down as a much-needed gain on the side even of terror, that, under this view of God's dealings with wicked men, retribution may be heartily believed in, in its gradations and equitable proportions; and none will see better reason to fear it than those hardened men and women of fashion and ability who now confidently fling every threatening of hell behind their backs. For there is no conception of a future state more awful and more probable as a retribution to powerful minds who have spent their lifetime in exerting ruinous influence upon their fellow-men, than that they should be compelled to 'remember' the whole sum of evil which they have wrought in the universe, where no 'drop of water will be given to cool the tongue' which once poured forth, perhaps, its eloquent blasphemies, or philosophy falsely so called, or polluting verses, against the sovereignty of God,—and then suffer 'everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of His power.'*

II.

But another advantage of an alteration in the methods of approaching sinful men, to persuade them to repentance, will be found in this; that the doctrine of the gift of life *enables us to bring to bear on their understanding, conscience, and affections, a view of the character of their Maker and God incomparably more efficacious in winning them to a new life than all the threatenings of endless suffering which can be set before their minds.*

I am far from recommending this system of belief as a universal

* This is the answer to such positions as that of the Rev. A. Thompson, Chairman of the Congregational Union for 1875, that 'it is not by any fancied irradiation of the dark problems of Retribution that we shall commend God's character to the confidence of men.' This is just what the high Calvinists say of their creed,—yet high Calvinism is distinctly guilty of producing infidelity, throughout Scotland, and elsewhere.

remedy for that deep-rooted enmity to a Sovereign God which dwells in many souls, and which not even the most perfect exhibition of truth can overcome, as we see in the failure of Christ's ministry among the Jewish nation, and in ten thousand other examples. Such men will be humbled only by 'the fierceness of the wrath of the Lord God Almighty.' But in every religion the chief moral force is the God whom it reveals, and whose sovereignty it establishes. A sleeping Boodh sends nations to sleep. An impure Vishnu depraves all India. An infinitely terrific Power hardens and alienates the people. A God of more intelligible justice and mercy will more powerfully 'draw all men unto Him.'

Theologians have sometimes given the impression that the chief attribute of God is His incomprehensibility. But this notion has more of a 'show of humility' than of real submission. God has 'revealed Himself.' He is no longer incomprehensible. If Infinite Wisdom were asked, as has been well said, what is the sum of twice six, the answer would not be an unknown quantity or an endless line of figures, but the limited number twelve. In the same way God will commend Himself to created judgments in His moral dealings, and will punish and reward according to the knowledge and ability of His creatures with an appreciable equity. Theology, since the days of the apostles, has done at least as much to conceal as to open Divine Revelation. The rules of thought, the laws of interpretation, the measures of deference to authority, accounted specially learned and orthodox—seem to have been devised in good part almost as if on purpose to build up apostasy in the Church, and atheism in the world.

Here, then, it behoves us to consider the allegation so confidently pressed forward, that the doctrine now defended *lowers men's views of the Evil of Sin*, considered as a transgression of the law of God.

The views taken by men of the evil of sin may respect either its consequences to themselves, or its intrinsic unrighteousness; and these are widely different. There are many who never think of the evil of sin, except as regards the harm and mischief it will bring to themselves, and that is indeed one mode of estimating evil; for sin is full of danger to the offender. But they never

consider its intrinsic hatefulness, or its unfilial character as committed against their Father and God. Their sole idea of the evil of sin is gathered from the danger to which it exposes them.

The single religious influence which reaches them therefore is fear, and it is thought the greater the terribleness the more the restraint, and the more probable the repentance. It is held that the moment the idea is suggested to men, that the consequences of their lives will not be 'so bad as they thought before,' they will take a full swing, and run all risks, if they may but enjoy their sinful pleasures for a season. The one thing which can exercise any restraint upon them is thought to be the fear of endless misery in hell.* But this view is founded on a gross delusion. Men, in general, are neither restrained from sin nor drawn to God, by representations concerning the eternity of hell. It requires faith to lead them to fear judgment, and this requires the awakening of conscience by a filial repentance. But the world is without faith. It was Noah who was 'moved with fear,' not the 'world of the ungodly.' *They* were filled with violence, notwithstanding the preaching of the prophets. Souls are not now moved or drawn to God even by the threat of endless torment. The world has enjoyed the advantage of this threatening for ages, and resisted it. With one consent men think it incredible, disproportionate, unreal; the more you educate them the more they think so; and the present result is a more thorough freedom from anxiety about judgment to come, and sense of the 'evil of sin,' than has perhaps ever been seen before. Men either believe that *their* sins are not bad enough to deserve that doom, or that there must be some road out of such an infinite horror for them, in an unrevealed scheme of universal salvation; or they give up thinking about religion altogether because they cannot understand the character of God. Our country is half filled with young people whose faith is thus shaken to the foundation.

Never did mankind in general dread less the evil of sin, in the

* This seems to be the ruling thought of some at least of our opponents. The Rev. Bodfield Hooper clearly believes that if he could make the hair of his parishioners stand on end with fright all the year round, he would greatly aid their salvation. See *Endless Sufferings the Doctrine of Scripture*, 1877, —a book in which there is not one word of tenderness from the beginning to the end.

sense even of its danger, than to-day, and that notwithstanding the spirit of profane and lustful excess which fills the world; and I attribute this chiefly to the effect of the doctrine of endless misery. We therefore rebut the accusation with all our strength. Nothing is more needed than a reform in that part of theology which treats of penalties. Just as penalties which were too severe to be believed in by criminals in former times were inoperative—they were too terrific to frighten men—so it is in religion. Hanging for sheep-stealing was thought to be too terrible a punishment to be executed, and sheep continued to be stolen until the penalty was made one which could be believed in. So it will be in religion. The day which sees a revival in Europe of the vigorous teaching of some formidable doctrine on future punishment, credible by the general intelligence of humanity,—some doctrine which men cannot put aside, saying, 'It is too horrible to be *true*;' which will come home to their consciences as just, to their fears as most awful, and which will shut out all hope of redemption from it, when once the indignation begins,—that day will see, among the impressible part of mankind, a wholly new public opinion prevailing on the evil of sin,—taking this phrase now to signify only its dangerousness to the wicked. That day will see the majority still, I fear, unmoved, impenitent, 'past feeling,' as in the days of Noah; but it will see those souls which can be reached at all impressed with a sense of the reality both of God's judgment and mercy as never before.

Hitherto we have considered the question only of the Evil of Sin in its dangerousness to men, and the comparative influence of the two doctrines of punishment upon mankind in the way of alarming them by the prospect of judgment.

But there is another view of the subject. The apostles were not in the habit of pressing by threats of endless torment a rejected gospel for years *on the same people.* 'Seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of endless life, lo, we turn to the nations, and they will hear it' (Acts xiii. 46). Suppose, then, we think less of the hardened part of mankind, for whom corrupters of religion have been inventing terrific, or decorative, types of

'national Christianity' for nearly two thousand years. Suppose we think a little more of those who *can* be reached by spiritual influences,—of those young souls who are seeking after God in solitary places,—of those perplexed but amenable spirits whom sorrow and fear and merciful invitations are drawing back to their Father: is there nothing to be said here of the possibly beneficial effect of some improvement in the representation of truth? Would not their sense of the evil of sin be deepened if they were permitted to feel that the system of God's government is morally intelligible—if they could be assisted to see all things in the light of an intelligible justice and love, not in the red glare of that lake into which they have been taught to think so large a portion of the creation around them is going to burn for ever? Sin will never seem so evil as when we can, with heart and soul and strength, like David, 'sing aloud' with joy to God our Redeemer.

What is lacking in the spiritual life of most men is a feeling of intelligent loyalty to God—a love of His righteous will, because it is His will. And the reason men do not feel this is, I think, because they cannot. They are too full of doubt, distrust, and secret controversy with His supposed government, to be able to feel it. The root of this evil is in the doctrine of endless misery, springing out of the doctrine of man's natural immortality. Men thence hold views of the Divine Administration which confound the conscience, and freeze up spiritual loyalty at its fountain.

If Christians are to be converted thoroughly, to contend strenuously, pray earnestly, they must maintain doctrine in which they heartily believe. If you would have them hate evil, you must make known to them a God whose very name acts as a watchword that sets their souls on fire. It is not an enthusiasm for humanity which Christ sought to inspire so much as this rare enthusiasm for Divinity; and that cannot exist where scepticism is eating like rottenness through the bones. There is no occasion to dread the lack of wholesome fear. Terror sufficient for all practical ends of suasion will remain in the awful prospect of the real Gehenna; but we shall have, as now a long experience proves in many lands, an added strength of rational conviction, of satisfied justice, of joy, of love, in which will be found far more than a compensation for the lost doctrine of a misery that shall never end.

But beyond all this it should be observed that, when we analyse the nature of Terror—the feeling which it is the end at least of the announcement of God's external judgments to awaken—we find that it is not a moral emotion at all, but only an animal passion. You can frighten a horse or a dog, and you can also frighten a man, with a prospect of present or future infliction. But what you cannot do is to perpetuate the alarm ; for all animal passions, terror among them, are of transitory operation. Each fit passes away, and each fresh excitement is weaker than the last. So it is seen in wicked men. The moral alarm which springs from more spiritual views of God's holiness is less often awakened. Physical terror predominates in ordinary minds, and you see the result of it in those older 'revivals,' where the chief influence was terrific. You cannot reach any in these days, except the most ignorant and thoughtless, with the threat of endless physical misery ; and if you could, the impression would be but transitory. Multitudes hear these menaces without a pang, and 'take sittings' to listen to them, if eloquently set forth by a tragical preacher.

The true use of terror is to awaken by a sudden blast of the trump of God. If it fail in that, it is powerless for good afterwards. The threatening of a judgment on the soul and body, a judgment to be inflicted *on the earth*, at the end of all things, and proved by all the evidence of Christianity, will awaken those who are susceptible of the saving influences of the Gospel. These are, truth addressing the understanding, grace appealing to the affections, holiness appealing to the repenting will. These, and these alone, are the permanent springs of spiritual life, while terror of itself can neither convert nor sanctify.

It is holy love which wins the heart, spiritualises the conscience, and transforms the character ; and the doctrine here defended unveils that LOVE OF GOD—which is, the transforming Power,—like the bright shining of the morning Sun. It is sin which fills men with undefined alarms, and leads them to think they do God's service by depicting Him as pagans conceive of their terrific divinities. There cannot, indeed, be genuine love to God which has not been preceded by some deep sense of danger and of guilt ; but it is through loving delight, not by overwhelming fear, that the power of sin is to be extinguished in the soul. In a word, that is the safest religion, not which attempts to maintain incessant dread

of eternal suffering, but that which most steadily upholds within man's heart the influence of law, love, reason, truth, joy, divine authority, delicacy of moral sentiment, and filial awe.

The evil of sin does not consist chiefly, as many coarser preachers to the populace suppose, in its being an offence against a Power which is able and willing to inflict unending torment upon evil doers, but in its being a wilful opposition to the Eternal Light of love and of righteousness. He has not the deepest sense of sin who most dreads the avenging rod, but he who most keenly feels the hatefulness of insurrection against the Father of Spirits and the All-satisfying Good. Terror of an infinite infliction generates selfish views of sin, and selfish views of the evil of sin are in common minds a hindrance to ingenuous repentance. Fear may arouse, but it is confidence (παῤῥησία) which wins men into union with God. From the throne of God there issue 'lightnings and mighty thunderings,' but God is Love; and the consuming fire of judgment is kindled in defence of that law of love which proceeds from the Nature of the Everlasting.

The threatening of eternal misery also loses its hold upon the mind exactly in proportion to the development of those faculties which take cognisance of the character of God as displayed in all His other operations:—and this hinders it from acting with the steady force of an appreciable motive. For even if it be true that occasionally the mists of time disperse and permit a momentary glance over the fiery eternity, the very circumstance of the endlessness of the vision has a tendency to draw the attention away from that near and immediate prospect of judgment, which follows on death, to the inconceivably remote futurity, whose distance, through the dimness of the perspective, invests it with a haze of unreality, and prevents it from exercising a definite influence on the conduct of life.

But, on the other hand, it is matter of fact that a considerable number of persons, including some of the highest power, who have seen cause to adopt the foregoing interpretations of Scripture, have declared that, in consequence of the modification of their ideas, Redemption, as a display of the Holy Love and Justice of God, has become a subject of constant and delightful thought, so that Christianity in general has assumed an air of stronger reality; that since, in the language of Baxter, faith has become,

in all its exercises, an act of the conscience and reason, God has drawn nearer to them; they have perceived fresh force in the command to love the Lord their God with all their understandings as well as with all their hearts; and finally, that, instead of the lustre of the gospel truths which they believed before being diminished, those truths have come forth into high relief, marked with a grander and more vivid outline, and surrounded by a brighter radiance,—as if a faded fresco-painting had been transformed into statuary, and illuminated by the beams of the sun.

III.

But we must now encounter a final objection urged on all sides with wonderful confidence—that it is wholly irreconcilable with any rational view of the Divine Attributes of Wisdom, Justice, or Goodness, thus to represent the Almighty as 'raising wicked men from a state of death *only to inflict on them a second and more thorough annihilation.*' Or, as it is sometimes stated, 'it is wholly unreasonable to think that, whereas under the original law of creation men would simply have died in Adam for Adam's sin, through Christ they have incurred the risk and the condemnation of punishment in hell for untold ages.' The indictment varies. When it is the object to represent this doctrine as teaching a purposeless resurrection of the wicked, then they are said to rise again 'only to suffer annihilation.' When it is the object to show that men incur a heavier curse through redemption than through the original covenant of works, then wicked men are said to be raised to 'suffer for untold ages.'

Before offering a reply it is necessary to reject both of these misleading modes of stating the doctrine in question. It forms no part of the doctrine, as maintained by us, that any wicked men will be raised from the dead 'simply to be put to death a second time.' After God has gathered out of the world's population by methods of grace on earth, or in Hades, all salvable persons, there will remain for the 'judgment of the last day' and the 'resurrection of damnation' those alone who will *deserve some terrible positive infliction* as the antecedent to extinction, part of the sentence of a 'miserable destruction;' an infliction which will explode the delusion that they are raised again 'only just for the

purpose of being annihilated.' This infliction will be lighter or heavier according to men's knowledge, and according to the malignity of their crimes; but while some will endure *few stripes*, others are said to be *beaten with many stripes*, to endure '*tribulation and anguish*,' words which raise an awful conception of impending woe.

But, it is said, this will be suffering with a view to *destruction*; and this is inconsistent with any intelligible view of divine justice or goodness.

It may be answered at once that at least it is more consistent with intelligible ideas of divine justice and goodness than the orthodox doctrine, that they are to be raised to suffer without amendment, and without mitigation, through eternity. Indeed, the advocates of the doctrine of everlasting suffering have no *locus standi*, as opponents of this view of the Scripture doctrine, on the ground of its inconsistency with the divine attributes. They, at all events, must be silent; for the human mind can form no conception of either goodness or justice in the infliction of a misery out of all proportion to the finite quality of the sinner, and which has no end.

The true supporters of the present objection are the advocates of a positive doctrine on *the salvation of all men.* And to this objection as proceeding from them we have to offer a respectful answer. Their theodicy is based on the belief that out of all evil God will bring eternal good, even to the offending individuals in the kingdom of darkness. Ours is based on the conviction, not 'philosophical' in its origin, but simply derived inductively from the instincts of our moral being, and by fair interpretation of the apostolic writings—that the final universal 'reconciliation of all things' will be reached through the salvation of some and the destruction of some,—when 'God shall be all in all.'

The Universalists hold that under a paternal government punishment must needs possess the quality of chastisement, and issue in the final purification of the condemned. It is held to be a contradiction to all enlightened views of the divine wisdom and love to suppose that God can intend to inflict a punishment which is capital and remediless, or that the Heavenly Father can lift His almighty hand to 'slay His sons.'

Such a theology, we submit, not only offers violence to the

record in which is contained the Revelation of the Holy Spirit of Christ, but is opposed to every defensible idea of the divine character and government. It is an introduction, into the sphere of divine rule, of notions which, although popular enough in modern legislation, are misleading when applied to the interpretation of God's dealings with His rebellious creatures.

The mistake has arisen from confounding God's action towards us in *grace* (and the new corresponding rule of conduct, which forbids vindictive or compensatory behaviour to those who offend *us*) with God's action in *law*, and His dealings in judgment with those who, having refused His mercy, must feel the weight of His justice. This distinction is pointed out by S. Paul in these words: 'Dearly beloved, avenge not *yourselves*, but rather give place unto wrath, for it is written, "To *me* belongs vengeance, *I* will repay," saith the Lord' (Rom. xii. 19). So far as the rule of State government in criminal law proceeds on the refusal to contemplate '*righteous* vengeance' (for blind vindictiveness none would advocate), this has been caused in part perhaps by the conjunction of the Church with the State, through which evangelical rules of conduct have been erroneously assumed as proper maxims of government by law.

Of the three objects which may be contemplated in the infliction of penal suffering—(1) vengeance, (2) prevention, or (3) the reformation of the offender,—the first, vengeance, or the retributive infliction of pain or death *for wrong committed*,—'the due reward' of evil deeds,—suffering inflicted because it is *deserved*,—has latterly, through the influence of a few, chiefly sceptical, philosophers, been excluded from the objects aimed at in modern criminal legislation. It is held to be unworthy of a beneficent sovereignty to 'return evil for evil,' or to exact pain or death simply for the satisfaction of vengeance. The intellectual process by which Bentham and his followers have succeeded in establishing this view of the nature of punishment is one of the most curious phenomena in the history of statesmanship. This triumphant school will permit only of two ends in criminal legislation —*prevention* of similar offences, by affixing pain or loss to the offence; and *personal reformation* of the offender, to be carefully considered in every stage of the chastisement.

This philosophy of punishment has at length asserted its authority in theology, and we are now taught, almost as a first principle in divinity, that under the government of God there can be but two ends in punishment—Prevention and Reformation. Vengeance, Retribution, Remediless Punishment, is not to be considered as possible for an instant under the government of Eternal Love. The 'Fatherhood of God' is security that every sinner, if punished for a time, shall be punished no longer than the interests of himself and the universe require, and shall, having received correction in the visitation, 'come forth as gold.' This philosophy necessarily issues in Universalism.*

We dispute its first axioms. Against the notion that it is inconceivable that God should punish for any other than benevolent and reformatory ends, it must be maintained that the radical idea of punishment for sin committed is in the Divine Government, as in all unperverted human governments, a *retribution* for the wrong done. This is the most ancient idea of penalty, but none the less just and true for its antiquity. It is the idea which springs first from the depths of man's moral nature, before it has been perverted by atheism. Wrong-doing *deserves* punishment or pain; this is one of the deepest laws of our moral nature, which originated in the depths of the Divine Nature. The sinner deserves to suffer, in vindication of the law, irrespective of benefit to the creation, or amendment to himself. Other motives may operate, but the original idea of penalty seems to be vengeance, or vindication from the Eternal Nature. And vengeance in God is neither a wrong nor a weakness. It is retributive righteousness. It is not a mark of barbarous thought, but the first function of Divine Government in the administration of law. There is not probably a more pernicious misconception in morals than that vengeance is an old-world *passion* of barbarians. It is the action of a Personal Deity infusing His own Personality and Will into the steadfast action of government in resistance to moral evil.

* Mr. Baldwin Brown in his Lectures on *Annihilation* bases his scheme of doctrine for the most part on the same philosophical foundation with the Universalists. The *differentiæ* of his system are found in the sphere which he allots to the sinner's free agency, and in the refusal to affirm a *decree* of universal salvation. So far as he agrees with Universalism we assign to him our replies to that death-dealing delusion, one of the most mischievous, perhaps, of all perversions of Divine Revelation.

Law is an abstraction, and Nature a fiction, but GOD lives through all forces physical and moral, and when men say that law brings retribution, the true and at the same time biblical philosophy teaches that it is God who 'revenges disobedience' with a just re-ward. The idea of a sinful man's guilt is, not that the guilty has earned some personal chastisement, for his own good, or as a warning to others, but that he has earned the proper sequence of sin in suffering, the 'due reward of his deeds,' and in many cases that due is death. This every conscience testifies, when a man 'comes to himself.' The Scripture asserts only that which Nature on all sides shows to be a real part of the plan of creation—the penal action of a destructive force, as all-pervading as the creative.

Retributive Justice, the disposition to repay the sinner, must be an eternal attribute of the Everlasting King. 'Vengeance is mine; I will recompense, saith the Lord.' If this were not so, the moral government of God would have no existence except over large numbers. But if God had created one single being, surely that being would be bound to obey Him, by working righteousness for ever. Should he rebel, and become *fixed in hatred of goodness*—according to the new philosophy of criminal law—God, as a righteous ruler, would have no rights, and could not punish him; for there would be, *ex hypothesi*, no creation to be benefited by the example, and he himself was irreformable. God could not punish him, could not afflict him, forsooth, except for his own advantage. Common sense and conscience revolt at this extravagant conclusion. The revenging Deity might justly inflict the 'due reward of his deeds' by destroying the solitary spirit who troubled His holy rest and refused to repent.

This idea of retribution, as the fundamental characteristic of punishment, burns like the everlasting fire throughout the record of Divine Revelation. The law of Moses inflicts punishment according to the *lex. talionis*—'Eye for eye, tooth for tooth.' And the death-penalty is ordained for a score of offences in dreadful forms. RIGHTEOUS VENGEANCE is the key-note of the Old Testament. There is no attempt to soften this down to the conception of public or personal benefit. It is ever the 'repayment' of God's adversaries, the awful debt 'due' to thoroughly bad men from Eternal Justice. God is the all-pervading Spirit of Retribution, both in the realms of physical and moral law.

The entrance of Redemption in Christ effects no alteration in the revealed basis of Divine criminal administration. Punishment is still primarily retribution. 'What a man soweth that shall he also reap.' Paul speaks of it as the *righteous judgment* of God to inflict death on sinners: he declares to the Thessalonians that it is 'a *righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation* to them that trouble you,' and that 'Christ shall be revealed in flaming fire, *taking vengeance* on them that know not God' (2 Thess. i. 6, 8).

The deep-seated sense of the existence of such a retributive system in the creation often breaks like volcanic fire through the superimposed strata of modern artificial philosophy and legislation. Now and then whole nations cry aloud for vengeance on flagrant offenders, as if conscious that the new legislative idea of universal beneficence did not correspond with the realities of the moral world. 'Vengeance suffereth not to live' the guilty murderer.

When, then, the advocates of Universalism object that it is inconceivable that God should raise wicked men from the dead 'only just' to punish them by the infliction of the second death, the reply is that it *is* inconceivable on the principles of the new philosophy and of modern legislation; but not on the principles of Nature, and of Divine Revelation.

The satisfaction and manifestation of the Divine Attributes because they are righteous, is the first and last end in creation, and providence. '*For Thy pleasure they exist, and were created.*' The effect on creatures comes only second in the account. If, then, the Divine Legislator, the Divine Spectator of wrong, the Divine Ruler and Lord, has an account with rebellious free agents, and burns in the awful depths of Deity with a resolution to *take vengeance* on such offenders as have trampled on His law, and on His Son, and who have done despite to His Holy Spirit, we may rest certain that that satisfaction of the Divine Nature is a sufficient end in so calling wicked men to account; even if the result of that terrible punishment be their destruction. The original motive, the regulative method, of the infliction, alike proceed from the Divine Mind; from the necessary attributes of God; and are not determined merely by benevolent considerations towards the individual or by the opinion of the universe on its utility. The personal relation of each free agent to God is his

chief relation, and carries with it, when he is sinful, all the fearful consequences of perdition. It is God Himself, not merely the law of nature, that is described as the 'Consuming Fire.'

Now this sounder philosophy of punishment, while cutting up by the roots the hope of universal salvation, establishes the tremendous doctrine of retribution here maintained. Every finally impenitent offender has an account to render to his Maker, in soul and body; and that controversy will be decided by a sentence on both, which we are taught is capital and eternal. The benefit of the creation also is consulted in the example so given, 'that others also may fear;' but since the fountain of retribution is the *righteous vengeance of God*, the persistent rebel can build no hope on any reformatory process,—for God will destroy him, 'both body and soul in hell.' Even if men ever so boldly declare that God 'can never slay His sons,' the Divinity Himself proclaims by His prophets that He will renounce the sonship of a sinner rather than abandon His own Sovereignty as the Eternal Righteousness; and that though judgment on a rebel is 'His strange work,' He will 'utterly destroy him.' 'The great day of His wrath will come'—'the wrath of the Lord God Almighty and the wrath of the Lamb.' '*It is a fearful thing* (φοβερόν) *to fall into the hands of the living God.*' 'I WILL KILL HER CHILDREN WITH DEATH: AND ALL THE CHURCHES SHALL KNOW THAT I AM HE THAT SEARCHETH THE REINS AND THE HEARTS.' 'The Lord thy God is a CONSUMING FIRE, even a jealous God. I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the earth, *ye shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall be utterly destroyed*' (Deut. iv. 24, 26). 'The *wrath of God abideth on*' the rebellious (John iii. 36, μένει). 'The Lord will not spare him, but the anger of the Lord shall smoke against that man, and every curse that is written in this book shall *lie upon him* (וְרָבְצָה בּוֹ, shall settle down on him, like a beast of prey on its victim), *and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven*' (Deut. xxix. 20 [19, Heb.]).

CHAPTER XXX.

MISSIONARY THEOLOGY: AN INQUIRY INTO THE INFLUENCE OF THIS THEODICY ON THE METHOD AND SPIRIT OF MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN.

In a recent work by one of the most able managers of modern missionary societies,* the author, desiring to stimulate the zeal of their supporters, asserts the present apathy of the religious world in England in relation to them, in comparison with the zeal of an earlier day. The author traces this comparative apathy in part to a disproportionate devotion to the prosecution of the Home Missions of Christianity,—an exclusiveness which robs foreign missions of their fitting share of attention and support. The larger part of the work is expended in setting forth the general social effects of Christianity in the East, and in presenting a vigorous picture of the results to be expected in the future from the gradual undermining of heathenism.

It is not necessary to question the position that the Churches of Europe devote the largest measure of attention to European objects. Men are naturally interested in the visible more than in the invisible—in England, which is seen, more than in India, which is unseen. The spiritual force which is required to sustain a deep and settled interest in the missions of the gospel is indeed far greater than is usually supposed. They make a larger demand upon the spiritual nature of man than any other form of human endeavour. To feel compassion for the souls of nations whom we have never beheld, from whom we are divided by the diameter of the globe, who are physically and morally our antipodes, and therefore with whose natural character we have the faintest sym-

* *London and Calcutta.* By Dr. Mullens.

pathy,—to expend thought, effort, and considerable property in furthering the interest of those unknown nations in a world which is still more completely invisible and unknown,—requires a depth of conviction, a strength of principle, an elevation of spirit, wholly foreign to human nature, and neither to be produced nor sustained except by the direct action of the Spirit of God.

The Power which alone can 'thrust forth' a true labourer into the harvest, alone can also create or uphold a corresponding spirit of faith and self-sacrifice in the people who send him forth. The missionary agency is the hand at the end of a long arm, extended by the Church at home. If that arm is paralysed at the shoulder, whence will come the force by which blows shall be struck at the ends of the earth? A decline of the spiritual life, therefore, in England, a decay of faith in things unseen, a loss of spiritual power through the advance of luxurious habits, would necessarily take the form first of a loss of interest in the unseen field of foreign missions—soon to be followed by a similar decay of interest in the evangelical work at home.

It is not the present intention, however, to prosecute this line of enquiry. We shall proceed on the contrary hypothesis, that the concern for the salvation of the heathen nations is as earnest and real as it ever was: and suggest a few considerations tending to explain the nature of those influences which have, notwithstanding, repressed of late years the exhibition of that enthusiasm for missionary societies in Christian communities.

In the first place, I venture to assign as one of these influences, *a growing scepticism as to the theory on which existing missions were established.*

In the apostolic age the doctrinal spirit and the missionary spirit were evolved by the Spirit of God in the Church with equal power, and they never ought to be separated. Each requires combination with the other. It has unhappily occurred several times since that each has been developed almost alone. In some ages a zeal for missions has been awakened apart from the spirit of doctrinal study, as in the second and third, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In other cases, the doctrinal spirit has been evolved without a corresponding activity leading to the diffusion of the gospel. At the close of the last century, when the Pro-

testant Missionary Societies arose amidst the hurricanes of the French Revolution, the spirit of theological study, of careful, honest, devout criticism, on which the faith ought to be founded, was as nearly as possible extinct in England. Perhaps it may be said that just at the very time when it became of more importance than ever that the church should take care what was to be taught as Christianity among all the nations of the world, the work of evangelising was commenced, as it had been in several similar preceding ages of activity in Christendom, in a spirit of unquestioning submission to the forms of thought stereotyped by previous generations. Never was any great enterprise begun with more simplicity of purpose, heroic faith, and devoted piety than the enterprise of the founders of the Protestant Missions at the close of the last century; and also, it must be added, never was any great enterprise begun with more implicit adhesion to the traditions of the fathers. There was scarcely one among the whole venerable company of persons engaged in that glorious undertaking who dreamed of doubting any of the doctrines stamped with the imprimatur of the Reformation. The powers of action awoke, as often before, in comparative isolation, but the zeal of truth-seeking still for the most part slumbered.

What has been the result of this phenomenon? Is it not this, that inasmuch as the theological spirit has since recovered its energy, and attention has been devoted once more to biblical criticism and doctrine, there is now a certain separation between the missions of Protestantism and some of the deeper convictions of religious Englishmen? The formal creed of the Missionary Societies represents the thinking of eighty years ago, when the Church accepted without question the traditions of Protestant theology handed down by the reformers of the different sects. But those societies are now surrounded by a generation which has lifted the anchors of its theology, and has drifted or sailed into other waters.

In some of the most important particulars of Christian faith, indeed, there is happily little change. The faith in a Divine Christ, in His Atonement for sin, in the Person and work of the Holy Spirit, in a gratuitous Justification, is at least professed now nearly as it was of old. But these doctrines were considered by the founders of missions as but a superstructure on a deeper

foundation. That foundation was an antecedent belief in the natural immortality of mankind, *and their consequent destiny either to endless misery or endless joy.* In the opinion of Dr. Carey, and those who first went with him to India, and of Xavier before them, every human being was an immortal, possessed of a soul as eternal in the future as the Nature of God. Every inhabitant of India was thus regarded as an indestructible life. Every unregenerate soul, descended from Adam, was born under the curse of endless woe through original sin, and was, by its own transgressions, sunk deeper in that direful destiny. Salvation could be effected only by the grace of God in regeneration. All the unregenerate of all ages were unsaved, and the unsaved of India, as of all lands, were destined to be delivered over, as Dr. Carey says in one of his letters, to 'endless misery.' To endless misery had departed all the unregenerate inhabitants of Asia during the ages of darkness preceding the advent of Dr. Carey to India. To endless misery were going all the millions who rejected his message, or refused to abandon their ancestral creeds. This is still the foundation of our Missionary Theology. This is still what may be called the state creed of the missionary societies, Roman and Protestant. No one is considered at liberty to deny it in a missionary speech or sermon. It is the basis of the Propaganda. It is the platform creed of Exeter Hall. The students at the Missionary Colleges are supposed to believe it. The missionaries abroad are supposed to believe it. No one who openly assailed it would be permitted to plead the cause of missions before the British or American people.

And yet—it is disbelieved in the English churches throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is doubted and denied with varying degrees of confidence even by many missionaries; but most of all by persons of accurate knowledge and spiritual intelligence. The denial is not confined to mockers or adversaries; but it is professed with more or less of openness by men whose knowledge gives the utmost weight to their judgment, and whose hard-working Christianity challenges comparison with that of any of the advocates of the older faith. One meets with a few earnest, and able, and unquestionably sincere controversial supporters of that elder belief. But no one who knows English religious society will deny that there has been a considerable

revolution in opinion as to the probable destiny of the ignorant idolatrous nations of the earth, and that it is the rarest event to find even an official of a Missionary Society, or the Tutor of a Missionary College, who will, when firmly pressed, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the opinions, on this question, of his founders.

Men, now-a-days, have their doubts, their special theories of relief, their vague hopes, or their positive doctrines. Either they hold that Scripture gives room for several opposite theories; or they lean to Universalism, and secretly teach men to trust in future purgatories; or they wholly repudiate and openly denounce and assail the old missionary doctrine, and believe that they who have 'sinned without law,' and led impenitent lives under heathen darkness, shall enjoy evangelisation in Hades; or, if they reject that, shall 'perish without law,' and die under the double curse of God; but it is simply a fact that opinion is changing here, and that the churches at home, acted upon by the revived spirit of doctrinal study, are silent where our fathers would have spoken, or doubt where they would have unhesitatingly followed the docrine of former ages, or boldly deny where they would have anathematised opposition. No one seems moved by the argument that such good men as their fathers were must have been right in all their doctrines. We know, for certain, that they were mistaken in many things which they firmly believed. The fact is that Nature, and Scripture, and human Life are better understood than they were eighty years ago, and the conviction is now widely spread that the notion of the unconditional consignment to everlasting woe of the countless multitudes of the heathen who have been born in error, bred in superstition, and abandoned to die either in total ignorance of the true gospel, or in rejection of a gospel message, but partly revealed to them, cannot possibly be true under the government of Perfect Justice, Boundless Wisdom, and Eternal Love.

The decline of interest in missionary societies is, therefore, partly to be attributed to an unconfessed modification of the faith on which they were founded. Men feel more coldly towards a system which sends out agents, whose training consists somewhat in persuading them *not to think* on the question of human destiny; and which discourages the expression of belief, whether

at home or abroad, in a sense more accordant with the thought of our generation. The persuasion is general that the missions of the gospel ought to represent the results of religious England's present convictions. It is felt that they do not thoroughly represent them,—that there ought to be more space allowed both at college and in the mission field, certainly for doubt, for undecided opinion, and even for open variation from the ancient creed,—that there ought to be liberty for Missionaries to express abroad, especially in their dealings with the educated men of India and China, ideas which are gaining ascendency over so many able minds at home. It is felt that the governing power of missions ought not to be *exclusively* in the hands of men who think on all subjects as their fathers did—or, worse still, in the hands of men who only pretend to think as they did. It is felt that Jesuitism among Protestants is just as demoralising as among Romanists; that what is needed in missionary work above all things, is, not concealment of opinion, not weak compliance with articles insisted on by the multitude, but earnest enlightened faith; a faith which believes, and therefore speaks; a faith which can blow beneath the walls of Jericho a 'dolorous and jarring blast,' before which the defences of heathenism might crumble to the ground. And until the realities of the future world occupy a far larger space in the thoughts of missionary societies, the feeling of English churches towards them is not likely to improve. But Heaven and Hell must be made to seem more real, and more near, before either the English senders of the gospel will entirely believe in them, or the heathen recipients repent at the message.

Another reason for the partial decline of interest in missionary societies will be found in the discouraging fewness of conversions among Mohammedans, Brahminists, and Buddhists, who compose the population of Asia. No considerable Protestant congregation of converted Moslems is known to exist anywhere on earth. The death-penalty for apostasy protects Islam from Christian conversion from pole to pole. In India and its adjuncts there are 270,000,000 of people,—in China 400,000,000 more. All the confessed *nominal* adherents to Christianity in India, after eighty years of labour, by thirty-one missionary societies, enjoying of late years strong Government support to their cause, are at this

moment not much over 300,000; the far larger proportion of these being persons of the lowest castes.

It is certain that the English public greatly errs if it attributes the fewness of avowed conversions to the lack of ability, zeal, or holy character in the general body of modern missionaries. The history of missions is the brightest, grandest page in the history of the modern world. There are no men or women living who better deserve the reverence of their contemporaries than the heralds of Christianity who have laboured in the present century. The faults which characterise them are generally our own—the faults of the churches who have sent them abroad as their representatives. Their quiet heroism, their learning, their devotion, their persistence under terrible discouragement, have been such as to deserve the lasting veneration of mankind. The qualifications which have received the testimony of Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere, in respect of the Indian detachment, dispense with further reply to the calumnies of sceptical criticism.

Failure is not the word which properly describes the result of their marvellous labours. It has not been failure in respect to the display of soldierly courage in every country under heaven. It has not been failure but signal success in respect to the apparatus for operating on mind, in the form of established stations, translated Bibles, and organised instruction, which has resulted from their efforts. It has not been failure perhaps in comparison with the spiritual results of evangelical missions at home. And it may be added that it has not been failure in respect of the lovely and noble types of character which have grown up under their fostering care.

Much less has there been failure, but victory, if we may take into account the indirect civilising influences which have accompanied the gospel; the gradual but almost universal extension of the dry-rot of disbelief in their own systems among the heathen, which must be set down in part to the disintegrating action of Christian ideas in Asiatic society. If Asia has not received the gospel during the last eighty years, it has, with the exception of the Wahabite revival among the Moslems, lost much of its faith in its own superstitions. Dr. Max Müller declares, perhaps with too much strength, that Hindooism is practically dead.

But to disbelieve in Buddhism, in Laoutzeism, in the Brah-

minist religion, as the result of wide education, is very far from the same thing with believing in Christ to salvation. And the general alienation of mind from Christian ideas, as represented to us in the strikingly faithful reports of the devoted missionaries, suggests reflections on the possibility that there *may* be 'some awful mistake somewhere,' as Mrs. Stowe expresses it,* in the quality of the message which we have commissioned them to deliver.† I do not for a moment believe that the missionaries are competent judges of their own success. We may reasonably hope that there are now tens of thousands of secret disciples in both India and China, and hundreds of thousands more of men and women saved by God's Spirit in their own twilight. Love often evangelises the heart when the doctrine fails to reach the enfeebled understanding. Christ our Lord alone possesses the true and full 'report' of the effect of modern evangelisation. 'We know but in part,' and probably the least part, of the operation of the Divine Word among men.‡

And yet, after every consolatory reflection, there remains the fact that apparently more than seven hundred millions

* See Mrs. Stowe's tale, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

† Take as an example a recent Report (1869) of the Baptist Mission. We may well trust men who do not scruple to record the saddest truths. The directors, speaking of the known results of gospel itinerancy in India, write as follows:—

'With regard to the immediate effect of these labours, it may be stated in the words of the missionaries themselves. Mr. R—— writes:—"*Of the visible result of these itinerancies there is little to be said.* In some places the message of the gospel has been gladly received; in some few instances we have hoped to see permanent results, but have generally been disappointed." Mr. E——, of Jessore, sums up the results of the daily visits of himself and preachers to the bazaars thus:—"Whilst *we lament the absence of manifested conversions to Christ*, we cannot doubt the leaven is at work; and our hope is that, by patient labour and prayerful waiting, the result will, perhaps ere long, be developed in a rapid increase of the Church in this district." Yet *it is seventy years since the gospel* was first introduced in Jessore by the Serampore brethren, and that with many encouraging tokens of success. "When you ask me," says Mr. E——, of Benares, "What is the result of all this preaching? *I should have to reply, apparently nothing! No one, so far as I am able to judge, has been impressed with the truth so as to justify me in regarding him as a sincere believer in Christ.*"'

‡ There has been a recent conversion of scores of thousands of the 'Babs' of Persia, quite unknown to the generality of English Christians.

of human beings in Eastern Asia are personally unaffected by Christianity; they put it from them as an incredible or an impracticable superstition of the West, and but for the mighty force of the Western States they would soon, unless Providence intervened, try to sweep it from their shores.

It is with moderate expectations that experience admonishes us to contemplate the beneficial results of theological reform, until the great practical hindrance of a corrupt European example is immensely diminished.

It is also with profound deference and self-distrust that any criticism should be ventured upon the gospel which the self-denying and learned missionary body is proclaiming to the pagan majority of mankind, with a courage and endurance which puts us all to shame; but the knowledge which I possess of the inmost sympathy of some of the ablest of themselves emboldens me to express an expectation that the alteration of some of the modes of stating Christianity abroad, which a similar change at home may naturally lead to, will be attended with happy results. Without undervaluing the successes of our contemporaries, it is impossible not to feel that there is *some* apparent deficiency in the power of modern Christianity. There is a want of definite force on the side of judgment; a judgment which shall be at once so credible, yet so overpowering, as to compel the attention of worldly Europeans and languid Asiatics. There is also a lack of vital joyfulness in the modern gospel itself, which renders it weaker than it should be before the fatalism, the pantheism, and the cruel idolatries of the East. Once the gospel had miraculous aids. Afterwards, Roman Christianity brought limitless and remorseless terror to support it. In our time the faith is honeycombed by a profound scepticism, and its terror is reduced to the dubious form of a hell 'without fire,' or an endless torment of which it is thought wiser by many to keep silence altogether before the heathen.

It is not unlikely that some missionary readers will reply to the preceding argument, that it is unwise to press on the attention of the heathen the doctrine of punishment, as a prominent feature of Christianity, and that the main purpose and aim of missions is to unfold the tidings of redeeming mercy. But still

the question will recur, Redemption *from what?* If the New Testament is to be the model of preaching abroad as well as at home, the glad tidings were preceded by a 'ministry of condemnation;' and were accompanied by threatenings of 'hell-fire' from the lips of both Christ and the Apostles, for all who rejected the message; no difference being made in this respect between Jew or Gentile, Greek or Barbarian. The question is, *What is the Hell* of which the New Testament speaks with such alarming persistency? Certainly, whatever it is, it is not one which the missionaries have received any commission not to 'dwell upon.' It is no answer to this—to say that 'the Judge of all the earth will do right.' We acknowledge that to the full. But some doctrine of terror is part of Christianity, and that which we are asking is—has the Judge of all the earth revealed to mankind what the founders of missions thought that He had, respecting the prospect of 'endless misery'? When that question has been discussed without result, or decided out of the Scripture, it will be time to cite Abraham's expression of affiance as an end of controversy—and not before.

Under present conditions the natural force of the gospel is abated. It does not take hold of the moral understanding of Asia. Some converts undoubtedly are persuaded, but the masses are neither convinced, nor alarmed, nor won by a 'love that passeth knowledge.' '*Where is the Arm that smote Rahab?*' Where is the force of truth and grace that smote the philosophies and idolatries of the Mediterranean in the apostolic age, and shook like an earthquake the whole of Roman Europe and Asia in a single generation? Let it not be said it was the stress of miracles that then availed. Miracles exerted an inconsiderable influence, in comparison with a truth which inspired an overpowering energy of faith, a grace that commended itself to all affections, and an announcement of approaching doom which struck like a blazing thunderbolt from the uplifted hand of the Almighty.

Is it not that we are propagating both abroad and at home a Christianity which is half paralysed in its two chief forces of hope and fear through the perversions of an unbiblical theology? We fail in thoroughly presenting God's love to the nations,—a love strong enough to melt even Chinese arrogance, and to

develop the belief of a real and personal God among Chinese Buddhists,—because we have encumbered Christianity with a doctrine of hell, so unjust, so indiscriminate, so hardening in its frightful propositions, that men's consciences refuse to receive it. Our missionary theology cannot 'commend itself to every man's conscience,' because every man's conscience, whether in Europe or Asia, in proportion as it is enlightened, rejects it with horror.

This is, I venture to think, one reason for the general rejection of the gospel by the Brahminists, Buddhists, and Confucianists of the East. God's love is hidden from them, and they 'turn away sorrowful' from so direful a Christianity. Now, whatever the better sort of thinking men of any nation generally reject will not be long or widely received by the uneducated. The stout English artisans disbelieve it already, because men of education are rejecting it first. No evangelical 'revival,' conducted on the present theological basis, will effectually reach either the artisans or the more cultivated classes.

Public opinion, then, on the reasons of the wide rejection of Christianity in Asia has begun to form itself under certain influences in addition to those of our valuable missionary reports and speeches. These naturally supply us with but a portion of the truth. We are beginning to learn, not only what the missionaries think of the learned and able men of India and China, but what the learned men of India and China think of some things taught by the missionaries. We are learning to exercise imagination upon the evangelical enterprise, and to understand better in what light it presents itself to the 'natives' whose religion it assails.*

For example, it is now comprehended that the presence of our European apostles in the ports of China, bringing with them the 'good news' of Xavier and Dr. Carey, that the former inhabitants of that populous country who have been atheists or idolaters (that is, a very large proportion of the population of the globe during many ages), and who have died in an unregenerate condition, have gone, notwithstanding their ignorance, to *endless*

* See *The Modern Buddhist*, or the views of a Siamese Minister of State (Klalahom) on his own and other religions of the East, including Christianity. Trübner, 1870.

misery, in some of its many degrees,—it is now comprehended that such a 'gospel' strikes the educated men in China precisely as a similar message would strike the learned men of our Universities, if brought to England after ages of heathenism by a handful of Chinese missionaries, landing in the ports of London and Liverpool. We now understand that, if it would be highly improbable that our educated classes would listen to so horrible a proclamation, or recognise in it the voice of a Just and Beneficent Deity, so it is equally improbable that it will appear divine when taught by our emissaries at Pekin or Ningpo.* And thus we come to comprehend some of the reasons why, after eighty years of missionary labour among them, the learned and unlearned men alike of India and China are as far as ever from embracing Christianity. Chinese clergymen with a similar doctrine at London or Liverpool could scarcely hope for greater success among ourselves by eighty years of persevering preaching and tract distribution. Men do not 'change their gods' except for better ones.†

* We are informed in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for May, 1875, p. 136, that a common effect of education on the minds of the young men of India, trained in Government colleges, is to make them 'deists and infidels,' in relation to Christianity. Such men now swarm through Hindostan. This is not wonderful, considering what the theology is which in India represents 'Christianity.' *We* should mostly become 'deists and infidels' if the Hindoos were to land in England with a similar message.

† I cannot but think that the mode of presenting Christianity—which we advocate as apostolic and Divine—as a message conferring eternal life as a donation upon dying men, is not only fitted to assist the faith of European minds deprived of their old hopes and fears by recent scientific conclusions, but also probably of the countless millions of Buddhists throughout India, Siam, Japan, and China. In those lands the loss of individual being, *nirvana*, has, under the inspiration of demons, become the final expectation of the human race. Will it not give to the joyful voice of Christianity a new energy, when it has learned to proclaim through Christ the promise of individual life in conscious union with Deity, as the eternal blessedness of the righteous? You will never succeed in persuading the 480,000,000 Buddhists that man already possesses by nature an indissoluble soul; for it is the first principle of the Buddhist that the soul can be dissolved; and his second that separate existence is so miserable, that the highest object of hope is to lose individual being, and to be absorbed in the all. But a better result will probably follow if you teach him that the Eternal Essence has spoken to mankind, and has declared, in a loving message to all men, that it is sin which renders separate existence a curse; that

But the predominant system of teaching in heathendom fails also, I venture to think, in another department—through withholding the influence of a truth favourable to the production alike of hope and of fear. Not only does the Retribution preached at home and abroad fail, by its unscriptural representations, to awaken terror in the educated classes, since whatever you exaggerate you weaken; but it is nearly everywhere the custom with missionary societies to send out teachers opposed to the belief of *Christ's Advent to judge the nations, as the next great event in the history of world.*

The plain doctrine of S. Paul, in the second letter to the Thessalonians, that the personal advent of Christ will occur *for the purpose of destroying 'the Man of Sin';*—the doctrine of the prophet Daniel, that the 'Son of Man will come in the clouds of heaven' for the destruction of the 'fourth kingdom,' and of that 'horn that has eyes, and a mouth speaking marvellous things;' —the doctrine that Christ Himself will come to punish 'with flaming fire' an antichristian clergy that has perverted Revelation until men can no longer believe in it, and to judge nations that persist in Idolatry after due summons to repentance;—this doctrine of Christ's ever-impending Advent, under the influence of which the gospel was spread in the first century, is denied by the missionary societies and the generality of their agents. Here is a present loss, and possible recovery of power, which may be readily appreciated. In this department of exegesis, as in so many others, God is supposed to be glorified by resolving all His promises into metaphorical unrealities.

Let the Gospel be preached in India and China as the message of Life to the dead, as the gift of Immortality in body and soul, to a race sitting in the death-shade of atheism; let it be preached as the message of a God who is intelligibly beneficent, but intelligibly and justly 'terrible' to wicked men; let it be proclaimed that the times of pagan ignorance this righteous Judge 'overlooked,' but now, on peril of the 'greater condemnation,' commands

that curse is removed by the Incarnate Son of God; that everlasting life is given to us in Christ; and that, therefore, *nirvana* needs no longer be sought as a boon. Life in God's image is endless life and endless joy; and consciousness needs no longer sigh for annihilation of being.

all men everywhere to repent; let the words of the apocalyptic angel become the topic of the missionary, 'Fear GOD, and give glory to Him! *for the hour of His judgment is come!*'—and one cannot but believe that a new power might attend in the East, as in the West, the diffusion of Christianity.

There is something so heart-striking, so fitted to compel attention, in the apostolic warning of Christ's imminent return to destroy obstinate and obscene worshippers of idols, to avenge the perversion of the truth in Christendom, to raise in glory the sleeping saints, and to establish Heaven's kingdom on earth,—that even languid India must lift her head to listen, and haughty philosophic China hearken awe-struck to the trumpet-blast. Christianity is a power which is designed to act on men from before as well as from behind, through the expectation of coming events, as well as through the study of facts accomplished. It is a prophecy and a mighty world-embracing drama, as well as a history. But under the prevailing system of teaching it is a gospel without the vivid hope of that Advent of Christ to crown His followers, the prospect of which, at the beginning, filled and reddened like a dawn of glory all the eastern sky. The whole body of prophecy is now supposed to prove only when interpreted with due caution, that 'the Lord delayeth His coming,' that wisdom consists in proclaiming the doctrine of the 'evil servant,' and in relegating the expectation of the Lord's return to a generation that shall live at the end of the Millennium!

Vain, then, at present are all such warnings as '*Behold He cometh in clouds, and every eye shall see Him;*'—for it is well understood that such an expectation of the Lord is peculiar to 'weaker brethren,' or to 'servile literalists,' or to spirits in which fancy takes the place of faith. Thus it has come to pass that Christ's advent is banished from the thoughts of nearly the whole body of the ministers of Christ around the globe. To them 'far off His coming shines' as a dim nebula in the firmament of the future. Who, then, can wonder that a Christianity so diminished in its forces both to win and to appal, so pale and so colourless, naturally maintains a doubtful fight with the stiff-necked pagans of Asia? Is there not required a doctrine that commends itself more cogently to the reason and to the conscience of men, of the teachers as well as the taught, to their imagination not less

than to their affections,—a love so real, so tender and intelligible —a terror so soul-subduing, so near at hand, and so appreciably just,—as to shake if it cannot vanquish the stoutest resistance of the heathen ;—a hope of speedy victory to the Church, sufficient to restore the death-daring energies of the first century, and a courage founded on overpowering conviction which would engage in closer conflict with Eastern Buddhism, and the stolid positivism of Confucius? That 'throneless king,' as the Chinese call him, would soon, I trust in God, lose much of his opposing power, before a Saviour preached as if He were the very JESUS of the gospels, 'coming again quickly' to be the Lord of the world.

I know these are unwelcome, and must seem to some presumptuous words ; but, with an earnestness which neutralises the remembrance of personal insignificance, I implore my fellow-Christians at home to reconsider in the light of Sacred Scripture the theological basis of the missionary enterprise. I adjure, before Christ our Lord, the directors of the missionary societies not to multiply the number of those who carry out to the heathen a doctrine which they do not, and dare not, proclaim to the cultured people either of Hindostan or of England.

And finally, if by Divine Providence one voice could reach so far, I would most reverently call upon every honoured missionary of the gospel around the globe to bend his mind, if he have failed so to do hitherto, to the consideration of that doctrine of Eternal Life in Jesus Christ which now seems to so many students to be the designed sense of S. John's gospel, and S. Paul's epistles ;— and next, to the prophetic promise of Christ's Advent, to judge the nations,—which may be held without the weak additions of millenarian fancy,—which has won the conviction in modern times of a Mede, a Bengel, a Stier, a Lange, an Olshausen, an Auberlen, an Alford, and a thousand others,—and was unquestionably the belief of the apostles' followers in the first ages of the Christian Revelation.*

The following passage is from a letter by Mr. Hobbs, an able and respected missionary of Sewry in India in the present year :—

* See this strongly asserted and proved by Professor Lightfoot on *Supernatural Religion. Contemporary Review.* August, 1875.

'I have not been forgetful of my standing obligation to diffuse as widely as possible a knowledge of the special truth so tersely expressed by Paul—"The wages of sin is *death*, but the *gift* of God is *eternal life*, *through Jesus Christ* our Lord."

'I regard this doctrine as being the backbone of Christianity—that which gives to God's unparalleled expression of love to fallen men both its symmetry and its intelligibility.

'From Sept. 15th to March 31st, not less than ten thousand persons have heard from my lips, and from the lips of the native brethren associated with me, what we believe to be the truth as it is in Jesus.

'And here I desire to note a fact which I think worth recording. Years ago, and before God had brought me to receive Scripture teaching as I now receive it, I was often sorely pressed in argument by these men of brains around me (especially those known as Brahmists) in relation to the *Christian doctrine* of unending suffering; in vindication of which dogma I was necessitated to resort to a species of argument which I felt to be as sophistical to my own mind as it was evidently unsatisfactory to my questioners. I have now, however, to bear testimony to quite a new and different kind of experience. Cavilling Hindoos still ask me the same sort of questions concerning the nature and extent of God's vengeance; the triumph-twinkle in their eyes indicating that they have anticipated my answer, and are only politely waiting to hear my words confirm their anticipation before launching out into a strain of cutting satire, or assumed virtuous indignation at Christians attributing such a character to God. Their pent-up eloquence, however, rarely finds its desired vent. A minute or two spent in repudiating the doctrine as it is usually presented, and five minutes more in laying bare to view the essence of Christianity as set forth by the Lord Jesus Himself (see John iii. 16, 36), gives to the whole matter such a reasonable and unobjectionable aspect, that in the vast majority of cases it leaves neither room nor desire for protracted discussion.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIANITY, AS HERE PRESENTED, ON PREVAILING ATHEISTIC AND DEISTIC SCEPTICISMS.

'The gospel saves by the revelation which it makes of the heart and mind of God, by teaching us to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. Now, many preachers of the Gospel declare that God will keep multitudes of His own creatures alives *to all eternity* for the sole purpose of torturing them, knowing perfectly well all the time that it can never do them one particle of good. Is the representation which this gives of the character of God to be accepted without discussion? Is it more "injurious" for men to try and force themselves to love such a God if they can, and, if they cannot, to be driven into infidelity, or for them to inquire whether there may not be some mistake in the common interpretation of the four or five passages that are thought to attribute such an intention to the Creator?'—REV. S. MINTON, M.A.

THOSE whose professions enable them to acquire ample information on the state of opinion in Europe are unanimous in affirming the existence of a wide-spread unsettlement of the very foundations of religious belief. Canon Liddon says, 'Never since the first ages of the gospel was fundamental Christian truth denied and denounced so largely, and with such passionate animosity, as is the case at this moment in each of the most civilised nations.'

It is declared by those who best know *Northern Germany* that the middle and a large portion of the lower classes are estranged from the religion of their ancestors. Public opinion denies miracles and the interference of Heaven with the course of events, encouraged by the attitude of many of the leaders of study. Men who have had a university education scarcely dare go to church in some towns, lest they be taken for hypocrites or sentimental enthusiasts. In *France* the state of opinion among the male portion of the population is sufficiently notorious. The nation as

a whole, just in proportion to the education of its provinces, has ceased to believe in Christianity. The *Bon Dieu*, always a shadow in Roman Catholic countries, has quite vanished out of their daily thoughts, and is regarded only as a mythological character by the typical Frenchman of to-day.

Even in our religious *England* popular opinion, in its slow and heavy way, is moving partly in the same direction. The scientific and literary classes are to a great extent alienated from the theological life of the people. Every increase of acquaintance with interior opinion reveals the growing influence of the agnostic leaders of the time. The unbelief of large numbers is scarcely veiled by the thin disguise of courteous silence, or seeming complicity with a revived mediævalism. The 'praying sister' is, in accordance with the Laureate's advice, permitted to enjoy 'her early heaven, her happy views,' but the younger men of the clubs, and much more the men of culture and science, in growing numbers, reject the gospel as an oppressive delusion.

The scepticism of the time is indeed held in check by the solid faith of the major part of the middle and humbler classes, and is fairly tolerant towards believers; but it is deep-seated, resolved, and thorough-going, and not seldom secretly bitter and contemptuous. Several of the prominent English periodicals, as, for example, the *Westminster* and *Fortnightly Reviews*, now openly allow fiercely atheistic articles to appear in their pages. The science of Christian Apologetics meanwhile preserves a prudent, or a necessary, silence on the objections which chiefly occasion the prevailing doubt. The reputed character of God—the real stumbling-block of modern scepticism—is seldom approached. Hence apologetic literature is more successful in exposing the weakness of its adversaries than in persuading them to 'repent and believe the gospel.' It avails nothing to stay the popular relapse into pantheism; for this is the chief characteristic of the momentous revolution, that the current of thought rushes logically over that Niagara. The opinion of Mr. J. Stuart Mill (as delivered in his Essay on *Nature*) is spreading rapidly,—that on one side it is difficult to establish the proof of any morally intelligible God from physical nature alone; and, on the other, that so monstrous a Being as the

God of the old European theology is a chimera of disordered imaginations. On the continent Atheism, stark and sturdy, has of late made astonishing advances among men of scientific culture: an atheism based first of all on a revolt against the infinitely unjust and cruel Deity of old Christendom; and secondly, on an honest inability to discern any tolerable or attractive Divinity in the sphere of the world's government under natural law.

When such is the style of thought among men of education; when numbers are protected against similar views only by their incapacity to understand the atheism of their betters; it is scarcely to be wondered at that many of the working classes, always more resolute in opinion than the money-making *bourgeoisie*, should imitate the atheology of the scientific luminaries whom they admire without entirely comprehending. Europe is on the high road at length to an uncompromising popular Sadduceeism, against which the Christian churches as organisations will be almost powerless, and under whose reign not only religion will suffer, but the higher morality which derives its practical sanctions from heaven. The Protestant churches have lost much of their ancient interest in theology; they are honeycombed with doubt, yet are contented, under the guidance of clerical leaders not too spiritual, to continue the old professions, to repeat the old watchwords, so as to provoke observers outside to question whether they believe anything in the same sense as the ancients did.

It happens that I write these closing pages in that Great City which, since it ceased to trample down the earth by force, has governed it chiefly by genius, by fraud, and by beauty; and still stands as the ancient centre of the religious life of Christendom. Around on every side are typical forms of the influences which are working desolation in Europe. Aloft towers the great historical Church—still overpowering the imagination of mankind by its marvels of architecture and of art; revolting their reason and conscience by its representations of the Omnipotent Enemy, whom it dares to denominate GOD; while it exposes Him to ridicule as pacified by the interventions of S. Peter and of the Madonna, and pleased with the pueri-

lities of the catholic ceremonial. There are four hundred churches in Rome and its environs; but of what religion are the twenty-seven millions of Italians? With the fewest exceptions the educated and richer classes are fast relapsing into the fashionable indifference. The population has forsaken the churches, for their thoughts are there no longer. They stand around Garibaldi, the impassioned patriotic pantheist,* and see with delight the Italian Government confiscating the rich heritage of the Church, while devoting its plundered wealth to the armaments of war, and to secular education. Perhaps there is not a more thoroughly secularised population in Europe than the inhabitants of this 'holy city,' the Mecca of the West.

There are happily many promising movements in Italy itself; but what are the measures of the Reformed Churches in the capital for reviving the decayed faith of this nation, driven at length into scepticism by its ancient superstitions? To reproduce, in the front of the Vatican, the absurd divisions of England, Germany, and America! Here, where, if anywhere, it was essential that the majesty of original Christianity should be set forth, like a new sunrise, to dispel the darkness of eternal death, are the old sects, come together to repeat the ancient mistakes, and to persevere in the general fixed agreement not to allow a word to be spoken which might tend to shake the theological interests which they represent.

And Rome well represents Europe. The religious public persuades itself that faith is extending on all sides. This may be true of a few favoured spots; but at least there is a world around the churches of Europe of which ordinary Christians know little,—and that world is divided from theirs by an impassable chasm of secularist thought and passion. An odious superstition based on authority—a contemptuous unbelief—and a half-reformed protestantism,—these are the three elements which divide and govern, for the most part, European society; and between them the world as a whole is losing its faith in God and in a life to come.

It may indeed be but a fresh example of the hopefulness of speculation to suggest the expectation of advantage from the

* See his letter to the devout theist Mazzini on his death-bed.

modification of theological belief. Experience certainly does not sanction any sanguine anticipations. The human nature which has once corrupted pure Christianity is equal to a sustained resistance to pure Christianity if it could be presented again. Neither does a change in theory carry with it any other than an indirect influence upon thought and life. Very numerous are the limitations under which benefits can be looked for from revolutions in theology; and carefully weighed should be the words in which we venture to indulge the hope that the cause of Christianity as a whole will gain by the adoption of new or newly-revived ideas.

Nevertheless there is a time for all things: there is a Providence over the world of thought; and after much battling between extreme views the world makes decisive progress in the knowledge both of nature and of God. The writer must incur the risks of criticism in humbly stating his belief that the leading ideas maintained in this volume for the fiftieth time in European history have a special value in the present condition of European opinion. A judgment on the effect of the proposed modification of belief, formed after many years experience of its influence in individual cases both on the side of superstition and scepticism, encourages the expectation that similarly beneficial results might after a time be anticipated on a larger scale, if the work of representing these ideas should fall into abler hands, and be commended to general notice by spiritual men. It is conceived that the views of the Christian Revelation reproduced from antiquity in these pages might at least in many cases be well fitted (1) to offer an effective resistance to the Atheistic tendencies of this age, and (2) to reclaim to evangelical faith numbers who have been shocked and provoked into various forms of Deism by the monstrous exaggerations of mediæval theology, and the conventional life of the modern churches. The candid reader will not quarrel with a hope so diffidently entertained and so cautiously expressed.

I.

Those who have followed even slightly the biological studies of recent years can scarcely failed to have observe the animated

hostility exhibited in the leading scientific works of the period to the idea of a God who is a Living Personality. There is no theory of generation so far-fetched as not to obtain a respectful preference in the minds of many of the foremost naturalists of Germany, France, and England, before the idea of a Creating and Governing Father of all.* Even such conspicuously able men as Professors Helmholtz, Haeckel, and Huxley—men of lofty genius, and far from a disposition towards moral atheism —prefer to account, with Diderot, for the structure of the eye-system in living creatures by referring solely to a *nisus* in nature, rather than by open reference to One Eternal Power who 'formed' it,—who could 'see,' before all worlds, and beyond them. Notwithstanding the converging evidence of the Metaphysical, the Teleological, the Æsthetic, the Moral, the Historical, and the Supernatural arguments for the existence of God, we are taught on every side that apparent design is the subjective illusion of the thinker, not the testimony of nature to her Maker. We are forbidden to trace in adaptation, proportion, or number, or in provision against future need, the marks of Intelligence, on pain of severe reprehension from these formidable adversaries of final causes. For it is held, against a world of physical and spiritual evidences forcing the conviction of a Personal God upon ordinary minds, that nature is self-developing, that the heavens do not 'declare the glory' of any Power beyond their own, and that it is the wise man, not the fool, who now asserts our necessary ignorance of an Eternal Cause.†

Is it not strange that the very philosophers who so clearly discern the marks of design—marks of intelligence working towards an end, in the chipped flint arrowheads and hammers from the drift, and who pronounce so decisively on the defective sense of those who fail, after five seconds of inspection, to perceive that all such chippings were the work of purpose and skill,—can

* The *Westminster Review*, for July 1875, has an article on *Evidences of Design*, curiously illustrative of the antipathy of second-rate physiologists to unseen Intelligence.

† One of the most interesting brochures lately published bearing on this subject is by the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M.A. : *Number, a link between Divine Intelligence and Human.*—Longmans, 1875.

look upon this great universe of earth and heaven, and declare that the ten thousand facets of this mighty crystal are probably the work of unintelligent forces?

Let us suppose that in our time the Matterhorn, or lovely Jungfrau, had been found on all its flanks to be covered with a city of cottages and houses, suited to the succession of climates occurring, from the icy summits down to the temperate region of the rhododendrons; and that these structures all bore traces of one internal useful plan, varied according to the heights of the mountain, or the special conformation of the rocks at each point of the ascent. Who would dream of accounting for their existence, their general plan, or their special adaptation to climate, position, slope, steepness, or prospect, by the theory that the first cottages at the top were created by stones shot down from the decaying rocks at the pinnacle; and that all the myriads of houses below *grew out* of the earliest chalets; and that from infinite numbers of stone-avalanches, supplying material, the fittest forms of habitation survived, and adapted themselves to the nooks, or crevices, or platforms, or slopes, of the ice or granite inclinations? Yet this would be a probable result from such a cause, in comparison with the development and growth of the vast system of life, including the flora and fauna of all levels, out of the dead elements of atheistic physiology. And the attempt to escape from the evidence of Intelligence, exhibited in the similar but varied internal construction of such a mountain-side of *houses*, by the supposition that avalanches were sufficient architectural causes, would be reasonable in comparison with the idea that 'this universal frame of Nature is without a Mind.'

To what origin, then, must we attribute the prevailing fanatical opposition to the common arguments for the existence of the Living God, and these painful endeavours to displace the doctrine of final causes, in favour of theories of evolution, which it is hoped may blot out of the world the very idea of a Creator? Is this direful conflict even with the idea of a Heavenly Father to be attributed to the gratuitous wickedness of the scientific men of this generation, who, 'professing themselves to be wise, have become fools'? I think not wholly. Rather the modern war of 'culture' against a personal Deity, and the persistent attempt to

evade any recognition of Mind above force and form, is to be attributed in part to a sound moral reaction against the perverse theisms of past ages. Manifestly it is the mistaken apprehension —that any Intelligent and Governing God, who might be discovered to exist, must be admitted to be the God whom anti-Christian and Mohammedan theology has described under so fearful an aspect—which tempts many noble minds forward into atheistic speculation, as the only secure refuge against the sacerdotal ideas which threaten them.

If the Intelligence which Nature dimly reveals were conceived of as the Deity whom our hearts exultingly acknowledge when we embrace a more literal interpretation of the Christian record, assuredly the strength of the atheistic prejudice would be sensibly abated. Men fear that if but a single window be opened into a world of mind, in at that aperture will glare the frightful blaze of the Divinity of Rome and Geneva, under whose terrors so many generations of our ancestors have groaned and died. And therefore they resolve *à priori* to shut out if possible the very conception of a Universal Mind.

The intellect is much influenced in its apprehension of evidence by its anticipation of the conclusion to be reached by the argument. If God be thought of as an unintelligible Power of darkness, who is capable of tormenting 'non-elect' creatures throughout eternity, who can wonder if thinking men endeavour to nullify the evidence of His Being and agency? But let it be seen beforehand that the God in whom Christians believe, while acting in the moral sphere with that severe eternal love of law which nature itself reveals, is yet appreciably good and discriminating even in His righteous judgments, and men will more willingly trace His presence and handiwork in the physical universe. The God who both hides and reveals Himself in nature will be sought for with more trustful footsteps when the search is no longer harassed by the dread of finding a Being who paralyses by His infinite terrors all the loftier aspirations of the soul. It is not punishment of the most destructive nature which causes unbelief—but the idea of an *infinite* and endless infliction.

The conceptions of God long prevailing in Christendom have been such as to render atheism in its various forms a tempting refuge from the haunting spectres of superstition. The minds of

men have been overshadowed by ideas of Deity which revolt the soul precisely in proportion to its general intelligence and morality. The atheism of Europe has become almost a necessary solvent to eat out the *mythology* with which men's minds have been filled for centuries—('*They shall turn aside unto μύθους, fables*,' 2 Tim. iv. 4),—and so to make room for a true conception of the God of Nature and Revelation, at once the terrible Destroyer of sinful beings, and the glorious Life-giver. But the God of orthodox Romanism is a being surpassingly evil. Occupied from eternal ages in revolving the plan of the creation, He has at last brought mankind into existence under the inherited curse of original sin, native immortality, and endless suffering, as the consequence of Adam's transgression; and, though interposing to save some from the everlasting flames, has abandoned the vast majority to a pagan ignorance which ensures (as S. Francis Xavier assured his catechumens) the doom of 'endless misery.' This Being is represented as pacified towards His elect by the sacrifice of His innocent Son; while nevertheless His favour is to be still sought chiefly through the intercessions of Mary and other earth-born mediators—in a worship which is fatal in most cases to the spiritual aspirations of the soul.

Was there ever a combination of ideas more immoral, more fitted to provoke men to atheistic reaction? Such has been its effect everywhere in Europe. Except the Roman clergy (whose early emasculation, and training in the sacrifice of personal conviction, gradually qualify them for every enormity of opinion) and their feminine *entourage*, it could scarcely be anticipated that persons of average sense or sensibility would long endure the burden. The progress of knowledge has, with rare exceptions, been co-extensive with scepticism in Catholic countries, and the issue has usually been, as in Rome itself, in pantheistic or atheistic conclusions. But, indeed, a Spinoza, a Hume, and a Spencer, are everywhere the inevitable counterparts of a Bellarmine, a Baronius, and a Bilio.

Surely it is something more than a hopeful speculation that when a brighter representation of the living God of Christianity dawns, like a gladdening sunrise, on the scientific world; when it is understood that Redemption, which so many centuries have celebrated, has in truth been nothing less than a movement of

the Being who is Eternal to bless with Immortality in His own image the ephemeron 'who is of a few days and full of trouble;' a new spirit may enter into many of the minds which devote themselves to the investigation of nature. The chief intellectual temptation to atheism will have been taken away. The Eternal Severity and Righteousness, limited in all its actions by consideration for the frailty of the creature,—and the Eternal Love bringing ultimate good out of earlier forms of evil and imperfection, and commending itself as a reality to every man's conscience,—may win God-ward many of the explorers of the material world; as when that self-sustaining Flame, the symbol of the Self-existent Being, allured in a voice of soft thunder the shepherd of Midian, who found in the investigation of a natural phenomenon the revelation of an Essence Divine. It is a consciousness of divine Love breathing around, a sense, amidst all mysteries, of intelligible justice and goodness, which alone can awaken the belief of a Divine Personality in atheistic souls; and this is precisely the effect of Christ's ministry among men, when He makes Himself known as THE LIFE OF THE WORLD, and the final Arbiter of its destinies.

II.

The effect of the preceding argument on Deistical objections to the Miraculous History of Scripture.

It is not only in the redemption of some minds from atheism that favourable results may be augured from preceding representations. The doctrine of Immortality conferred through the Incarnation seems likely to operate also a change of opinion in many thoughtful souls who at present are simply Theists, and base their opposition to Christianity on its miraculous character.

It is held by large numbers to form an insuperable objection to the Scriptural doctrine, that it comes professing to be a supernatural and thaumaturgic revelation. It is said that if the communication had been really divine it would have approached mankind on the level of known law, and as a part of the established order of nature. Men would easily believe a religion which was natural, but not one which is self-condemned, by claim-

ing to operate in the sphere, and to support itself by the evidence, of marvels and improbabilities. If Christianity were true, why could it not dawn on the world, like sunlight, in the course of nature? Why must men's minds be tormented by a challenge to believe in infractions of the laws of the universe, which offer violence to every dictate of experience and reason?

It is added, that a miraculous revelation carries with it the certainty of its own rejection by all who only *hear* of its pretensions. Miracles which men see might, indeed, convey overpowering conviction to the spectators. But miracles which are simply heard of are provocatives to incredulity. Miracles to those who behold them may be decisive evidence of a revelation. But to those who are only hearers of a report concerning them they are necessarily the chief hindrances to faith. A claim to miraculous character is the passport to oblivion for any religion just in proportion as men are acquainted with the steadfast order of nature. Reported miracles cannot stand for evidence. They require evidence for themselves. It is thus that some even of the foremost physical philosophers of our time arraign and condemn Christianity.

An effective and conciliatory reply is given to such objectors by this theodicy.

Christianity comes into the world, and urges its claims upon mankind, not as a theory, or a philosophy, but as a practical remedy for the two great evils which degrade and oppress us. These are Sin and Death. Christ appears as the Son of God, commissioned by the Father of Heaven, to 'make an end of sins,' and to 'abolish death' by inspiring us with the spirit of immortality in soul and body.

Neither of these works could from their nature possibly be works of law. They must be operations of God above law, and beyond nature. Sin is law-breaking, and the remedy for law-breaking, if it be by forgiveness, must be found in prerogative, and not in a legal process. Pardon and renewal of the Divine likeness, if bestowed, must be supra-legal and supernatural. In the same way, to abolish death and to confer immortality on a dying offender, is a work of God essentially above nature and the regular order of the world.

Accordingly everything in Christianity bears the stamp of the miraculous; because its aims are supernatural. It is an exercise of prerogative and redeeming grace. Salvation, therefore, is accomplished by a Power above nature, a Personal Saviour who is Divine. Everything pertaining to His Personality as the Life-giver is supernatural. His coming was heralded by a series of preternatural dispensations, in the patriarchal and Jewish economies. His birth of a Virgin was a miracle. His works of mercy were beyond the powers of nature. His resurrection was a miracle. His ascension to heaven was an act above the laws of heaven and earth, as shall be His second coming in the glory of the Father. He was 'God manifest in the flesh.'

Every procedure in the application of redemption is supernatural or miraculous also. Christians are 'begotten again' in the image of God's holiness and immortality by a special action of 'the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' They are afterwards 'kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.' Their spirits in death are 'caught up into Paradise' by a miraculous act of God, to be 'present with the Lord' until the second advent. Their bodies shall be 'raised from the dead' in eternal glory, by an act of supernatural power. The whole eternal life to follow will be a result not of primeval law but of supervenient grace—not of natural development or of the original law of continuity, but of special mercy and abnormal compassion.

Can it, then, be thought incredible,—since the very essence of Christianity is thus in its spiritual quality and physical aims a work not of law but of pardon, from its beginning to its end a miracle of new creation,—if the evidence of its truth be miraculous also? What we term the miracles of the Scripture history are but the bright cloud overshadowing that Saviour who is Himself 'the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Mighty God,' and whose work transcends all that Nature can know. '*Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.*'

Thus the doctrine of the Bible and its recorded miracles seem to constitute a living and coherent unity. All is in keeping. The doctrine illuminates the miracles. The miracles only express and commend the essential doctrine. It is God acting, no longer according to the course of law, which for man would have issued

in absolute death, but remedially above law, in a 'grace' which literally saves us from death. Christ gives eyes to the blind, hearing to the deaf, health to the diseased, speech to the dumb, and life to the dead. He breaks the prison of the tomb. But all these works of power represent the greater marvels through which He works from age to age to heal the diseases of the soul as He will finally raise in immortal glory those who believe in Him.

Against a representation of Christ's mission so fruitful as this, so conformable to the facts of man's condition, an ingenuous scepticism will have little to allege. The incredibility of such a revelation from God to man will be measured by men's ideas of the Infinite Compassion. If the Eternal Cause is good as well as powerful, it is not improbable that He may have vouchsafed a message of pardon and eternal life to man, the 'paragon of nature.' But according to the measure of that probability miracles are probable, in the great supernatural work of counteracting sin and death.*

* If it be objected here that we represent the security of our eternal life as guaranteed by a Book, to be ascertained only by criticism of that Book, and as reaching no further than such dubious criticism can carry us, so that if the Bible were lost our hope of Immortality would be lost with it, it may be replied that as a matter of fact the Bible has not been lost; and that the record among men of the Incarnation of God in Christ does not depend only upon the New Testament writings, but also upon that confirmatory tradition of Christendom, of which the Bible history is but a transcript. Our faith in the Historical Revelation rests upon the 'twelve foundations' of the manifold evidences that God has spoken to the world by His Son. And those who, like Miss Power Cobbe, find in the mind itself provisions for a belief in the life to come, are the last persons who ought in consistency to object to the confirmation of that belief by corresponding provisions in external history, if external history be a series of events over which the Deity has exercised any control. This subject of the comparative value and utility of Revelations of God made through the reason—and through a written record,—is treated with consummate ability by Bishop Conybeare in his *Defence of Revelation*, 1732, pp. 229-335,—a work published four years before Butler's *Analogy*, and the reprinting of which would supply an effectual answer to much of the 'magnificent contempt' for the Bible which characterises the naturalistic writing of the present day. Bishop Conybeare lies side by side with Bishop Butler in Bristol Cathedral, and their works are more nearly of equal value than is understood by some of our contemporaries. If the force of Butler's argument has been in some respects exaggerated, the worth of Conybeare's has most certainly been under-estimated.

In face of such anticipations and recognitions of the moral nature of God loving and compassionating His creature, the argument against miraculous intervention founded on the *order of nature* loses its force. It is seen that as in man the physical and moral elements are conjoined, but so that the moral volition determines more than any other cause the course of physical phenomena, so it must be in relation to the universe and its Cause. If there be a God who is a Person, a moral nature must be of His Essence, and moral volition must determine the action of His physical providence. In the proportion in which it is probable that God will act mercifully towards such a creature as man, everything is also probable which is necessary for his redemption from sin and death. But this involves the super-induction upon the course or nature of a procedure which is exceptional and supernatural.

After all that has been taught of late years respecting development, one might apprehend that philosophers would observe caution in extreme statements on the '*uniform*' action of natural forces. We are invited to believe that without any special divine interference whatsoever, but simply through an innate tendency in the world to develop itself, the globe has passed from a gaseous into a fiery and fluid condition, and has then finally become solid in its outermost crust. Here are three actions, to begin with, which are not uniform but progressive. Next we are informed that the interior volcanic force,—acting under impulses of which no one has undertaken to assign the law,—has from time to time raised and then depressed many times in succession the solid surface of the globe in all its portions, thus turning sea into dry land, and dry land into sea, changing arctic climates into tropical, and tropical into arctic, as has happened in England more than once. And this again bears the aspect of intelligent progress rather than of blind uniformity of action.

Next we are invited to believe that when the earth was sufficiently cooled and solidified, the forces of nature—specially light, heat, electricity, or the force which is convertible into all of them —acting upon certain materials having a tendency to receive a change, made them *alive* so that the protoplasm became a cell, and the cell grew into a moving substance, that received increase,

and forthwith began to propagate its likeness ;—that these earliest growths passed from plants into plant-animals ;—that the animals began to feel and to act, and finally to see, to hear, to think, and to advance into higher forms ;—until at last was produced the complex animal creation which we behold around us, out of which finally sprang Mankind, and free-thought in Europe.

We will not here dispute any one of these statements. But surely those who propose them, and who deduce them from analytical chemistry, physiology, and the testimony of the rocks will not again affirm the undeviating *uniformity* of the action of nature, or allege it as a reason why we must believe that 'all things have continued as they were from the beginning of the creation.' If there has been development of one kind, there may have been development of another, in the Divine Cause as well as in Nature. There may have been developed that special form of Humanity which we denominate The Christ, or God manifest in the Flesh ;—and this may be at least as provable by spiritual evidence and by sufficient testimony, as the gradual conversion of protoplasm into a camelopard, or of a simian into a man.

Such a transcendent Divine Evolution has, we believe, appeared on earth in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ; the object of whose holy Incarnation, or close union between the Infinite and Blessed Nature and the sinful, dying creature, was to pour the fulness of God's eternal life into the dead. It is a Revelation of supernatural truth which meets man exactly at the point where Natural Law leaves him—on the edge of the black abyss of nothingness. It is a Revelation of Divine Compassion which meets us precisely at the point where science abandons us, confronting the eternal darkness.

'It moved upon this earth a Shape of brightness,
A Power that from its objects scarcely drew
One impulse of its being ; in its lightness
Most like some radiant cloud of morning dew
That wanders through the waste air's pathless blue
To nourish some far desert : it did seem
Beside me, gathering beauty as it grew,
As the bright shade of some immortal dream
Which walks, when tempest sleeps, the wave of life's dark stream.

Faith in God in the modern world depends on believing in Christ. 'He that hath the Son hath the Life: he that hath not the Son hath not the Life.' In ancient times, narrow local conceptions of Deity rendered it comparatively easy for the pious warriors of Palestine to 'trust in the Lord.' They were troubled with few doubts because they had but little knowledge. But now the veil has been lifted up. Man knows the whole world, and his views are extended into the infinity around him. The idea of God has been growing from age to age, until now it is so great that man's heart is losing its hold on the Divine personality and providence. The uniformity of the laws of force has weakened the belief in a Living God working in the creation,—and the disorder of events in the moral system has completed the scepticism which physical science had begun. Between the order of nature, and the disorder of the human world, men are bewildered, and find God to be a shadow that escapes them in the all-surrounding darkness. It is for these last days that Heaven has reserved the Incarnation of the Word. In Jesus Christ we 'see the Father' once more. We regain our hold on that Power which wields the energies of creation, and 'manages our mean affairs.' Full of grace and truth, He reveals God as a Person, as a present Providence, as a redeeming Mercy, as the Most Righteous Judge Eternal; and we return to sit at His feet, after all our hard lessons in science and history, crying out as we look up into His God-lit countenance, 'LORD, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO? THOU HAST THE WORDS OF ETERNAL LIFE.'

The conditions of that glorious destiny we have striven, according to our ability, to set forth in the foregoing pages. But the subject is worthy of the future labours of many a more powerful pen; and, when carefully studied, will be found to stand in direct correlation with the entire circle of physical, intellectual, and moral science of our time.

For THE WHOLE TRUTH (S. John's *πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*)—including under that name both these natural and moral knowledges and the revelations of the Gospel—may be compared to a magnificent Organ, placed on high in the fabric of the Catholic Church

of God. An inferior agency may be employed to cleanse away the dust and defilement which have accumulated among some of its ten thousand pipes and internal adaptations, during ages when its voice was silent, or rendered harsh and dissonant through the derangement of its powers. But it is only some heaven-taught performer, commanding the range of all its resources, and versed in the management of celestial themes, who can fill the trembling Edifice with its mightiest strains,—and by them adequately prove, that the sweetness which charms us in those milder harmonies that kindle the transports of immortal joy, rolls downward, without a single discord, through the vast compass of descending notes, into the solemn diapason of its thunders, conformably to that ETERNAL UNIVERSAL LOVE, whose glory, together with the songs of men and angels, it celebrates and proclaims.

Meantime, if it be denied to all except a few most favoured mortals, at rare intervals, thus worthily to touch the keys of this divine and glorious Instrument, let us at least be thankful that Europe has for centuries been permitted to hear the heart-stirring music of its central and principal tones—the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the promise of everlasting salvation. A happier generation shall listen to the perfected chorus in the coming kingdom of our Saviour. '*And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever!*'

THE END.

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